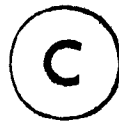


IMMIGRATION, ETHNICITY, AND THE LABOUR MARKET:

THE CHINESE IN MONTREAL

by



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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the labour market experience of Chinese post-war immigrants in Montreal's ethnic and general labour markets. It provides empirical information on the Chinese ethnic labour market in Montreal and assesses the theoretical relevance of the distinction of an ethnic labour market from the general labour market for the understanding of the socio-economic attainment of immigrants in Canada.

The findings reveal significant segmental differences in the composition of the labour force, employment characteristics, mobility patterns, and monetary returns to human capital investment. These indicate the distinctiveness of the ethnic labour market and provide support for Wiley's (1968) thesis of ethnic mobility trap. Theoretical implications of these findings for studies of occupational achievements of immigrants in Canada are discussed.

RESUME

Cette thèse examine l'expérience des immigrants d'après guerre d'origine chinoise sur les marchés du travail ethnique et général de Montréal. Elle donne de l'information empirique sur le marché du travail ethnique chinois de Montréal et évalue la pertinence théorique de la distinction entre le marché du travail ethnique et le marché du travail général pour la compréhension des réalisations socio-économiques des immigrants au Canada.

Les résultats révèlent des différences significatives entre les deux segments dans la composition de la force de travail, les caractéristiques d'emploi, les formes de mobilité et les rendements monétaires des investissements en capital humain, mettent en évidence le caractère distinct du marché du travail ethnique et donnent un appui à la thèse de Wiley (1968) sur le piège ethnique à la mobilité. Les implications théoriques de ces résultats sur les études des réalisations sur le marché du travail des immigrants au Canada sont discutées.

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INTRODUCTION

The classical portrayal of the labour market experience of immigrants is one in which "initial economic hardships and discrimination gave way to gradual acceptance by members of the dominant groups and eventually assimilated" (Wilson and Portes, 1980: 295). "It was assumed that immigrants and their children would gradually move up the social scale as they competed for educational opportunities and economic advancement in a relatively open society. The key factor in the assimilation process was time (Richmond and Verma, 1978: 25)." However, the recent study by Richmond and Verma (1978) confirms the persistence of stratification in income inequality in Canada, in which ethnic group is a major determinant. Other comparative studies of national origin groups and ethno-linguistic groups have also documented the far-reaching effects of ethnicity on educational and occupational achievements in North America (de Jocas and Rocher, 1958; Porter, 1965; Duncan and Duncan, 1968; Dofny and Garon-Audy, 1969; Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1969; Beattie and Spencer, 1971; Blishen, 1973; Featherman and Hauser, 1978).

The prevailing explanations of such ethnic aspects of the occupational structure in the literature have predominantly been advanced from psycho-cultural and structural perspectives.

For instance, Porter (1965: 61-74) proposes that the funnelling of the 'less preferred immigrants' into low status jobs¹, accompanied by the stereotypes and social images of some ethnic groups -- such as the Chinese restaurateur and the Italian plasterer -- perpetuates the 'low entrance status' of these ethnic groups over time. Rosen (1959: 48) suggests a psycho-cultural explanation and argues that

many racial and ethnic groups were not, and are not now, alike in their orientation towards achievement, particularly as it is expressed in the striving for status through social mobility, and that this difference in orientation has been an important factor contributing to the dissimilarity in their social mobility rates.

Light (1972) emphasizes the organizational aspects², while Duncan and Duncan (1968) add another structural factor: discrimination on the basis of one's ethnicity.

Common to these views is the 'monolithic treatment of ethnicity'. However, Yancey, Ericksen, and Juliani (1976: 392) suggest that differences in occupational mobility among national origin groups reported in Duncan and Duncan's (1968) research could

¹It should also be pointed out that while status and income are related, the association is weak enough such that many low status jobs may in fact be remunerated at times at above average levels.

²Such as the credit-rotatory association of Chinese in North America.

have been found if a significant minority within any national origin group had an unique experience in the United States while the remainder of the group shared a more general pattern. The distinctive situation of the subgroup, rather than cultural heritage or possible discrimination as implied by the Duncans, would explain group differences.

Wilson and Portes (1980: 301) also warn that the situation of minorities is not adequately portrayed by aggregate studies of legal immigration since the positive characterization of immigrant mobility in some studies is "based largely on the arrival of professional, managerial, and skilled talent encouraged by current immigration provisions. The aggregate statistics reflect insertion of these immigrants into the primary labour market, but they fail to capture the distinctive phenomenon of immigrant enclaves."

For an ethnic group exhibiting a considerable degree of ethnic economic segregation, segmental specification between the ethnic labour market and the general labour market, if correct, has important theoretical implications for the analysis and interpretation of economic achievements of ethnic groups and for the society as a whole. In particular, it can be argued that

- i) analyses which assume a homogeneous market condition "will produce results which are systematically biased through mis-specification of the economic structure (Beck et al, 1978: 707)";
- ii) economic success does not depend solely on persistent climbing as portrayed by neo-classical economic theories but also depends on segmental assignment; and

- iii) understanding of the economic achievements of members of an ethnic group is necessarily derived from the knowledge of the distribution of members in different segments of the labour market and the opportunity structure of these segments of the labour market.

However, up to the present time, the distribution and opportunity structure in different segments of the labour market for members of an ethnic group in Canada have not been systematically explored. Studies³ of the economic conditions of immigrants within the tradition of dual labour market theory (Doeringer et al, 1969; Baron and Hymer, 1968; Ferman, 1968; Doeringer and Piore, 1971; Piore, 1973) have

focused primarily on the flow directed to the secondary labour market... (as such) the dual labour market literature has not regarded immigrant labour and immigrant economy activity as phenomena deserving special attention. If only by default, these theories define immigrant enterprises as just one more segment of the peripheral economy (Wilson and Portes, 1980: 300-301).

But Wilson and Portes' (1980) examination of the labour market experience of Cubans in Miami has demonstrated that the enclave economy is an analytically distinct segment of the economy.

³ Examples given by Wilson and Portes (1980: 300) include the studies of Puerto Rican immigrants in Boston (Piore, 1973b), Korean and other Asian immigrants on the West Coast (Bonacich, 1978), and undocumented Mexican immigrants throughout the Southwest and Midwest (Barrera, 1977; Bustamante, 1975).

Reitz's (1980) study has shown that work setting by segments of the labour market (minority vs majority work setting) is an important factor in explaining ethnic cohesion. Weinfeld's (1980) analysis of the Jewish community in Montreal has suggested that one's preference to do business with other Jews is significantly related to one's participation in the 'Jewish sub-economy' in Montreal.

There are several reasons to expect that a segmental model is also essential for our understanding of the labour market experience of immigrants of an ethnic group such as the Chinese.

First, Chinese in Canada exhibit a considerable degree of ethnic economic segregation which has its roots in the historical situation of Chinese immigration to Canada. Until 1962, the selection of immigrants was dominated by the assimilationist approach.⁴ As expressed in Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King's (1947) statement to the Parliament, "people of Canada do not wish, as a result of mass immigration to make fundamental alteration in the character of our (Canadian) population." In practice, the government in Council was given the power to limit or prohibit the entry of immigrants for any one of the following reasons:

⁴There are two major versions of assimilation: (a) 'Anglo-conformity' which refers to "the complete renunciation of the immigrants ancestral culture in favour of the behaviour and values of the Anglo-Saxon core group"; and (b) the 'melting pot' which refers to "a biological merger of the Anglo-Saxon people with other immigrant groups and a blending of their respective cultures into a new indigenous American type (Gordon, 1964: 85)."

- i) nationality, citizenship, ethnic group, occupation, class or geographical area of origin;
- ii) peculiar customs, habits, modes of life or method of holding property;
- iii) unsuitability having regard to climatic, economic, social, industrial, educational, labour, health or other conditions or requirements existing, temporarily or otherwise, in Canada or in the area or country from or through which such persons come to Canada; or
- iv) probable inability to become readily assimilated or to assume the duties and responsibilities of Canadian citizenship within a reasonable time after their admission (Richmond, 1967: 11-12).

This theme gave preference to immigrants from United Kingdom and those considered more readily absorbed and assimilated.

At that time, it was "possible for anyone from Britain without a criminal record and in good health to come to Canada. Similar privileges applied to those from United States, France, Ireland, Australia, and South Africa", while immigration from other countries was mainly confined to agriculturalists, domestics, nurses, and workers in manufacturing industries (Richmond, 1967: 10-11). Among its many consequences, immigrants of certain ethnic origins were funnelled into some specific occupations (Porter, 1965: 63) leading to what Hechter (1978) describes as a 'cultural division of labour'. For instance, immigrants of Jewish and British origin were

over-represented in managerial, administrative and professional occupations, those of Italian origin in construction trade, while those of Chinese origin were predominantly in laundry and restaurant businesses.

Second, some of these patterns of ethnic economic segregation carried over from the past have provided Chinese post-war immigrants with an option of participating in the 'mainstream' labour market of the host society, or in the ethnic labour market within the ethnic business sector. Given the concentration of Chinese ethnic enterprises in the service sector, the labour market experience of Chinese immigrants in the ethnic labour market is likely to be very different from that in the general labour market.

Third, recent revisions of the Canadian immigration policies have generated three classes of immigrants: the independent immigrants, the sponsored immigrants, and the refugees (Hawkins, 1977: 86). Since the point system went into effect in 1967, assessment of independent immigrants are made under nine headings: education and training, personal assessment, occupational demand, occupational skill, age, arranged employment, knowledge of French and English, relatives in Canada, and employment opportunities in the area of destination (Parai, 1975; Hawkins, 1977). Consequently, these independent immigrants tend to be the most educated immigrants among the three classes. Given their disparity in educational

attainment and skill, they are likely to be differentially absorbed into the general and ethnic labour markets. However, little is known about the labour market experiences of members of an ethnic group such as the Chinese in these two labour markets in Canada. This thesis moves in this direction. In examining the labour market experience of post-war Chinese immigrants in Montreal, this study provides empirical information on the Chinese ethnic labour market and assesses the extent of labour market segmentation between the ethnic labour market and the general labour market. In particular, the following questions will be addressed:

- (a) How are Chinese distributed in these two segments of the labour market: the ethnic labour market and the general labour market?
- (b) To what extent are employment characteristics and composition of the labour force different in these two segments of the labour market?
- (c) To what extent is the opportunity structure different in these two segments of the labour market? and
- (e) Is monetary return to human capital investment different in these two segments of the labour market?

The main source of information will be drawn from a secondary analysis of survey data on Chinese male post-war immigrants in Montreal collected by Chiang (1978) in 1977. Based on this data source, the distribution of Chinese post-war immigrants in the ethnic and general labour markets will

be computed, and employment characteristics such as language at work, type of occupation, employment status, and employment stability of the two groups will be compared. These juxtapositions provide the context for interpreting further comparisons of these two groups as well as providing information on the extent of labour market segmentation along these lines. Following these preliminary comparisons, some socio-economic consequences of participation in the ethnic labour market will be analyzed. First, mobility processes will be assessed by constructing inter-generational and intra-generational mobility matrixes. As these objective measures of mobility processes provide little insight into the subjective significance of these outcomes for the participants, some subjective aspects of mobility pertaining to fulfillment of one's occupational aspiration, subjective perception of one's economic position in the community, job satisfaction, subjective evaluation of one's occupational achievement as well as standard of living will also be examined. Second, monetary returns to different types of human capital investments such as education, language ability, and working experience in the two segments of the labour market will be compared.

CHAPTER ONE

CHINESE IMMIGRATION TO CANADA AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHINESE ETHNIC LABOUR MARKET

Before proceeding to data analysis, it is useful to review the characteristics of the Chinese ethnic business sector within the historical context of Chinese immigration to Canada.

A. THE EARLY MIGRANTS

The first wave of Chinese came to Canada during the 1850's as migrant workers for the Fraser River Gold Mines. Most of them were born in the southern provinces of China but had, for economic reasons, migrated earlier for economic reasons to work in California during the gold rush of 1849. The construction of the Canadian Pacific Railroad in the 1880's brought a second wave of Chinese to Canada. About seventeen thousand of them were recruited from China to supply the necessary labour force (Krauter and Davis, 1978: 60).

The majority of these immigrants were born in Tai Shan (台山), a densely populated region in the South of China. The people of Tai Shan had long had a tradition of migrating abroad in order to make a living. Lee (1967: 54-55) attributed this to five factors. First, there was insufficient farm land.

The annual production of grains in this region could not support the local residents for even three months. Second, there was political unrest in the South towards the end of 19th century, and local officials were corrupt. Third, people of Tai Shan were willing to take the risk in adventuring abroad. Fourth, Tai Shan was situated in the South close to the ocean. Ships were readily available, and news was communicated more easily than to other inner regions. Fifth, Tai-Shanese abroad often provided kin and clansmen with financial and other assistance to facilitate their migration.

During this period, only males were admitted as the Canadian Government had in mind recruiting transitory labourers from China but not permanent settlers. About 7,000 of them were employed by C.P. Rail. Most of the others were employed in mines and farms. A few of them were self-employed in grocery, restaurant, and laundry businesses. As many of them were blood relatives or clansmen, a number of family-name (or last-name) and clan associations were formed through the Chinese Benevolent Society (中華會館), the Chinese Nationalist League (國民黨), and the Chinese Free Mason (民治黨) remained their main social and political spokesmen.

B. ANTI-CHINESE LEGISLATIONS AND THE RISE OF ETHNIC
ECONOMIC SEGREGATION

In 1885, CP Rail's cross-country line was completed. Many of the layed off Chinese stayed on the West coast and sought employment in other industries. According to the report of the Royal Commission¹ (1885), 2,900 Chinese (31.3%) were employed in transportation, 1,468 (15.8%) in mines, 700 (7.6%) in food and canning industry, 1,612 (17.4%) in farms, and 708 (7.6%) in lumber industry. Soon they were perceived as competitors by the Canadians (Woodsworth, 1941).

Associations such as the Knights of Labour (1884) and the Nanaimo Trades Association (1885) were organized to protect white labour. "These labour organizations later helped form or supported groups like the Anti-Mongolian League and the Asiatic Exclusion League (Krauter and Davis, 1978: 61)."

Under the anti-Chinese sentiment of that time in B.C., the Chinese Exclusion Issue was soon picked up by many politicians and union organizers as their platform (Krauter and Davis, 1978: 61-63). The first anti-Chinese legislation, enacted in 1885 by the Parliament of Canada, levied a head tax of \$50 on every Chinese entering Canada with the exception of diplomats, tourists, merchants, and students. "This was

¹This report covers only occupations of Chinese in B.C.. But since 98% of Chinese resided in B.C. until 1891 (Dept. of Agriculture, 1893: 133-134), this report provides a detailed picture of the occupations of Chinese in 1885.

increased to one hundred dollars effective in 1901, and to five hundred dollars in 1904 (Krauter and Davis, 1978: 63). Between 1886 and 1943, Chinese paid more than twenty-three million dollars² in head taxes and registrations to leave (Li, 1979: 325).³ As pointed out by Li (1979: 325) this served a number of purposes.

Aside from restricting Chinese immigration and thereby pacifying some of the anti-Chinese sentiment in British Columbia, the tax brought substantial revenue for the government... The provincial government of British Columbia also benefited from the head tax as one-quarter of it went to the province that collected it.

By 1889, the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada adopted an exclusion policy towards all Chinese. In 1923, the Parliament of Canada passed the 'Chinese Immigration Act' which was commonly referred to as the 'Chinese Exclusion Act'. In addition to these anti-Chinese legislations, Chinese often faced anti-Chinese sentiment from Canadians³ (Krauter and Davis, 1978: 64).

²From 1886 to 1943, 82,381 Chinese paid head tax, 7,965 were exempted from head tax and 164,952 paid registrations for leave (Li, 1979: 326).

³For example, "when Calgary experienced an outbreak of smallpox in 1892 and three of nine persons who contacted the disease died, the Chinese were blamed as carriers from British Columbia... Similarly, when the Chinese wished to expand their district in Calgary (and elsewhere), they were encumbered by a host of problems, including the refusal of many people to sell them additional land or dwellings. In 1913, it was proposed that all Chinese in Calgary be photographed and fingerprinted for identification purposes (Krauter and Davis, 1978: 64)."

In Li's (1979: 328) view,

institutional racism limited the bargaining power of Chinese, and confined them to marginal participation in the labour market. ...it gave impetus to the development of ethnic business among Chinese. The emergence of Chinese laundries and restaurants may be viewed as survival adaptations, on the part of the Chinese, to develop alternative economic opportunities amidst a hostile labour market.

The resulting pattern of economic segregation along the ethnic line is already evident from the distribution of Chinese in the occupational structure in the 1920's and 1930's. In 1921, about half of the Chinese male population was employed in the service sector⁴ (Table 1.1). As compared to all other gainfully employed males in Canada, Chinese males were over-represented in laundry and restaurant businesses. They accounted for 89.2% of all laundry owners and managers, 75.5% of all laundry workers, and 31.6% of all cooks, waiters and restaurant keepers (Table 1.1).

From 1921 to 1931, only some minor changes had taken place. There was a slight increase of 6.6% of Chinese males who worked as cooks, waiters or restaurant keepers, an increase of 4.6% who worked as laundry workers, and a decrease of 7.4% who owned or managed laundry shops. However, in 1931, they accounted for only 48.9% of all laundry owners and managers,

⁴Laundering included.

46.3% of all laundry workers, and 31.5% of all cooks, waiters, and restaurant keepers (Table 1.1).

In the eastern provinces, economic segregation was even more intense. As shown in Table 1.2, 91.5% of the Chinese males in Ontario, and 89.1% in Quebec were in the personal service⁵ sector as opposed to 25.6% in B.C.. Many Chinese males in B.C. were employed in trade, agriculture, or as labourers in mining, fish-canning, transportation, manufacturing, and other sectors (Census of Canada, 1931, vol. VII, Table 4.9).

C. THE CHINESE ETHNIC BUSINESS SECTOR IN THE PRE-WAR PERIOD

In the pre-war period, Chinese laundry shops mainly served Canadians, and were dispersed throughout the city. But Chinese associations, Chinese grocery stores, and some Chinese restaurants were located mainly in Chinatown. Often, Chinatown was close to the train station or in the neighbourhood of downtown. Lee (1967: 80) suggests that this was probably related to the Chinese participation in railroad and other governmental construction at the time when Chinatown was built. In Victoria and Vancouver where there were more Chinese, Chinese doctors, and barber shops were also found in Chinatown (Lee, 1967: 80-85).

Kinship assistance and joint venture through partnership played a crucial role in their early ventures in the laundry

⁵ Laundering included.

TABLE 1.1

MAJOR OCCUPATIONS OF CHINESE MALES IN CANADA, 1921 and 1931

Occupation	1921 %		1931 %		% of Chinese males in selected occupation ^b	
					1921	1931
Personal service						
i) cooks, waiters and restaurant keepers	24.0 ^a	↑	30.6	↑	31.6 ^a	31.5
ii) others ^c	8.3	50.9	5.5	51.9	6.1	2.9
Laundering						
i) laundry owners	9.6	↓	2.2	↓	89.2	48.9
ii) laundry workers	9.0		13.6		75.5	46.3
Labourers & unskilled workers ^d	4.8		21.5		1.8	1.6
Agriculture	9.7		11.8		0.3	0.5
Trade	7.8		6.7		1.1	2.0
Others	26.8		8.0		0.7	1.1
Total %	100		100			
N	(33,922)		(40,004)			

a: restaurant keepers are listed as hotel-restaurant keepers in 1921 census.

b: calculated as % of Chinese males employed in an occupation out of 100% males of all races in that occupation.

c: laundry not included.

d: not agricultural, mining or logging.

Source: Census of Canada, 1931, vol. VII, Tables 49 and 69.

TABLE 1.2

OCCUPATIONS OF CHINESE MALES BY PROVINCE, 1931

Occupation	B.C.		Ontario		Quebec		Canada	
Personal service ^a								
i) cooks, waiters and restaurant keepers	16.3	↑	45.4	↑	30.4	↑	30.6	↑
ii) others	6.0	25.6	4.3	91.5	4.9	89.1	5.5	51.9
Laundering								
i) laundry owners and managers	0.5	↓	6.0	↓	10.6	↓	2.2	↓
ii) laundry workers	2.8		35.8		43.2		13.6	
Labourers and unskilled workers ^a	35.7		2.0		1.4		21.5	
Agriculture	18.2		1.8		0.6		11.8	
Trade	8.1		2.6		6.1		6.7	
Others	12.4		2.1		2.8		8.0	
Total %	100		100		100		100	
N	(23,032)		(6,001)		(2,363)		(40,004)	

a: not agricultural, mining, or logging.

Source: Census of Canada, 1931, vol. VII, Table 49.

business, and later in the restaurant and grocery business. As mentioned earlier, many Chinese pre-war immigrants came from Tai Shan. Chain migration was common. Upon arrival, some worked for their kin and clansmen until they saved enough capital to start their own business or 'chip in'⁶ with others (Li, 1981).

Light (1972) has stressed the importance of the organizational aspects of Chinese communities in the success of Chinese enterprises in North America. The credit-rotatory association was definitely an important financial institute that the Chinese turned to for loans. However, success in business cannot be solely accounted for by the availability of capital. Not all businesses survive competition, and not all businesses prosper. In capital intensive sectors, capital is a powerful mean to heighten competition through price wars and technological innovations. However, Chinese

⁶As two respondents in Li's (1981: 15-16) study described their experience: "I sold it (my business in Canada) and went to China... They were my cousins, and so I sold my part of the business to them. So then when I came back, the restaurant was busy, and they asked me to stay and work for them. I worked for 3 to 4 months, and they asked me to become a partner." "...the partner get a few relatives together and just chip in some money each. You don't need a lawyer, and you don't have to sign anything, just a few friends and relatives will do... There's no boss. Everyone did it right. That was the way we did it. Just worked for ourselves. In the end, whoever had a share had a share of the profit...if you really don't like it and can't get along, then you can buy me out, or I can buy you out..."

enterprises in North America, such as the early laundry business and later, the restaurant and grocery business, all were labour intensive. The working hours were long. Li's (1981) study suggests that often the employees worked for over 12 hours a day and at least six days a week for very low pay. The owners also worked like anybody else to reduce the cost of hiring extra workers in order to remain competitive. Most of the stores were poorly decorated and provided services at an economic price.

Although impossible to quantify, some immigrants have experienced upward mobility in the ethnic business sector through hard work. However, ventures into the core industries were rare, and the majority of them remained in the service sector. Imports of furniture, silk, and tea from China were managed and owned mostly by the British.

The types of business Chinese engaged in were among the typical ones identified by Bonacich (1973) as the 'middle-man' occupations. In Bonacich's (1973: 585) view, sojourning is a necessary condition of such concentration of occupations. The economic effects included a tendency toward thrift, and a concentration in certain occupations which do not tie an individual to the territory for long periods of time. This is shown in their excessively long hours of work, an emphasis on saving (often sending part of these savings to the homeland), very little time or money spent on consumption, and an absence

from industrial entrepreneurship and investment in the kind of agriculture that ties up capital.

While many Chinese who came in the nineteenth and early twentieth century were sojourners, their occupational concentration cannot be solely attributed to their occupational preference since there were structural constraints on their choices. Being deprived of the right to vote and handicapped by their low educational background, they were confined to the marginal sector.

D. THE EXPERIENCE OF POST-WAR CHINESE IMMIGRANTS

Since World War II, the sex-ratio, age structure, population size, and occupations of Chinese in Canada have changed significantly. There were 34,627 Chinese in Canada in 1941. This had increased to 118,815 by 1971 (Census of Canada, 1971, vol. I, part 3, Table 1). Many of these changes were due to changes in Chinese immigration in the post-war period. From 1946 to 1975, a total of 123,406 immigrants of Chinese origin⁷ were admitted to Canada. Among them, 38.1% were destined to Ontario, 32% to British Columbia, 10.6% to Alberta, 9.4% to Quebec, 4.1% to Saskatchewan, 3.3% to Manitoba, and 2.5% to

⁷Census data from 1962 to 1975 provide listing by "country of Last Permanent Residence" instead of ethnic origin. The figures used here from 1962 to 1975 are estimated from immigrants from Hong Kong, China and Taiwan. See Appendix 1 for detail.

other provinces (Appendix 2). While almost all pre-war Chinese immigrants were males destined to the labour force, spouses, children, and kin over 65 outnumbered those destined to the labour force in the post-war period (Table 1.3). From 1956 to 1975, about two-thirds of all Chinese immigrants were not destined to the labour force. Among those who were destined to the labour force, their intended occupations⁸ were very different from that of the pre-war immigrants. As Table 1.4 reveals:

- i) There was a gradual decline of immigrants who intended to work in the service sector. Until 1959, about half of the Chinese immigrants intended to work in the service sector. This had dropped to 5.3% in 1967 and rose gradually to 15.8% by 1970.
- ii) There was a dramatic increase of professionals from below 10% in 1958 to 46.2% in 1960. After 1968, this had decreased gradually to 33.9% by 1970.
- iii) There was also a gradual increase of immigrants intending to work in the manufacturing industry since 1961.
- iv) A gradual increase in clerical workers since 1965 was also noted.

⁸ Only Census data from 1956 to 1970 are presented in Table 1.4 as major changes in intended occupations of Chinese immigrants took place during this period.

TABLE 1.3

POST-WAR CHINESE IMMIGRANTS NOT DESTINED TO THE LABOUR FORCE,
1956-1975

	1956-60	1961-65	1966-70	1971-75
Spouse	64.4	38.9	28.6	22.2
Children	30.8	42.9	42.4	32.4
Others	4.9	18.2	29.0	45.4
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	(7,944)	(7,373)	(20,516)	(32,225)

Source = Canada, Dept. of Citizenship and Immigration, Immigration Statistics, 1956-1965; Dept. of Manpower and Immigration, Immigration Statistics, 1966-1975.

Remark = Figures from 1962 to 1975 are based on immigration from China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. See Appendix 1 for detail.

TABLE 1.4

INTENDED OCCUPATIONS OF POST-WAR CHINESE^a IMMIGRANTS, 1956-1970

Intended Occupation	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
Managerial	0.4	0.6	0.8	1.2	0.9	0.6	2.9	3.0	3.0	2.9	3.8	7.2	7.5	5.3	4.8
Professional	3.1	8.7	7.2	31.7	46.2	70.2	52.3	55.2	53.5	47.9	56.1	57.2	50.8	36.1	33.9
Clerical	0.5	3.9	1.7	3.6	7.2	3.4	2.9	7.4	6.5	15.4	16.3	15.2	14.5	16.9	22.0
Service ^b	72.3	64.3	61.0	47.7	23.7	15.2	14.3	17.5	19.1	12.8	7.5	5.3	11.8	19.9	15.8
Construction	2.0	3.1	3.0	2.2	4.2	3.4	2.9	1.6	0.6	1.8	0.1	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.2
Manufacturing							15.4	7.4	9.5	12.2	10.2	9.6	9.3	12.9	13.7
Others	21.7	19.4	26.3	13.6	17.8	7.2	9.3	7.9	7.8	7.0	6.0	4.2	4.9	11.0	8.6
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	862	356	402	501	236	178	279	366	508	1,040	1,435	2,406	2,746	3,259	2,172

a = Figures from 1962-1970 are based on immigration from China, Taiwan and Hong Kong.
See Appendix 1 for further detail.

b = domestic servants included.

Source = Canada, Dept. of Citizenship and Immigration, Immigration Statistics, 1956-1965,
Dept. of Manpower and Immigration, Immigration Statistics, 1966-75.

E. IMMIGRATION POLICIES SINCE WORLD WAR II

These changes were in part due to changes in the Canadian Immigration policies in the post-war period. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1923 was repealed in 1947. For the first time, Canadian citizens of Chinese origin were allowed to sponsor their wives and children under 18 years of age to join them in Canada. This was revised in 1952 to extend the sponsorship to spouse, unmarried children under 21 years of age, fathers over 65 years old, and mothers over 60 years old. Three years later, Chinese-Canadian citizens were allowed to sponsor their fiancé(e) to come to Canada to marry them. From 1945 to 1963, over one third of Chinese immigrants admitted to Canada each year were sponsored by their husband or fiancé(e). Spouses, children, and parents over 65 outnumbered those who intended to join the labour force. This has brought about a new family dimension to the life of many pre-war Chinese immigrants.

Up to September 1964, an amnesty was given to all those who entered Canada illegally before July 1, 1960. A Chinese Adjustment Program was introduced which "Call upon Chinese who entered Canada illegally to come forward and make complete and honest statements pertaining to the circumstances under which they had entered Canada, together with truthful information concerning their family backgrounds (Hawkins, 1972: 131)." From June 1960 to July 1970, 11,569 Chinese who had entered illegally were granted legal status.

Due to the deletion of nationality, ethnic, and racial origin as a criterion for the selection of immigrants in 1962, and the implementation of a point system (see introduction above) in 1967, three classes of immigrants have been generated: (i) sponsored family members; (ii) refugees; and (iii) independent immigrants. Immigrants who are sponsored do not need to pass the point system. Most of them are not destined to the labour force. The popularity of kinship assistance is self-evident from the number of children, spouses, and kin sponsored to Canada. These immigrants are most likely to settle down in the same province as their sponsor. The independent immigrants, on the other hand, are admitted mainly on the basis of employability, marketable skills, education, language ability, and age. Many of them are the professionals and the white collar workers from among the Chinese post-war immigrants. The stereotype of Chinese laundryman and restaurateurs no longer adequately describes the Chinese population presently in Canada.

F. THE CHINESE BUSINESS SECTOR IN MONTREAL

Unlike the pre-war Chinese immigrants who were confined to the ethnic business sector or marginal occupations in the secondary sector, most post-war immigrants have an option of seeking employment either in the ethnic business sector or the main-stream economy. The Canadian Fair Employment

Practices Act (1953), and the Fair Wages and Hours of Labour Regulations (1954) prohibit discrimination in employment based on race, colour, religion, or national origin (Canada Year Book, 1969: 755-757). The ethnic business sector is no longer an occupational refuge from the hostile anti-Chinese sentiment, but instead remains an important commercial sector providing employment for many.

It is important, however, not to overlook some developments in the ethnic business sector. According to the Chinese business listings in the Chinese Telephone Directory of Greater Montreal, over the last decade, there has been:

- i) a gradual increase in professional services especially medical services;
- ii) an increase in the number of restaurants and food services; and
- iii) a gradual diversification in the ethnic business sector (Table 1.5).

In 1971, Chinese were predominantly in the restaurant business. Some were involved in grocery, chop suey, arts and crafts retail, noodle and food product manufacturing, bakery, tobacco, and book retail businesses. As of 1981, their involvement has extended to other areas such as travelling, printing, photography, insurance, restaurant equipment retail, food container manufacturing, dentistry, florist, fish retail, and meat retail and wholesale businesses.

Accompanying these developments, more Chinese businesses are now located outside Chinatown. Chinatown was the major

TABLE 1.5

CHINESE ENTERPRISES^a LISTED IN CHINESE DIRECTORY OF GREATER
MONTREAL FOR 1971, 1977 AND 1981

	1970-71	1977	1981	Differences 1981-1971
Restaurants	137	141	165	28
Grocery, fruit and veg. stores	18	17	24	6
Chop suey co.	3	3	3	0
Noodles and food product manufactuers	3	3	5	2
Bakery shops	1	2	3	2
Tobacco dealers	1	1	1	0
Dept. stores, gift shops & arts/crafts co.	1	7	9	8
Books stores	4	2	4	0
Post office	1	1	1	0
Lawyers	1	1	1	0
Accountants	1	0	1	0
Physicians	2	1	13	11
Dentists	0	0	3	3
Travel agents/consultants	0	3	5	5
Insurance agents	0	0	1	1
Photographers	0	1	1	1
Printing co.	0	1	2	2
Florists	0	0	1	1
Restaurant equipment co.	0	1	2	2
Food containers & paper boxes co.	0	0	1	1
Fish markets	0	0	1	1
Meat wholesale OR retail co.	0	0	1	1
Total (N)	173	185	248	75

Source: Chinese Directory of Greater Montreal, 1970-71, 1977, 1981.

a: Montreal Chinese merchants in the restaurant business are listed under "Chinese restaurant listing" while those in other business are listed under "Montreal Chinese Merchants" and "Classified Business Directory". The latter includes both Chinese and non-Chinese enterprises. Chinese enterprises are identified by the name of the store/owner according to the listing and advertisement. Enterprises which are listed more than once are counted only once.

Note: Only categories available in Chinese Directory of Greater Montreal for all the selected years are included in this table.

centre for Chinese business in 1971 except for professional services, chop suey companies, and restaurants. By 1981, the majority of Chinese businesses are now located outside Chinatown. Those that remain mainly in Chinatown are meat companies, florists, post office, book stores, restaurant equipment companies, grocery stores, and bakery stores (Chinese Telephone Directory, 1971, 1981).

In the coming years, these patterns of diversification and dispersion will probably intensify as more Chinese with different skills immigrate to Canada, and more Canadian-born Chinese join the labour force. Given the large number of Chinese restaurants in Montreal, there is also a potential for the development of a network of economic relationships between clients, sellers, and suppliers within the Chinese community. But in the 1970's, Chinese businesses were far too specialized yet to meet what Weinfeld (1980) describes as an ethnic 'sub-economy' which parallels existing economic relationships in the 'mainstream economy'.

These particularities of the Chinese ethnic business sector are crucial for our understanding of the ethnic labour market for Chinese in Montreal. Given the predominance of Chinese involvement in the restaurant business, as one would expect, the majority of participants in this segment of the labour market are found in restaurant occupations such as restaurant owners, waiters, cook's helpers, and chefs.

However, those who join the general labour market are likely to assume a more diversified career pattern. Within this context, a few questions are of interest. Who is more likely to join the ethnic labour market? How different are the employment characteristics and opportunities for advancement in these two segments of the labour market?

The extent of such differences is an empirical question. The theoretical implication of significant differences resides in the adoption of a segmental distinction for research on the economic attainment of an ethnic group which exhibits a considerable degree of ethnic economic segregation as an aggregate approach fails to capture the distinctiveness of the sub-group working in the ethnic labour market.

In subsequent chapters, secondary survey data on Chinese post-war immigrants in Montreal collected in 1977 will be analyzed to provide information on the ethnic labour market in Montreal. The results will be discussed in relation to the relevance of such a segmental distinction in the study of Chinese immigrants in Canada.

CHAPTER TWO

THE DATA

The data used in the analysis of the labour market experience of Chinese post-war immigrants in the two segments of the labour market were collected by Frances S.C. Chiang (1978) in 1977 for her Master's thesis.

A. THE SAMPLING

A random sample employing the following criteria was selected from the 1977 Chinese Directory of Greater Montreal: (a) male, (b) age 25 to 44, (c) Chinese immigrant, and (d) immigrated to Canada after World War II (Chiang, 1978: 59-60).

The sample size was set at 200. Random samples were drawn until the quota was met. A total of 713 phone calls were made of which 29.5% did not meet the criteria, 29.8% could not be reached, 12.3% refused to be interviewed, and 28.2% were interviewed (Table 2.1). This gave a total of 201 completed questionnaires out of the qualified population of 290. The response rate of 69.31% was regarded by Chiang (1978) as quite satisfactory.

¹ For further detail, see Master's thesis of Frances Chiang (1978).

TABLE 2.1

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSE AND NON-RESPONSE RATE FOR
INITIALLY SELECTED SAMPLE

		Number	Percentage
(1) Does not meet criteria		210	29.45
-Not Chinese	76	10.66%	
-Female	30	4.21%	
-Canadian-born	15	2.10%	
-Not immigrant (student visa)	21	2.95%	
-Not working	7	0.98%	
-Under age	13	1.82%	
-Over age	48	6.73%	
(2) Could not be reached		213	29.86
-Phone disconnected	56	7.85%	
-Phone changed to confidential	6	0.84%	
-No such person	115	16.13%	
-Deceased	2	0.28%	
-Left Montreal	14	1.96%	
-Could not communicate	3	0.42%	
-Could not be reached by the time the quota was met	17	2.38%	
(3) Refused to be interviewed		89	12.28
(4) Total interviews conducted		201	28.19
Total		713	100.00

Source = Chiang (1978: 65).

The comparison of the age structure of the sample² with that in the 1971 census data suggests that the present sample is over-represented in the younger age group (26 to 30 age category), but under-represented in the other age groups especially in the 36 to 40 age category (Table 2.2). Chiang (1978: 66) suggests that this bias towards the younger age group may be due to "variation in age-specific refusal rates between the census and our sample; or it may be due to the fact that the definition of 'Chinese' in the census is not the same as that in the present study."

B. THE INTERVIEWS

A common questionnaire (Appendix 6) pertaining to family background, pre-migratory experience, migratory patterns, socio-economic achievements at various stages of the respondent's career, and acculturation was used. Most of the interviews were carried out in a face to face meeting (90%), and were done almost exclusively in Cantonese (98%). For the 10% who refused a face to face meeting, interviews were conducted over the telephone. Most interviews took between 30 and 45 minutes (Chiang, 1978).

²Only immigrants who have migrated to Canada prior to 1971 are included in the comparison.

TABLE 2.2

COMPARISON OF AGE DISTRIBUTION IN THE CENSUS AND IN THE SAMPLE

Age Group	Census Distribution ^a		Sample Distribution ^b	
	%	N	%	N
26-30	22.6	325	39.5	58
31-35	15.9	230	13.6	20
36-40	26.4	380	17.7	26
41-45	35.1	505	28.6	42
Total	100	1,440	100	147

$\Delta = 17.2$

a = From special tabulation by Statistics Canada of 1971 Census results.

b = Only immigrants who have migrated to Canada prior to 1971 are included in this comparison.

Source = Adapted from Chiang (1978: 67).

C. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

About half of the respondents (46.0%) were between the ages of 25 and 30, 29.5% were between 31 and 40, and 24.5% were between 41 and 44 years of age. The majority of them were married (77.1%), came from white collar families (60.4%), had been raised in cities (90.9%), have less than four siblings (56.5%), had migrated to Canada before the age of 29 (82%), and had been settled in Montreal since 1970 (53.2%). More than half of them (58.3%) were sponsored or nominated to come to Canada, while 41.7% of them were independent immigrants.

Most respondents reported the influence of pull factors to migrate to Canada, such as higher education, greater economic opportunities, and reunion with their kin. Only 10% of them mentioned push factors such as political instability, overcrowding, and lack of occupational opportunities in their country of last permanent residence.

About two thirds of them had working experience prior to migration. They were mainly in manual (34.5%), clerical and sales (30.9%), or professional (20.9%) occupations. But only 15% of all respondents had their first job in Canada pre-arranged before their arrival.

At the time of the survey, there was a noticeable concentration of respondents in professional (36.8%) and service (37.8%) occupations. The majority of them were in the income category \$5,000 to \$15,000 (70.4%), have received college

education or more (58.7%), fair in English (60.5%) and French (94.5%).

D. SOME LIMITATIONS OF THE DATA SOURCE

As this thesis represents an attempt to examine the experiences of the Chinese immigrants in the two segments of the labour market, it would have been interesting to include both male and female respondents. However, given the nature of the research problem at hand, the males and the females would probably constitute two very distinct groups.

Among other things, most Chinese women in Canada were sponsored by either their spouse or father. As pointed out earlier (Chapter I, section E), the relaxation of immigration policies towards Chinese immigration to Canada in the early 1950's had allowed the entry of spouses and daughters of Chinese residents into Canada for the first time. Thus, those who came in the 1950's to join their husbands were likely to belong to the older age-group, spoke only Chinese, and possessed little professional skills. As a result, many of them either have never worked in Canada or had no choice but to take up a marginal occupation in the manufacturing or service sector. A number of them constitute family workers in their husband's businesses. Self-employment among the females on their own, however, is rare. In recent years, despite an increase in the number of female Chinese immigrants who have an educational

background similar to that of their male counterparts, they still only make up a small proportion of the Chinese women in Canada. In view of these differences their labour market experiences can only be understood in terms of the historical situation of each of these groups. In the case of the rise of the ethnic labour market in Canada, it was mainly comprised of men during the pre-war period. Thus, the exclusion of females in the present analysis allows one to interpret the findings in relation to the historical situations which originally brought about economic segregation in the first place, while at the same time limits our ability to generalize beyond the case of Chinese male post-war immigrants.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CHINESE ETHNIC LABOUR MARKET IN MONTREAL, 1977

The earlier review on the rise of ethnic economic segregation and the particularities of the Chinese ethnic business sector are suggestive of the importance of the ethnic labour market as an analytically distinct dimension for the study of the process of economic absorption of Chinese immigrants in Canada. In the case of Cubans in Miami, Wilson and Portes have provided quantitative evidence for the empirical distinctiveness of an enclaved labour force. In the case of Chinese in Montreal, this remains to be answered.

Thus the following analysis will seek to answer two critical questions:

- i) Are there differences in the labour force composition of Chinese in these two segments of the labour market? and
- ii) Are there differences in the employment characteristics in these two segments of the labour market?

An affirmative answer to these questions would provide support for a segmental model for the subsequent analysis of both the mobility and income attainment processes in the two segments of the labour market.

A. OPERATIONALIZATION OF THE ETHNIC LABOUR MARKET

One possible conceptualization of the ethnic labour market is one which is characterized by managers, employees, and clientele who are predominantly members of an ethnic group. Employing these criteria, participants in the ethnic labour market include:

- (a) the self-employed whose customers are mainly Chinese; and
- (b) the employed who work in a company or institution where the majority of the executives or managers are Chinese.

Participants in the general labour market include:

- (a) the self-employed whose customers are mainly non-Chinese; and
- (b) the employed who work in a company or institution where the majority of the executives or managers are non-Chinese.

Distribution of Chinese male post-war immigrants in the ethnic labour market and the general labour market

Table 3.1 summarizes the employment status and the ethnic origin of the majority of their managers or clients. According to this table, all respondents were working at the time of the survey (1977). The majority of them (91.0%) were employed, while 9.0% were self-employed. Among the employed, 34.3% of them [62 out of 181 cases] worked in a company where the majority of their executives or managers were Chinese. On the other hand, 44.4% of the self-employed served mainly

TABLE 3.1

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS IN THE ETHNIC AND
GENERAL LABOUR MARKETS

Characteristics	%	N
Employment status		
employed	91.0	183
self-employed	9.0	18
If self-employed, proportion of Chinese/clients customers:		
a quarter or less	55.5	10
about half	22.2	4
more than half	22.2	4
If employed, ethnic background of the majority of the executives/managers:		
Chinese	34.3	62
others	65.7	119
Segment of the labour market the respondent participated in:		
ethnic labour market	35.2	70
general labour market	64.8	129

Chinese clients. These self-employed respondents serving mainly Chinese clients, together with those employed in a company or institute where the majority of their executives or managers were Chinese, constituted 35.2% of all our respondents.

To summarize, 35.2% (70 cases) of Chinese male post-war immigrants between the ages of 25 and 44 worked in the ethnic labour market in 1977, while the other 64.8% (129 cases) worked in the general labour market.

B. COMPOSITION OF THE LABOUR FORCE IN THE TWO SEGMENTS OF THE LABOUR MARKET

Stages in the life cycle

Comparison³ of the composition of these two groups of Chinese immigrants shows that participants in the ethnic labour market were significantly older, more likely to be

³ Several measures of association for contingency tables have been developed. Among them, X^2 -based measures of association have the advantage of requiring only a single measure regardless of the direction of relationships or prediction due to their symmetric nature. The shortcoming of X^2 , however, is its dependency on the size of the tables and that of C is its variation in its maximum value. But it is possible to correct C to achieve unity by calculating c/c_{\max} (Sakoda, 1977). Thus X^2 is presented along with c/c_{\max} in the following contingency tables. The maximum value of C equals $\sqrt{K-1}/K$, where K is the smaller of r (the number of rows) or C (the number of columns). Dividing C by C_{\max} , the upper limit problem of C (uncorrected) can be corrected to give a normal measure of association ranging from 0 to +1.0.

married, more likely to have been sponsored or nominated by relatives to immigrate to Canada, to have arrived in Montreal before the 70's, and to have resided in Canada for a longer period of time as compared to the participants in the general labour market (Table 3.2).

According to the classical model of assimilation as formulated by Robert Park (1950), one would have expected higher participation among new immigrants in the ethnic labour market. The above findings do not lend support to the classical assimilation model either taken to mean "anglosaxon conformity" or "melting pot". However, in view of the recent emphasis on human capital investment in the selection of immigrants to Canada, it is not surprising to find more new immigrants in the general labour market.

Since 1968, independent immigrants coming to Canada are selected on the basis of their educational achievement, language proficiency, marketable skills, and age. They tend to be better educated and younger than the sponsored or nominated immigrants who do not have to pass the point system. Consequently, the above findings may be a spurious relationship due to differential human capital investment rather than individual attributes of the respondents. This explanation is also consistent with the finding that Chinese post-war immigrants working in the general labour market tended to have immigrated independently, resided in Canada for a shorter period of time, and completed higher education.

TABLE 3.2

COMPOSITION OF CHINESE MALE POST-WAR IMMIGRANTS IN THE ETHNIC AND GENERAL LABOUR MARKETS (1977)

Characteristic	Population			χ^2	C/Cmax
	C _T	C _{ELM}	C _{GLM}		
Age					
25-34	57.6	42.9	65.6	8.7**	0.31
35-44	42.4	57.1	34.4		
Total	100%	100%	100%		
N	(198)	(70)	(128)		
Marital status					
single	21.9	11.4	27.9	6.2*	0.27
married	77.1	88.6	72.1		
widowed	1.0				
Total	100%	100%	100%		
N	(201)	(70)	(129)		
Age at migration					
0 - 9	1.0	34.3	32.1	1.5	0.13
10-19	32.0	44.3	52.3		
20-29	49.0	15.5	21.4		
30-39	15.5	21.4	15.6		
40-49	2.5				
Total	100%	100%	100%		
N	(200)	(70)	(128)		
Type of immigrant					
independent	41.7	14.3	56.7	31.7***	0.54
sponsored/nominated	58.3	85.7	43.3		
Total	100%	100%	100%		
N	(199)	(70)	(127)		
Years of residency in Canada					
0 - 5	28.9	56.5	71.5	3.3 ^m	0.20
6 -10	35.8	43.5	28.5		
11-15	12.4				
16 or more	22.9				
Total	100%	100%	100%		
N	(201)	(69)	(126)		
Year came to Montreal					
1950s	17.4	27.1	11.6	9.4**	0.30
1960s	29.4	31.4	28.7		
1970s	53.2	41.4	59.7		
Total	100%	100%	100%		
N	(201)	(70)	(129)		

C_T: Chinese male post-war immigrants in MontrealC_{ELM}: Chinese male post-war immigrants in Montreal working in the ethnic labour marketC_{GLM}: Chinese male post-war immigrants in Montreal working in the general labour market

* p < 0.05 *** p ≤ 0.001

** p < 0.01 m p ≤ 0.10

Educational attainment and language ability

The disparity in educational attainment between participants in the two labour markets is evident from Table 3.3. The majority of those working in the ethnic labour market (52.9%), have completed only elementary school or less, and none of them have obtained a graduate degree. On the other hand, 20.9% of those working in the general labour market have received degree(s) at the graduate level and the majority of them (59.7%) have at least one university degree. There is also a significant difference in the place where they have obtained their highest degree. Almost half of the Chinese post-war immigrants (46.6%) have obtained their degree in Canada. Among those working in the ethnic labour market, only 20% of them were educated in Canada as compared to 60.6% of those working in the general labour market (Table 3.3).

With regard to language ability in English and French, two-fifths of the respondents reported to be "good" in English, but almost all of them (94.5%) reported "fair" or "not at all" in French. Among the 70 participants in the ethnic labour market, the majority of them (88.6%) were not fluent in English, as opposed to 44.5% of those working in the general labour market. This relationship is statistically significant at the 0.001 level, but there was almost no difference in French ability between the two groups.

TABLE 3.3

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND LANGUAGE ABILITY OF CHINESE
MALE POST-WAR IMMIGRANTS IN MONTREAL (1977)

Characteristics	C_T	Population		x^2	c/c_{\max}
		C_{ELM}	C_{GLM}		
Highest degree/diploma received					
elementary school/less	27.4	52.9	13.2	58.3***	0.67
high school	13.9	21.4	10.1		
post high-school/college	16.4	15.7	17.1		
undergraduate	28.4	10.0	38.8		
graduate	13.9	0.0	20.9		
Total	100%	100%	100%		
N	(201)	(70)	(129)		
Place R has obtained his highest degree					
Canada	46.6	20.0	60.6	26.9***	0.51
Others	53.4	80.0	39.4		
Total	100%	100%	100%		
N	(193)	(65)	(127)		
Fluency in English					
fair/not at all	60.5	88.6	44.5	34.8***	0.57
good/very good	39.5	11.4	55.5		
Total	100%	100%	100%		
N	(200)	(70)	(128)		
Fluency in French					
fair/not at all	94.5	98.6	92.2	2.4	0.18
good/very good	5.5	1.4	7.8		
Total	100%	100%	100%		
N	(200)	(70)	(128)		

C_T : Chinese male post-war immigrants in Montreal

C_{ELM} : Chinese male post-war immigrants in Montreal working in the ethnic labour market

C_{GLM} : Chinese male post-war immigrants in Montreal working in the general labour market

*: $p < 0.05$

**: $p < 0.01$

***: $p < 0.001$

Social Origin

A plausible factor contributing to the observed differences in educational attainment between these two groups is social origin. Table 3.4 compares their father's educational attainment and occupational achievement. This table reveals that:

- i) respondents in the general labour market tended to come from white collar families, while those in the ethnic labour market tended to come from blue collar families; and
- ii) their father's educational occupational attainment when the respondent was sixteen years old, were significantly higher for respondents in the general labour market.

Occupation prior to migration

Significant differences were also observed when their previous occupation in their country of last permanent residence is compared. According to Table 3.4, those previously in manual occupations were more likely to join the ethnic labour market, while those previously employed in professional and technical occupations were more likely to join the general labour market. This pattern of differential absorption of post-war immigrants into these two segments of the labour market is not surprising in view of the concentration of Chinese ethnic enterprises in the service sector.

TABLE 3.4

SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF CHINESE MALE POST-WAR IMMIGRANTS
IN MONTREAL (1977)

Socio-economic background	Population			x ²	c/c _{max}
	C _T	C _{ELM}	C _{GLM}		
Father's occupation ^a when R was 16					
Manual	12.7	21.7	8.4		
Farm	7.2	15.0	3.4		
Service	19.3	26.7	16.0		
Clerical & Sales	37.0	26.7	42.0		
Managerial	8.8	1.7	11.8		
Professional & Technical	14.9	8.3	18.5		
Total	100%	100%	100%	25.4***	0.50
N	(181)	(60)	(119)		
Father's socio-economic attainment ^b when R was 16					
20-29 (6)	23.6	40.0	15.8		
30-39 (5)	7.7	10.0	6.7		
40-49 (4)	32.4	21.7	36.7		
50-59 (3)	22.5	21.7	23.3		
60-69 (2)	6.0	0.0	9.2		
70-79 (1)	7.7	6.7	8.3		
Total	100%	100%	100%	18.9**	0.44
N	(182)	(60)	(120)		
Father's educational attainment					
elementary school or less	54.8	75.9	44.3		
high school	28.0	13.8	34.8		
post high school/college	6.3	3.4	7.8		
university	10.9	6.9	13.0		
Total	100%	100%	100%	15.6**	0.41
N	(175)	(58)	(115)		
Mother's educational attainment					
elementary school or less	77.9	91.1	72.7		
high school	13.1	4.4	16.2		
post high school/college	4.8	4.4	5.1		
university	4.1	0.0	6.1		
Total	100%	100%	100%	7.5 ^m	0.31
N	(145)	(45)	(99)		

cont'd...3.4 (a)

TABLE 3.4 (continuation) (a)

Occupation ^a prior to migration if R was working	C _T	C _{ELM}	C _{GLM}	X ²	c/c _{max}
Manual	35.2	46.5	28.1		
Farm	1.9	0.0	3.1		
Service	6.5	11.6	3.1		
Clerical & sales	31.5	32.6	31.3		
Managerial	3.7	4.7	3.1		
Professional & Technical	21.3	4.7	31.3		
Total	100%	100%	100%	15.7**	0.51
N	(108)	(43)	(64)		

a: Occupational groups according to Treiman's (1975) standard International Occupational Prestige Scale. Cases in other occupational categories have been deleted from the present analysis.

b: Socio-economic attainment according to Blishen's (1967) SEI with Blishen's class in parenthesis.

m: $p \leq 0.1$

**: $p \leq 0.01$

***: $p \leq 0.001$

C_T: Chinese male post-war immigrants in Montreal.

C_{ELM}: Chinese male post-war immigrants in Montreal working in the ethnic labor market.

C_{GLM}: Chinese male post-war immigrants in Montreal working in the general labor market.

Implications

It is thus evident that the composition of the labour force in the ethnic labour market is very different from that of the general labour market. Those in the ethnic labour market were not only significantly older, they were more likely to be married, to have been sponsored or nominated to migrate to Canada, to be previously in manual occupations in their country of last permanent residence, to have come from a blue-collar family, to have received less education, and to be less fluent in English, as compared to those in the general labour market. These findings provide an affirmative answer to the first question of segmental differences in the labour force composition.

C. EMPLOYMENT CHARACTERISTICS IN THE TWO SEGMENTS OF THE LABOUR MARKET

Language at work

The second question is that of employment characteristics. Given the disparity in English proficiency in the two groups, one would expect language at work to constitute a distinctive dimension among the segmental differences in employment characteristics. As evident from Table 3.5, 50.0% of the Chinese male post-war immigrants working in the ethnic labour market used mainly Chinese at work, while only 4.7% of those in the general labour market did. Although the data at hand does not provide the necessary information for the examination

TABLE 3.5
LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT WORK

Category	C_T	<u>Population</u>		χ^2	c/c_{\max}
		C_{ELM}	C_{GLM}		
Exclusively/mostly Chinese	20.9	50.0	4.7		
Chinese, English and or French	20.9	38.6	10.9		
Exclusively/mostly English	48.3	8.2	69.0		
Others	10.0	0.0	15.5	103.92***	0.83
Total N	100% (201)	100% (70)	100% (129)		

*** : $p \leq 0.001$

C_T : Chinese male post-war immigrants in Montreal

C_{ELM} : Chinese male post-war immigrants in Montreal working in the ethnic labour market

C_{GLM} : Chinese male post-war immigrants in Montreal working in the general labour market

of the extent to which language ability determines segmental assignment, it does suggest that fluency in the host language(s) is one of such factors.

Kinship Assistance in Job Search

Kinship assistance and informal social networks played a more significant role in job seeking in the ethnic labour market than in the general labour market (Table 3.6). Among those working in the ethnic labour market, 37.3% got their first job in Canada through relatives, 30.5% through Chinese friends, and 8.5% through Chinatown advertisements. The social network played an even more significant role in their current job search. Over half of them (57.4%) got their current job through Chinese friends, 13.0% through relatives, and 7.4% through Chinatown advertisements. None of them made use of any Manpower agencies. In sharp contrast to the experience of these immigrants, half of those working in the general labour market got their first job through newspaper ads and independent search, and 16.1% through Manpower and other recruiting agencies. Only a minority (27.9%) got their first job through Chinese friends, relatives, and Chinatown advertisements. A similar trend was observed in the search for their current job. Almost two-thirds of them (61.5%) got their current job through independent searching and newspaper advertisements, 12.8% through Manpower and other recruiting agencies. None of them made use of Chinatown advertisements.

TABLE 3.6

KINSHIP ASSISTANCE IN JOB SEARCH

	Population			χ^2	c/c _{max}
	C _T	C _{ELM}	C _{GLM}		
Got current job through					
family member/relative	5.2	13.0	1.7		
Chinese friend	27.9	57.4	13.7		
Chinatown advertisement	2.3	7.4	0.0		
independent search/ newspaper advertisement	47.1	16.7	61.5		
Manpower/employment					
agency/campus recruit	8.7	0.0	12.8		
Others	8.7	5.6	10.3		
Total	100%	100%	100%	66.83***	0.75
N	(172)	(54)	(117)		
Was first job in Canada pre- arranged prior to migration?					
Yes	16.4	22.9	13.2		
No	83.6	77.1	86.8		
Total	100%	100%	100%	2.41	0.16
N	(201)	(70)	(129)		
Got first job in Canada through					
family member/relative	16.8	37.3	6.8		
Chinese friend	24.6	30.5	20.3		
Chinatown advertisement	3.4	8.5	0.8		
independent search/ newspaper advertisement	39.7	20.3	50.0		
Manpower/employment					
agency/campus recruit	11.2	1.7	16.1		
Others	4.5	1.7	5.9		
Total	100%	100%	100%	47.48***	0.65
N	(179)	(59)	(118)		

C_T: Chinese male post-war immigrants in Montreal.

C_{ELM}: Chinese male post-war immigrants working in the ethnic labour market in Montreal.

C_{GLM}: Chinese male post-war immigrants working in the general labour market in Montreal.

*** : $p \leq 0.001$

Employment Stability

There is no significant difference in their likelihood to have a pre-arranged job prior to migration to Canada. However, those in the ethnic labour market tended to change their jobs more frequently (Table 3.7). About one-third (31.4%) of those in the ethnic labour market had changed their jobs over four times, as compared to 14.7% of those in the general labour market who did. Slightly more than one-third (36.4%) of those in the general labour market had never changed their job until 1977 whereas only 15.7% of those in the ethnic labour market did.

Type of Occupation

The above observed differences in employment stability were, at least in part, due to the differences in the type of occupations that these two groups were engaged in. As readily noticeable from Table 3.8, participants in the ethnic labour market were:

- i) over-represented in service occupations as the majority of them had participated in restaurant businesses as cooks, cook's helpers, waiters, and restaurant owners;
- ii) under-represented in professional and technical occupations; and
- iii) more likely to manage small firms than big firms.

TABLE 3.7
EMPLOYMENT STABILITY

	Population			χ^2	c/c _{max}
	C _T	C _{ELM}	C _{GLM}		
Years of experience in current job					
0-5	82.1	80.0	82.9		
6 or more	17.9	20.0	17.1		
Total	100%	100%	100%	0.10	0.05
N	(201)	(70)	(129)		
Years of experience in the labour market					
0-10	50.5	30.0	62.5		
11 or more	49.5	70.0	37.5		
Total	100%	100%	100%	17.85***	0.42
N	(200)	(70)	(128)		
No. of times R has changed his job in Canada					
None	28.9	15.7	36.4		
1-3	50.3	52.9	48.8		
4 or more	20.9	31.4	14.7		
Total	100%	100%	100%	12.97**	0.35
N	(201)	(70)	(129)		

** : $p \leq 0.01$
***: $p \leq 0.001$

C_T: Chinese male post war immigrants in Montreal

C_{ELM}: Chinese male post-war immigrants in Montreal working
in the ethnic labor market.

C_{GLM}: Chinese male post-war immigrants in Montreal working
in the general labor market.

TABLE 3.8

CURRENT OCCUPATION^a

	Population		
	C _T	C _{ELM}	C _{GLM}
Manual	10.5	4.3	14.0
Farm	0.0	0.0	0.0
Service			
restaurant owners	4.5	5.7	3.9
cooks, cook's helpers			
and waiters	30.3	67.1	10.1
others	3.0	8.6	0.0
Clerical & sales			
Shopkeepers	2.0	2.9	1.6
Others	6.0	4.3	7.0
Managerial			
Heads of small firms	2.5	5.7	0.8
Dept. managers	2.0	0.0	3.1
Dept. managers in			
large firms	2.0	0.0	3.1
Others	0.5	1.4	0.0
Professional & Technicals			
Engineers	12.9	0.0	20.2
Medical doctors	2.5	0.0	3.1
System Analysts &			
Computer Programmers	7.5	0.0	11.6
Accountants	5.0	0.0	7.8
Others	9.0	0.0	13.9
Total	100%	100%	100%
N	(201)	(70)	(129)

a: Occupational groups according to Treiman's (1975) standard International Occupational Prestige Scale.

C_T: Chinese male post-war immigrants in Montreal.

C_{ELM}: Chinese male post-war immigrants in Montreal working in the ethnic labor market.

C_{GLM}: Chinese male post-war immigrants in Montreal working in the general labor market.

The over-representation of Chinese ethnic workers in the service occupations is not a surprise given the predominance of Chinese businessmen in restaurant business. According to the Chinese Directory of Greater Montreal (1977), there were 141 Chinese restaurants in Montreal in 1977, and they provided the major employment opportunity for those who worked in the ethnic labour market.

In sharp contrast to the experience of these immigrants, those who joined the general labour market were over-represented in professional and technical occupations especially in engineering (20.2%), computer science (11.6%), accounting (7.8%), and medical specializations (3.1%). This phenomenon is consistent with the earlier finding that participants in this segment of the labour market tended to have migrated to Canada as independent immigrants (section B above). Since they had to pass the point system which emphasizes professional skills, they were more likely to enter the general labour market.

Upon arrival, they were predominantly absorbed into the general labour market as professionals. The failure of the ethnic labour market to absorb these professionals may be due to the concentration of Chinese business in the food services (see Chapter I section F). However, the gradual increase in professional services in the ethnic business sector in recent years (see Chapter I section F) is indicative of a potential

for further diversification and more active participation in this segment of the labour market on the part of these professionals.

The self-employed and the employed

Despite the differences in types of occupations, no significant difference was observed between these two groups with respect to employment status (Table 3.9). Self-employment was slightly more frequent in the ethnic labour market, but this difference was not significant at the 0.05 level. Comparison of the employed in the two segments of the labour market, however, showed significant difference in the size of the company or institution they worked in. Almost half of those in the ethnic labour market worked in a company employing less than 16 employees, while half of those in the general labour market worked in a company employing more than 100 employees.

Implications

These findings reveal that Chinese immigrants in the ethnic labour market were more likely to use Chinese at work, made use of kinship assistance and social network in job search, change their jobs more frequently, and work in smaller firms. These segmental differences are indicative of the empirical distinctiveness of the ethnic labour market which

TABLE 3.9

EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND SIZE OF THE FIRM

	Population			χ^2	c/c_{\max}
	C_T	C_{ELM}	C_{GLM}		
Employment status					
employed	91.0	88.6	92.2		
self-employed	9.0	11.4	7.8		
Total	100%	100%	100%	0.37	0.09
N	(201)	(70)	(129)		
If employed, no. of employees in the co./institution					
0-5	7.7	11.6	5.3		
6-10	12.0	23.2	5.3		
11-15	8.2	14.5	4.4		
16-100	39.9	47.8	34.5		
101 or more	32.5	2.9	50.4		
Total	100%	100%	100%	50.59***	0.66
N	(183)	(69)	(113)		
If self-employed, no. of Chinese employees hired in the co./store					
0-5	68.8	62.5	75.0		
6-10	18.8	25.0	12.5		
11-15	12.5	12.5	12.5		
Total	100%	100%	100%	0.42	0.28
N	(16)	(8)	(8)		

***: $p \leq 0.001$ C_T : Chinese male post-war immigrants in Montreal. C_{ELM} : Chinese male post-war immigrants in Montreal working in the ethnic labour market. C_{GLM} : Chinese male post-war immigrants in Montreal working in the general labour market.

has been largely neglected in aggregate studies of labour market experiences of immigrants in Canada.

D. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Our results clearly indicate differential patterns of economic absorption of Chinese immigrants into the ethnic labour market and the general labour market. Among the three classes of immigrants, the sponsored and nominated immigrants were more likely to join the ethnic labour market. Kinship ties and language ability apparently were two of the crucial factors in their segmental assignment. Workers in the ethnic labour market used mainly Chinese at work and were, on the average, fair in their English ability. Also, kinship assistance and informal social network played a more dominant role in their job seeking than those in the general labour market.

There were also significant differences in the composition of the labour force in these two segments of the labour market with reference to age, years of residency in Canada, marital status, social origin and previous occupation in country of last permanent residence. A typical respondent from the ethnic labour market was between the ages of 35 and 44, married, currently holding a service occupation, used Chinese at work, had changed his job a couple of times, had been sponsored to come to Canada before the age of 29, had received kinship assistance or help from friends in job seeking, had a fair

knowledge in English, had completed elementary school, was previously in a manual occupation in the country of last permanent residence, and came from a blue collar family. In sharp contrast to this is the typical respondent from the general labour market who was of the age 25 to 34, currently holding a professional or technical occupation, used English at work, had applied to come to Canada as an independent applicant, had found his job through independent search, was good in English, had some university education, was previously in a white collar occupation prior to migration, and came from a white collar family.

Conclusion

These significant differences in the composition of the labour force and employment characteristics in the two segments of the labour market sustain the empirical distinctiveness of the ethnic labour market from the general labour market for the study of occupational achievements of members of an ethnic group such as the Chinese. These findings are also suggestive of the importance of the socio-historical context for our understanding of segmental assignment of immigrants entering the ethnic and the general labour markets. In the case of the Chinese, independent immigrants are assessed mainly on the basis of education and skill, since the point system went into effect in 1967. As the ethnic business sector mainly

provides employment opportunities in the service sector, the professionals and skilled workers are predominantly absorbed into the general labour market. On the other hand, the sponsored immigrants are more likely to join the ethnic labour market on the basis of language ability. Socialization by other relatives also plays an important part in this process given the high frequency of kinship assistance in job seeking in this segment of the labour market. This opens another interesting line of research: the role of ethnic ties in the process of segmental assignment.

The study of kinship assistance among Chinese immigrants in Chicago by Li (1977: 486) suggests that "job assistance by relatives in many cases is not only being helped by relatives in finding employment, but actually working for relatives." Li (1977: 487) attributes this to the obligation on the part of the sponsored immigrants to repay their relatives for their assistance in migration, and to the lack of other resources such as education. The dilemma, then, is that "the ones who are trapped by it (kinship assistance) are the ones who need it most. Some probably cannot immigrate in the first place without kinship aid", and "the lack of other resources, however does not permit them to sever the exploitative relationship with their kin." Additional research on the dynamics of kinship relationships and the development of the ethnic labour market would help to elucidate the economic success of ethnic enterprises and the dynamics of the ethnic labour market.

CHAPTER FOUR

OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURE AND MOBILITY PROCESSES

The inter-segmental differences in employment characteristics established in the last chapter provide an empirical ground for the speculation that the mobility processes are also very different in these two segments of the labour market. Thus, the following analysis seeks to describe the process of vertical circulation of individuals in the occupational structure as called for by Sorokin (1927: 414). The underlying concern is that the understanding of social stratification in modern society is best promoted by the systematic investigation of occupational status and mobility as

the hierarchy of prestige strata and the hierarchy of economic classes have their roots in the occupational structure; so does the hierarchy of political power and authority, for political authority in modern society is largely exercised as a full time occupation (Blau and Duncan, 1967: 5-7).

In the present case, the following analysis also aims at comparing the opportunity structure in the two segments of the labour market.

A. THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Recent literatures suggest two diverging views about the economic consequences of participation in the ethnic labour market. One view holds that participation in the ethnic segment is a liability. Immigrants are presumably penalized and excluded from serious opportunity for advancement (Wiley, 1968), and exploited by their own national group (Bonacich, 1973). A second view, on the contrary, portrays venture into the ethnic segment as a pro-survival adaptation (Li, 1981) which offers the advantage of a protected market for ethnic tradesmen who know about the things their countrymen want (Light, 1972: 12). Furthermore, immigrant enterprises might manage to create a workable form of vertical integration by developing ethnically sympathetic sources of supply and consumer outlets (Wilson and Portes, 1980: 301), and organizing unorthodox but effective forms of financial institutes for raising capital (Light, 1972).

The proliferation of ethnic enterprises among some immigrant groups-such as the Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and Jews-and the mobility opportunity available in such ventures are well known (Bonacich, Light, and Wong, 1977; Light, 1972; Sung, 1967; Boyd, 1971; Daniels, 1971; Petersen, 1971). So are the long working hours for relatively low pay among immigrants in the ethnic business sector (Bonacich, 1978; Li, 1981).

These contradictory images of success and exploitation, in Wilson and Portes' opinion (1980: 315), are more apparent

than real. The low-wage labour of immigrant workers is

what permits survival and expansion of enclave enterprises which, in turn, open new opportunities for economic advancement. Immigrant entrepreneurs make use of language and cultural barriers and of ethnic affinities to gain privileged access to markets and sources of labour. These conditions might give them an edge over similar peripheral firms in the open economy. The necessary counterpart to these ethnic ties of solidarity is the principle of ethnic preference in hiring and of support of other immigrants in their economic ventures. The economic expansion of an immigrant enclave, combined with the reciprocal obligations attached to a common ethnicity, creates new mobility opportunities for immigrant workers and permits utilization of their past investments in human capital.

In arguing for the transitoriness of initial hardship, Wilson and Portes are optimistic about the eventual breakthrough from exploitation by one's national origin members when the workers open their own enterprise. This provides a plausible reconciliation of Bonacich's (1973) notion of exploitation by one's national group with the second view. Nonetheless, Wiley's (1968: 151) tree metaphor clearly portrays the ethnic career as a liability, a mobility trap, which leads primarily outwards and away from all serious chances of ascent. In his view,

the mobile ethnic can choose the relatively safe and comfortable course of pursuing whatever opportunities exist within the group; or, to the extent that the majority group permits, he can take the more adventuresome and lonely course of leaving the group to climb the trunk.. Once made, the choice may have social and psychological effects which make it irreversible. One who chooses the ethnic career...will become imbedded in a firm network of ethnic relations...from which he can almost never extricate himself.

The classical ethnic trap, then, is the in-group career which is attractive and emotionally rewarding but offers only limited opportunity for upward mobility as compared to that offered in the majority group.

According to Wiley's tree metaphor, the ceiling for advancement is lower than that in the general labour market, and ethnic career as a mobility trap provides less opportunity for the fulfillment of one's aspirations. Thus four hypotheses follow which can be tested on the Montreal Chinese post-war immigrants:

Hypothesis 1: Workers in the ethnic labour market experience a lower rate of upward mobility as compared to those in the general labour market.

Hypothesis 2: Workers in the ethnic labour market exhibit a shorter distance of upward mobility as compared to those in the general labour market.

Hypothesis 3: Workers in the ethnic labour market are less likely to fulfill their occupational aspirations.

Hypothesis 4: Workers in the ethnic labour market exhibit a lower inter-generational mobility rate.

B. METHOD

Measurement of mobility rates

The present data provide information on the occupational achievement of the respondents at various stages of their own career and that of their father. This information enables us to assess the rate and distance of both their inter-generational and intra-generational mobility. However, it is important to note that "the particular numerical results achieved depend heavily upon the method of scaling or classifying occupations... (and) the size of the correlation between father's and son's occupational status can vary substantially depending upon the criteria used to define "occupational status" (Treiman, 1975: 185-6)." For these reasons, "it is imperative that occupations in each population be classified or scaled in comparable ways (Treiman, 1975: 186)." Unfortunately, there is yet little consensus as to how various occupations should be classified. The number of categories and the criteria used for ranking

these categories vary considerably from one scale to another.

As Jones and McDonnell (1977: 438) have highlighted:

Some have relied upon only the coarsest distinctions (e.g. manual/non-manual), on the assumption that there is less likelihood of error in classifying jobs on a cruder than a finer basis... Another approach has been to take measures that are scaleable (e.g. income and education) and combine them in some way (e.g. the average education and average income of people in similar jobs) to derive a score for each occupation, and then use those scores as measures of relative differences in socio-economic status across occupations. But by far the most usual solution has been to use ratings of the social standing of jobs as a means of ranking them according to a generalized notion of 'prestige', or "general desirability."

Each of these schemes has its advantages and limitations. The manual/non-manual distinctions provide a simple intuitive meaning to the comparison. However, as a coarse classification scheme, it can address only coarsely framed questions (Jones and MacDonnell, 1977: 438). Moreover, many skilled workers earn more than lower white collar workers and enjoy a higher prestige (Blau and Duncan, 1967: 27). In this respect, the socio-economic index has the advantage of taking these dimensions into account by computing a combined score based on

education, income and prestige. Blishen's (1967) Occupational class scale, for instance, is one of such indexes based upon the 1961 census of Canada. While this index provides "a useful means of measuring the occupational status mobility of immigrants in Canada", Richmond (1968: 727) has pointed out that,

the Blishen scale of classes had the disadvantage of cutting across the broad occupational distinctions between professional, managerial, clerical, skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled workers that are a familiar feature of such scales as those by the Registrar General in Britain or the Hall-Jones classification of occupational prestige. In the Blishen classes, there is no clear-cut distinction between manual and non-manual workers, which has been shown to be an important boundary in the study of social mobility.

As the boundaries between Blishen's (1967) classes do not convey an intuitive meaning, mobility from one class to another offers only a numerical estimate of the rate and distance of social mobility but provides little description of the types of occupation involved. For our present purpose of comparing the rate and distance of intra-generational mobility in the two segments of the Canadian labour market, Blishen's scale constructed on the basis of the Canadian occupational structure remains a useful means for such measurements. However, our respondents came from a number of countries where the economic structure differed. The adoption of a single classification

system for the fathers' occupations held in different countries and their own occupation in Canada, necessarily presumes the comparability of the occupational structure across different countries and across different periods of time. Hence, a number of difficulties remain with Blishen's (1967) scale for the analysis of inter-generational mobility. An ideal solution, perhaps,

would be to choose an appropriate criterion for scaling occupations -- prestige, or skill, or income, or power, depending upon one's research interests -- and then to devise a separate scale for each society, by explicitly scoring each occupation with respect to the criterion dimension (Treiman, 1975: 191).

A socioeconomic status scale is available for the U.S.A. (Duncan, 1961), Canada (Blishen, 1967), and Great Britain (Goldthorpe and Hope, 1974). However, the lack of such a scale for Hong Kong, China, and Taiwan precludes the feasibility of such a remedial procedure for our analysis. Treiman (1975: 193), is aware of these practical difficulties but argues that,

Fortunately, however, it is possible to take advantage of the substantially invariant nature of occupational prestige hierarchies across time and space (Treiman, 1975b) in order to produce a standardized occupational status scale which assigns the same score to any given occupation in any society, and which at the same time provides a valid estimate of the occupational prestige hierarchy of any given country.

On this basis, Treiman (1975) has developed the Standard International Occupational prestige scale. This scale exhibits an average correlation of 0.89 with local prestige scores of 55 countries. It is thus felt that this scale would best suit the present analysis of inter-generational mobility. As it has the advantage over Blishen's scale in distinguishing broad occupational categories¹, it will also be used in the analysis of intra-generational mobility to discern the movements between different occupational groups.

Some limitations of mobility matrixes

From these inter-generational and intra-generational mobility matrixes, it is possible to assess the rate and distance of mobility experienced by our respondents in the two segments of the labour market. However, it is essential to note that the scope of information available in these matrixes alone is insufficient for the purpose of comparing the opportunity structure in these segments of the labour market for the following reasons.

First, a mobility matrix does not provide the necessary discrimination of the lower mobility rate due to limited opportunity for advancement and that due to lack of qualification,

¹These occupational categories are (1) professional and technical, (2) administrative and managerial, (3) clerical and sales, (4) service, (5) agricultural, animal husbandry, forestry, fishing and hunting, and (6) manual.

motivation or variations in individual choices. Given the significant disparity in educational achievements between respondents in the two segments of the labour market, as illustrated in Chapter III, the question of qualification vs. opportunity is particularly acute in the present analysis.

Second, the utilization of a single classification scheme for occupations in the two segments of the labour market, presupposes that similar occupations bear comparable economic consequences in both segments. This undermines the possibility of segmental differences in monetary returns to one's ability and productivity. Osterman (1975), for instance, has reported that human capital investment explains earning differentials in the 'primary sector' more adequately than in the 'secondary sector'. Beck et al (1978: 713) have estimated that the periphery worker would gain \$1,037.49 annually by being located in the core rather than in the periphery sector.

Third, the choice of a composite measure for occupations poses a fundamental problem of interpretation, if the above specific component-dependent variable relationship holds. Blishen's (1967) SEI scale is empirically and conceptually a multi-dimensional rather than uni-dimensional scheme. Thus, such a composite measure fails to capture the differential significance of education, income, and occupational prestige in the process of stratification. It also obscures

changes over time in the relationship of the components of SES to some dependent variable; for example, income might have been more highly related to various types of attitude and behaviour at early stages of industrialization, whereas education might now be more important (Coburn and Edwards, 1976: 179-80).

Fourth, objective measures of mobility processes provide little insight into the subjective significance of mobility for the participants. As such, the interpretation of these patterns remains ambiguous as to the relative contribution of the opportunity structure and individual choice.

There may have been some sons who did not wish to follow their father's footsteps in a white collar job and some migrants who positively preferred an outdoor job to one in an office, particularly if the decline in status did not necessarily mean a fall in the migrant's standard of living (Richmond, 1968: 740).

This is related, at least in part, to individual preference for cash income and non-pecuniary advantages (Johnson, 1973) on the basis of differential labour-leisure optimization (Schultz, 1965) as well as motivation since "achievement values affect social mobility in that they focus the individual's attention on status improvement and help to shape his behavior so that achievement motivation can be translated into successful action (Rosen, 1959: 54)."

Human capital investment and the opportunity structure

Blau and Duncan (1967: 3) have discussed some of these deficiencies when they pointed out that "investigations (of mobility) have generally not supplied sufficient information on its correlates to make it possible to explain the observed mobility pattern."

In their view, the researcher's preoccupation with the internal analysis of the occupational mobility has highly restricted the fruitfulness of mobility research. Beck et al (1978), on the other hand, argue that this has a deeper theoretical root. These studies rest on an individualistic conception derived from neo-classical economic theories which assume that the opportunity structure remains the same across structural settings. This conception provides the intellectual underpinnings of research which rarely include structural context in the analysis. Like Adam Smith's "invisible hand," as Beck et al (1978: 705) put it,

the competitive structure presumed by the neoclassical theory guarantees that differential placement in the socioeconomic order is accomplished in a manner such that this placement is a reflection of a worker's basic value to the system. From this perspective, ... socioeconomic success or failure is tied directly to the characteristics brought into the market place by the individual workers.

This undermines the possibility of sectorial/segmental differences in monetary returns to one's ability and productivity. As mentioned earlier, both Beck et al (1978) and Osterman (1975), have reported differential monetary returns to human capital investment in the 'primary sector' and in the 'secondary sector'.

These juxtapositions suggest that economic achievement does not only depend on one's qualifications as monetary return to human capital investment depends on the segment of the labour market one participates in. In the case of Cubans in Miami, no such difference, however, was observed between the enclaved economy and the primary sector (Wilson and Portes, 1980). In the case of Chinese in Canada, this remains to be answered.

In an attempt to answer this question, and to provide supplementary information for the interpretation of the patterns of mobility in relation to the relative importance of qualification and opportunity structure, this study will undertake to complement the analysis of mobility processes with a comparative analysis of monetary return to human capital investment in the two segments of the labour market.

Three types of human capital investment will be included in our test model; educational achievement, language ability, and working experience. The study of occupational achievement of post-war immigrants in Montreal by Chiang (1978) suggests

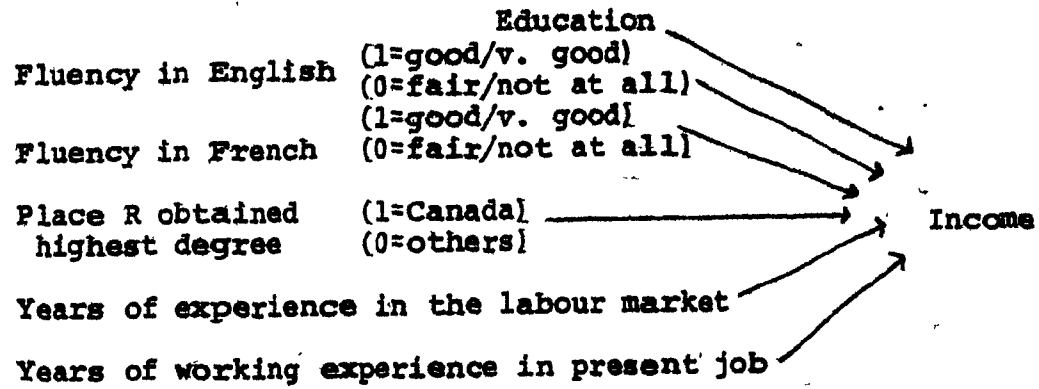
that education in Canada has better pay off in occupational attainment. Thus the location of investment in education will also be included in our test model. Lower monetary return to human capital investment in the ethnic labour market will provide support for Wiley's (1968) thesis of the 'ethnic mobility trap' that success does not only depend on persistent climbing but also on segmental assignment.

Subjective aspects of mobility

In addition to human capital investment, the following analysis will also include subjective aspects of mobility for reasons mentioned above. Although data on individual preference for cash income and non-pecuniary advantages are not available for a thorough analysis of labour-leisure optimization from the point of view of the participants, information is available concerning their occupational aspiration and their subjective evaluation of their socioeconomic position in the community, standard of living, happiness in Canada, job satisfaction, and occupational achievement. Thus, this study will examine these subjective aspects of mobility in the two segments of the labour market.

FIGURE 4.1

MULTIPLE REGRESSION MODEL OF HUMAN CAPITAL INVESTMENT



C. DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

Intra-generational mobility²

Before examining monetary return to human capital investment and subjective aspects of mobility, it is useful to describe first the patterns of mobility to be explained. Table 4.1 and Table 4.2 shows the pattern of intra-generational mobility as measured by Blishen's (1967) social SEI for all respondents. Readily noticeable is the low downward mobility rate when their current occupation at the time of the survey (1977) is compared to their first occupation in Canada.³ While downward mobility was uncommon (3.0%), perpetuation of their entrance status as suggested by Porter (1965: 61-74) was not. The majority of them (68.7%) had no change in their social status since migration to Canada.

These findings suggest a relatively static mobility pattern among Chinese male post-war immigrants in Montreal. The implications of this pattern for these immigrants, however, has to be understood in relation to their former social status prior to migration. As Table 4.1 shows, many of them (43.6%) had assumed an entrance status lower than their

²See Appendix 3 for frequency distribution of respondents' occupation at various stages of their career and Appendix 4 for the mobility matrixes measured in Blishen's SEI.

³First occupation in Canada held over one month is used here instead of first occupation in Canada to exclude purely stop-gap employment from our analysis.

social class attainment in their former country of residence. Only 10% of them had experienced an upward mobility in their first occupation in Canada. Thus perpetuation of their entrance status means that many of them failed to resume their former status achievement. This is clearly revealed in the comparison of their current occupation in Canada (1977) with their last occupation in their former country of residence where almost a third of them had experienced downward mobility. Migration had brought an upward mobility only for a minority (20%).

When respondents from the two segments of the labour market are compared, very little difference is observed in their mobility pattern in Canada. The percentage of downward mobility is almost the same in both cases. The percentage of upward mobility is slightly lower in the ethnic labour market, but the percentage of immobility is slightly higher in this segment of the labour market.

Although these mobility rates do not provide support for hypothesis 1 which predicts a lower mobility rate in the ethnic labour market according to Wiley's (1968) thesis of the ethnic mobility trap, it is necessary to bear in mind the ceiling effect in interpreting these comparisons.

Given the fact that the social class attainment of our respondents from the general labour market is significantly higher than that of those from the ethnic labour market (Appendix 2), the ceiling effect may lead to a more serious underestimation

of the rate of upward mobility in the general labour market. Thus, the actual disparity in the rate of upward mobility between these two segments is probably more intense than the present estimation. Furthermore, it is important to note that, despite the above observed similarities, the mobility rate consequent upon migration is very different in these segments of the labour market. Comparison of their occupations in Canada with their last occupation in their former country of residence (Table 4.1) shows that Chinese male post-war immigrants who joined the ethnic labour market were:

- i) more likely to assume a lower entrance status than their former status prior to migration; and
- ii) less likely to experience upward mobility as a consequence of migration.

It thus follows that the comparable mobility rate since migration does not bear the same significance for the participants in the two segments of the labour market. As those who joined the ethnic labour market experienced a more serious status dislocation in their first occupation in Canada, they were less likely to regain their status even though they enjoyed an upward mobility rate in Canada comparable to those in the general labour market.

Differences in the implications of mobility rates can be further illustrated in the comparison of the distance of upward mobility in the two segments of the labour market as presented

TABLE 4.1

Summary of Mobility Rates (according to Blishen's classes) at Various Stages of Respondent's Career

Mobility		Population	Mobility Rate			Total %	N
From	To		Downward mobility	No mobility	Upward mobility		
First occ. in Canada ^a	Current occ. in Canada	C _T	3.0	68.7	28.4	100	201
		C _{ELM}	4.3	71.4	24.3	100	70
		C _{GLM}	2.3	66.7	31.0	100	129
Last occ. in HK/China, etc.	First occ. in Canada ^a	C _T	43.6	46.4	10.0	100	110
		C _{ELM}	53.5	44.2	2.3	100	43
		C _{GLM}	37.9	47.0	15.2	100	66
Last occ. in HK/China, etc.	Current occ. in Canada	C _T	31.8	48.2	20.0	100	110
		C _{ELM}	41.9	48.8	9.3	100	43
		C _{GLM}	25.8	47.0	27.3	100	66

a: First occupation in Canada held more than one month.

C_T: All respondents.C_{ELM}: Respondents working in the ethnic labour market.C_{GLM}: Respondents working in the general labour market.

in Table 4.2. Respondents in the general labour market are among the ones who travelled for the longest distance. Comparison of their first occupation in Canada with their last occupation in their former country of residence shows that the highest upward movement was 40 Blishen points in the general labour market, as compared to 10 points in the ethnic labour market. By 1977, the highest upward movement consequent upon migration was 40 Blishen points in the general labour market, as compared to 30 points in the ethnic labour market. It is noteworthy that the distance of upward mobility is also greater in the general labour market when their current occupation in Canada is compared with their first occupation in Canada. No upwardly mobile respondent in the ethnic labour market travelled for more than 30 Blishen points, while one-tenth of the upwardly mobile in the general labour market did.

In order to appreciate the implications of the distance of upward movement measured in Blishen's (1967) SEI score, it is useful to consider some examples of movements equivalent to 10 Blishen points. A hunter (25.36) who became a steward (35.32); a steward who became a foreman in paper and allied industries (45.36); a foreman who became an advertising salesman (55.37); an advertising salesman who became an owner in primary metal industries (65.29); or an owner in primary metal industries who became a lawyer (75.41) all gained 10 Blishen points.

TABLE 4.2

DISTANCE OF UPWARD MOBILITY (ACCORDING TO BLISHEN'S SEI SCORE)^a AT VARIOUS STAGES OF RESPONDENT'S CAREER

Mobility		Population	Distance of upward mobility					N
From	To		10	20	30	40	50	
First occ. in Canada ^b	Current occ. in Canada	C _T	20	18	15	3	1	57
		C _{ELM}	8	3	6	0	0	17
		C _{GLM}	12	15	9	3	1	40
Last occ. in HK/China, etc.	First occ. ^b in Canada	C _T	4	5	0	2	0	11
		C _{ELM}	1	0	0	0	0	1
		C _{GLM}	3	5	0	2	0	10
Last occ. in HK/China, etc.	Current occ. in Canada	C _T	6	10	4	2	0	22
		C _{ELM}	2	1	1	0	0	4
		C _{GLM}	4	9	3	2	0	18

a: 10 Blishen points is equivalent to one Blishen's class.

b: First occupation in Canada held more than one month.

C_T: All respondents.C_{ELM}: Respondents working in the ethnic labour market.C_{GLM}: Respondents working in the general labour market.

From these examples, it is conceivable that a difference of 30 Blishen points in the range of upward mobility upon arrival, 10 Blishen points consequent upon migration, and 10 Blishen points since migration represent significant differences in the ceiling for advancement for the participants in the two segments of the labour market.

At this point, another question of interest is the type of occupations involved in these movements. It is important to remember that movements between many types of occupation may constitute the same measurement in Blishen points. As such, Blishen's (1967) scale lacks the type of occupational distinction for describing the pattern of mobility among occupational groups. In order to attend to these qualitative aspects of mobility, the above mobility matrixes are re-constructed according to occupational groups based on Treiman's Standard International Prestige scale.

These reconstructed matrixes are presented in Tables 4.3 to 4.5. According to Table 4.3, these immigrants came predominantly from manual (35.2%), clerical and sales (31.5%), and professional and technical (21.3%) occupations; but only those with professional/technical or service employment background were likely to enter similar occupations upon arriving in Canada. Those who had experiences in other occupations were predominantly absorbed into service occupations in Canada.

TABLE 4.3

FIRST OCCUPATION^a IN CANADA BY LAST OCCUPATION IN COUNTRY OF LAST
PERMANENT RESIDENT (HK/CHINA, ETC.) FOR SELECTED
POPULATIONS

Population	Last occ. ^b in HK/China, etc.	First Occupation in Canada ^c						Total	N	Tau _b	R
		Manual	Farm	Service	Clerical & Sales	Managerial	Professional & Technical				
C _T	Manual	23.7	0.0	68.4	0.0	0.0	7.9	100%	(38)		
	Farm	50.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100%	(2)		
	Service	0.0	0.0	85.7	14.31	0.0	0.0	100%	(7)		
	Clerical & Sales	14.7	0.0	44.1	23.5	2.9	14.7	100%	(34)		
	Managerial	0.0	0.0	75.0	0.0	25.0	0.0	100%	(4)		
	Prof. & Tech.	0.0	0.0	13.0	8.7	4.4	73.9	100%	(23)	0.51†	0.57†
	Total	13.9	0.0	50.0	10.2	2.8	23.1	100%	(108)		
C _{ELM}	Manual	10.0	0.0	90.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100%	(20)		
	Farm	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0%	(0)		
	Service	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100%	(5)		
	Clerical & Sales	14.3	0.0	78.6	7.1	0.0	0.0	100%	(14)		
	Managerial	0.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	100%	(2)		
	Prof. & Tech.	0.0	0.0	50.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	100%	(2)	0.23*	0.27*
	Total	9.3	0.0	83.7	4.7	2.3	0.0	100%	(43)		
C _{GLM}	Manual	38.9	0.0	44.4	0.0	0.0	16.7	100%	(18)		
	Farm	50.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100%	(2)		
	Service	0.0	0.0	50.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	100%	(2)		
	Clerical & Sales	15.0	0.0	20.0	35.0	5.0	25.0	100%	(20)		
	Managerial	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100%	(2)		
	Prof. & Tech.	0.0	0.0	10.0	5.0	5.0	80.0	100%	(20)	0.54†	0.60†
	Total	17.2	0.0	28.1	14.1	3.1	37.5	100%	(64)		

a: The occupational groups according to Treiman's (1975) Standard International Prestige Scale.

b: Two cases in other occupational groups have been deleted from the present analysis.

c: First occupation in Canada held over one month.

*: $p < 0.05$ C_T : All respondents.

†: $p < 0.001$ C_{ELM} : Respondents working in the ethnic labour market.

C_{GLM} : Respondents working in the general labour market.

A similar trend is observed in both segments of the labour market except that:

- (i) there is a higher tendency for those who joined the ethnic labour market to be in the service sector; and
- (ii) those who previously held professional/technical occupations were likely to enter similar occupations only in the general labour market, but those who joined the ethnic labour market were employed either in the service sector or took up a clerical and sales position (Table 4.3).

These help to explain the differences in the implications of upward and downward mobility in the two segments of the labour market. In the ethnic labour market, upward mobility involved only movements from manual occupations to service occupations; while downward mobility involved mainly movements from white collar occupations to service occupations. However, in the general labour market, upward mobility involved a more diversified pattern with quite a few cases of movement from service occupations to clerical and sales occupations as well as manual and lower white collar occupations to managerial and professional occupations.

By the time of the survey in 1977, much of these patterns of occupational distribution prevailed (Table 4.4). This is not surprising since most immigrants exhibited a relatively static mobility pattern in Canada. The initial tendency

for those in professional/technical positions and service occupations in their former country of residence to continue their trade upon arrival, helps to account for their over-representation in these two occupational groups in 1977.

It is noteworthy, however, that only a minority experienced downward mobility in Canada. This mainly involved movements from white collar occupations to manual occupations and from professional/technical occupations to managerial occupations. For those who experienced upward mobility, Table 4.4 reveals that there are considerable differences between the two segments. The general upward mobility pattern in the ethnic labour market involves movements out of manual and service occupations into lower white collar occupations. More extensive movements were observed in the general labour market, such as movements out of manual and service occupations into professional and technical occupations. Other differences include the following:

- (i) those who started off their first occupation in Canada in the service sector were more likely to be upwardly mobile in the general labour market, while almost all of those in the ethnic labour market remained in their entrance status; and
- (ii) those who started off in manual occupations upon arrival were more likely to remain in similar occupations in the general labour market, while half of those in the ethnic labour market moved into the service sector by 1977.

TABLE 4.4

CURRENT OCCUPATION^a IN CANADA BY FIRST OCCUPATION IN CANADA
FOR SELECTED POPULATIONS

Selected Population	First Occupation in Canada ^b	Current occupation in Canada (1977)						Total	N	Tau _b	R
		Manual	Farm	Service	Clerical & Sales	Managerial	Professional & Technical				
C _{ELM}	Manual	28.6	0.0	42.9	14.3	14.3	0.0	100%	(7)		
	Farm	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100%	(0)		
	Service	1.7	0.0	93.1	1.7	3.4	0.0	100%	(58)		
	Clerical & Sales	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100%	(3)		
	Managerial	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100%	(2)		
	Prof. & Tech.	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100%	(0)	0.41**	0.44†
	Total	4.3	0.0	81.4	7.1	7.1	0.0	100%	(70)		
C _{GLM}	Manual	70.6	0.0	11.8	0.0	11.8	5.9	100%	(17)		
	Farm	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0%	(0)		
	Service	15.2	0.0	48.5	6.1	3.0	27.3	100%	(33)		
	Clerical & Sales	6.3	0.0	0.0	56.3	0.0	37.5	100%	(16)		
	Managerial	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100%	(2)		
	Prof. & Tech.	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.6	93.4	100%	(61)	0.71†	0.77†
	Total	14.0	0.0	14.0	8.5	7.0	56.6	100%	(129)		

a: Occupational groups according to Treiman's (1975) Standard International Occupational Prestige Scale.

b: First occupation in Canada held over more than one month.

†: $p < 0.001$

** : $p < 0.01$

C_T: All respondents.

C_{ELM}: Respondents working in the ethnic labour market.

C_{GLM}: Respondents working in the general labour market.

The significance of these differential patterns is clearly revealed from the comparison of their current occupation in Canada and their last occupation in their former country of residence (Table 4.5). Many of those who joined the ethnic labour market never regained their former occupational achievement. The most extensive movement, which involves only a few cases, is from manual occupations into clerical and sales occupations. In sharp contrast is the positive economic consequence of migration enjoyed by those in the general labour market. According to Table 4.5,

- (i) only a minority experienced downward mobility as a consequence of migration mainly from white collar work into manual or service occupations; and
- (ii) upward mobility from manual occupations into professional/technical occupations and from clerical/sales occupations into professional/technical occupations was observed for quite a number of cases (12 out of 64 cases).

These differences clearly substantiate differential mobility processes in the two segments of the labour market as portrayed by Wiley (1968) where ethnic career resembles a limb leading primarily outwards away from all serious chances of ascent. The shorter distance of upward mobility since migration in the ethnic labour market provides direct support for hypothesis 2 in accordance with Wiley's (1968) thesis of the ethnic mobility trap. Comparison of the mobility rates since migration,

TABLE 4.5

CURRENT OCCUPATION^a IN CANADA BY LAST OCCUPATION IN COUNTRY OF SELECTED
PERMANENT RESIDENCE (HK/CHINA, ETC.) FOR SELECTED
POPULATIONS

Selected Population	Last occ. ^b in HK/China, etc.	Manual	Farm	Service	Clerical & Sales	Managerial	Professional & Technical	Total	N	Tau _b	R
C _{ELM}	Manual	5.0	0.0	90.0	5.0	0.0	0.0	100%	(20)		
	Farm	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0%	(0)		
	Service	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100%	(5)		
	Clerical & Sales	7.1	0.0	78.6	14.3	0.0	0.0	100%	(14)		
	Managerial	0.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	100%	(2)		
	Prof. & Tech.	50.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	100%	(2)	0.14	0.16
	Total	7.0	0.0	81.4	9.3	2.3	0.0	100%	(43)		
C _{GLM}	Manual	50.0	0.0	22.2	0.0	5.6	22.2	100%	(18)		
	Farm	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100%	(2)		
	Service	0.0	0.0	50.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	100%	(2)		
	Clerical & Sales	10.0	0.0	10.0	35.0	5.0	40.0	100%	(20)		
	Managerial	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100%	(2)		
	Prof. & Tech.	0.0	0.0	5.0	5.0	10.0	80.0	100%	(20)	0.51†	0.60†
	Total	17.2	0.0	18.8	14.1	6.3	43.8	100%	(64)		

a: Occupational groups according to Treiman's (1975) Standard International Occupational Prestige Scale.

b: Two cases in other categories have been deleted from the present analysis.

†: $p \leq 0.001$

C_T: All respondents.

C_{ELM}: Respondents working in the ethnic labour market.

C_{GLM}: Respondents working in the general labour market.

however, shows very little difference between the two segments of the labour market. Although this does not sustain hypothesis 1 which predicts a higher upward mobility rate in the general labour market, it is important to note that these rates do not bear the same implications for both groups. As pointed out earlier, participants in the ethnic labour market experienced a more profound status dislocation upon arrival. As such, a comparable upward mobility rate from their first occupation to their current occupation was insufficient to compensate for their higher downward mobility rate upon arrival. Consequently, they exhibit a much lower upward mobility rate when their current occupation is compared to their last occupation in their former country of residence. It is in this context that our findings provide support for hypothesis 1 in accordance with Wiley's (1968) thesis of the ethnic mobility trap. Of course it is necessary to remember that the mobility matrix provides only assessment of the rates and distance of mobility. It does not provide information for the explanation of mobility patterns. Also the assumption of equal ease and significance in moving upward or downward at all levels of the scale obscures the differences in economic returns for mobility at different levels of the occupational structure. For these reasons, further discussion on the implications of the above findings will be resumed after social origin, human capital variables and occupational aspiration are examined.

Inter-generational mobility

One of the means of assessing the influence of social origin on one's career is the construction of inter-generational mobility matrix which compares the current occupation of the respondents and their father's occupation. As this section is concerned with the effect of social origin on an individual's career, the father's occupation when the son was sixteen years old is used instead of the father's present occupation.

Table 4.6 shows our findings on the outflow pattern from the father's occupation as measured by Treiman's (1975) Standard International Prestige Scale. According to this table, occupational inheritance is more common among those whose fathers were in the professional and service sectors. Among the downwardly mobile ones, this matrix reveals that:

- (i) sons of professional and technical workers were most vulnerable to downward mobility, and they exhibited a more diversified pattern of downward mobility; and
- (ii) sons of other social origins were predominantly absorbed into manual and service occupations.

This contrasts with the experience of the upwardly mobile respondents where considerable differences were observed between the sons of various social origins. As this matrix reveals:

- (i) sons of non-manual workers were more likely to take up professional occupations than sons of manual and farm workers;
- (ii) sons of manual and farm workers were predominantly absorbed into service occupations; and
- (iii) sons of service workers exhibited more substantial upward movements as compared to sons of other social origins. About one-third of them moved out of their ascribed status into professional and technical occupations.

Since Chinese male post-war immigrants in the general labour market were over-represented in professional and technical occupations, it is not surprising to find a higher outflow rate from the father's occupation in this segment. The general pattern of these upward movements differs from that in the ethnic labour market in the following ways:

- (i) sons of manual workers in the general labour market mainly entered professional and technical occupations, but those in the ethnic labour market mainly entered service occupations;
- (ii) most sons of service workers in the general labour market entered professional and technical occupations but those in the ethnic labour market became managers; and
- (iii) while occupational inheritance was observed for sons of managers in the ethnic labour market, a high outflow into professional and technical occupations was found in the general labour market (Table 4.6).

TABLE 4.6

CURRENT OCCUPATION^a IN CANADA BY FATHER'S OCCUPATION (WHEN R WAS 16)
FOR SELECTED POPULATIONS

Selected Population	Father's occ. ^b (when R was 16)	Current Occupation in Canada						Total	N	Tau _b	R
		Manual	Farm	Service	Clerical & Sales	Managerial	Professional & Technical				
C _T	Manual	21.7	0.0	52.2	4.3	4.3	17.4	100%	(23)		
	Farm	7.7	0.0	84.6	0.0	0.0	7.7	100%	(13)		
	Service	5.7	0.0	48.6	2.9	8.6	34.3	100%	(35)		
	Clerical & Sales	10.4	0.0	31.3	14.9	6.0	37.3	100%	(67)		
	Managerial	0.0	0.0	12.5	0.0	12.5	75.0	100%	(16)		
	Prof. & Tech.	14.8	0.0	7.4	14.8	11.1	51.9	100%	(27)	0.28†	0.33†
	Total	10.5	0.0	35.9	8.8	7.2	37.6	100%	(181)		
C _{ELM}	Manual	0.0	0.0	84.6	7.7	7.7	0.0	100%	(13)		
	Farm	11.1	0.0	88.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	100%	(9)		
	Service	0.0	0.0	87.5	0.0	12.5	0.0	100%	(16)		
	Clerical & Sales	6.3	0.0	81.3	6.3	6.3	0.0	100%	(16)		
	Managerial	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100%	(1)		
	Prof. & Tech.	20.0	0.0	20.0	60.0	0.0	0.0	100%	(5)	0.11	0.14
	Total	5.0	0.0	78.3	8.3	8.3	0.0	100%	(60)		
C _{GLM}	Manual	50.0	0.0	10.0	0.0	0.0	40.0	100%	(10)		
	Farm	0.0	0.0	75.0	0.0	0.0	25.0	100%	(4)		
	Service	10.5	0.0	15.8	5.3	5.3	63.2	100%	(19)		
	Clerical & Sales	12.0	0.0	14.0	18.0	6.0	50.0	100%	(50)		
	Managerial	0.0	0.0	14.3	0.0	7.1	78.6	100%	(14)		
	Prof. & Tech.	13.6	0.0	4.5	4.5	13.6	63.6	100%	(22)	0.17*	0.24**
	Total	13.4	0.0	14.3	9.2	6.7	56.3	100%	(119)		

a: Occupational groups according to Treiman's (1975) Standard International Prestige Scale.

b: One case in other occupational category has been deleted from the present analysis.

*: $p < 0.05$ **: $p < 0.01$ †: $p < 0.001$ C_T: All respondents. C_{GLM}: Respondents working in the general labour market.C_{ELM}: Respondents working in the ethnic labour market.

It is thus evident that those who moved out of their father's occupations and into professional and technical occupations were mainly employed in the general labour market, while those who entered the service sector were more likely to join the ethnic labour market.

These patterns are, at least in part, related to the particularity of the ethnic labour market for Chinese in Montreal at the time of the survey (1977). In 1977, Chinese restaurants constituted the major Chinese ethnic business sector in Montreal. However, a general increase in the number of professional services such as physicians, lawyers, accountants, and engineers was observed in the past decade. This suggests the potential for more professionals to work in the ethnic labour market. Until this happens, Chinese immigrants in the ethnic labour market exhibit a lower outflow rate from their father's occupation as those who are the upwardly mobile are more likely to seek employment in the general labour market. These findings are consistent with the prediction of hypothesis 3 in accordance with Wiley's (1968) thesis that participants in the ethnic labour market experience a lower outflow rate from their ascribed status.

Human capital investment and income

Further evidence in support of segmental differences in opportunity structure is provided by the differential monetary

return to education and some fundamental differences in earning determination in the two segments of the labour market (Table 4.7).

For these analyses, a human capital investment model which includes education, language ability, working experience and location of investment in education is used. Education is measured in the number of years of formal schooling completed; working experience measured in the number of years of experience in the present job and the number of years in the labour market; English and French ability measured by subjective report in terms of 'not at all', 'fair', 'good', and 'very good' but recoded into 'not at all or fair' and 'good or very good'; location of investment in education measured by where the respondent obtained his highest degree and recoded into two categories: 'Canada' and 'elsewhere', while income is measured as an interval variable running from 'less than 5,000' to '25,000 and more' at five thousand dollars intervals. Education, years of experience in current occupation, and years of experience in the labour market are entered into the equation as continuous variables. English ability, French ability, and the location of investment in education are entered into the equation as dummy variables. Means and standard deviations of these variables are presented in Appendix 5.

The regression⁴ of income on these six independent variables (Table 4.7) reveals that education is the only independent variable among the six entered into the regression equation which has a significant effect on income at 0.05 level in both segments of the labour market. The effects of fluency in English, years of experience in the labour market, and years of working experience in the present job on income are significant at the 0.05 level only in the general labour market although the other two variables, fluency in French and whether the respondent has obtained his highest degree in Canada, have no statistically significant effect on income in both segments of the labour market.

Since fluency in French and the location of the investment in education turn out to have no significant effect on income in both segments of the labour market, a condensed human capital investment test model including only education, fluency in English, years of experience in the labour market, and years of working experience in present job is analyzed. In this condensed model, English ability has a positive effect on income in both segments of the labour market which is statistically significant at the 0.05 level. The magnitude of

⁴Age and sex are two important determinants of earnings. In the present sample, all respondents are male of age 25 to 44. The effect of age on income has been checked by regression analysis and found to be not significant at 0.05 level. Therefore, age and sex are not controlled for in this regression analysis.

monetary return to being 'good' in English as compared to being 'fair' or not at all' is comparable in both segments of the labour market. However, working experience in terms of years of experience in the present job and years of experience in the labour market have significant positive effects on income in the general labour market but not in the ethnic labour market. In this way, the ethnic labour market resembles the secondary sector⁵ identified by Piore (1973) which offers mainly dead-end-jobs with little on-the-job training, little chance of advancement, and low pay. The earlier finding (Chapter III, section C) of higher frequency in job changes among respondents in this segment of the labour market constitutes another similarity to Piore's portrayal (1975) of the secondary sector as characterized by high turnover and considerable employment instability.

Differences in monetary return to education are also observed. A comparison of the raw regression coefficients

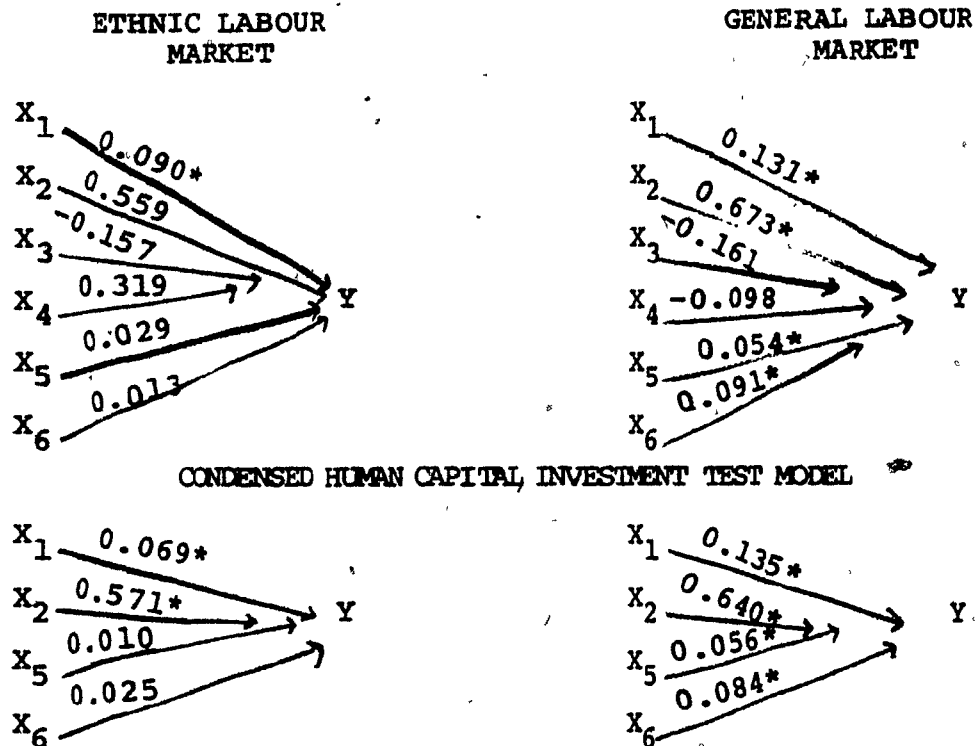
⁵Piore (1973: 126) identifies two segments in the labour market: the primary sector and the secondary sector. "The former offers jobs with relatively high wages, good working conditions, chances of advancement, equity and due process in the administration of work rules, and above all, employment stability. Jobs in the secondary sector, by contrast, tend to be low paying, with poorer working conditions and little chance of advancement, to have a highly personalized relationship between workers and supervisors which leaves wide latitude for favourism and is conducive to harsh and capricious work discipline; and to be characterized by considerable instability in jobs and a high turnover among the labour force."

(Table 4.7) for years of schooling in the two segments of the labour market clearly shows that return in income for each year of schooling completed is almost double in the general labour market (0.135 in the general labour market as compared to 0.069 for the ethnic labour market). This result lends clear support to Wiley's portrayal of the ethnic labour market as a limb offering less opportunity for advancement as compared to the trunk.

In summary, these results reinforce the earlier findings on mobility patterns in support of a segmental model for the analysis of processes of socio-economic attainment of members of an ethnic group. In particular, our findings indicate differential monetary returns to education in the two segments of the labour market. Workers in the general labour market earn almost twice as much as those in the ethnic labour market for each year of schooling completed. In addition, there are fundamental differences in earning determinations in these two segments of the labour market. Besides qualification on the basis of education, working experience proves to be important in the general labour market but not in the ethnic labour market. This confirms the idea that opportunity for advancement is endogeneous to one's segmental assignment. A career in the general labour market provides working experience which further enhances one's opportunity for advancement, while a career in the ethnic labour market provides working

FIGURE 4.2

PATH REGRESSIONS FOR THE HUMAN
CAPITAL INVESTMENT TEST MODEL



Y = Income
X1 = Education
X2 = Fluency in English
X3 = Fluency in French
X4 = Place R obtained his highest degree
X5 = Years of experience in the labour market
X6 = Years of working experience in present job
* = $p \leq 0.05$ (one-tailed test)

TABLE 4.7

PARTIAL REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS AND COEFFICIENTS OF DETERMINATIONS
FOR THE CONDENSED HUMAN CAPITAL
INVESTMENT MODEL

Dep. Var.	Indep. Var.	Std. Coef.		Std. Coef.		Intercept		R ²		N	
		C _{ELM}	C _{GLM}	C _{ELM}	C _{GLM}	C _{ELM}	C _{GLM}	C _{ELM}	C _{GLM}	C _{ELM}	C _{GLM}
Y	X ₁	0.069*	0.135*	0.312	0.460						
	X ₂	0.571*	0.640*	0.232	0.260						
	X ₅	0.010	0.056*	0.098	0.363						
	X ₆	0.025	0.084*	0.123	0.237						
						1.427	0.164	0.183	0.405	63	115

Y : Income

X₁: EducationX₂: Fluency in EnglishX₅: Years of experience in the labour marketX₆: Years of working experience in present job

* : P ≤ 0.05 (one-tailed test)

C_{ELM}: Respondents working in the ethnic labour market.C_{GLM}: Respondents working in the general labour market.

TABLE 4.8.

ZERO-ORDER CORRELATIONS OF VARIABLES IN THE CONDENSED HUMAN CAPITAL INVESTMENT TEST MODEL

Variable		X ₁	X ₂	X ₅	X ₆	Y
Education	X ₁		0.47	-0.57	-0.03	0.36
Fluency in English	X ₂	0.53		-0.43	-0.16	0.31
Yrs.of exp. in labour market	X ₅	-0.52	-0.43		0.28	-0.15
Yrs.of exp. in present job	X ₆	-0.07	-0.05	0.50		0.10
Income	Y	0.39	0.34	0.13	0.37	

Note: Coefficients above the diagonal are for the C_{ELM} sample. Coefficients below the diagonal are for the C_{GLM} sample.

C_{ELM}: Respondents working in the ethnic labour market.

C_{GLM}: Respondents working in the general labour market.

experience which has no significant effect on income. These differences lend clear support to Wiley's portrayal of the ethnic career as a mobility trap.

Subjective aspects of mobility

Having established the above objective differences in mobility patterns and monetary returns to human capital investments in the two segments of the labour market, it is interesting to examine some subjective aspects of mobility at this point. Tables 4.9 and 4.10 compare the subjective evaluation of one's social position in the society, standard of living, happiness in Canada, job satisfaction, and occupational achievement by respondents in the two segments of the labour market.

Generally speaking, respondents in both segments of the labour market were happy and satisfied with life in Canada, and have experienced an improvement in their standard of living as a result of migration. With reference to their socio-economic position in Canada, very few reported a decline in social position as a result of migration, but most of them viewed their family economic position as average in comparison to other Canadian families; and only 27.4% of them felt that they were successful in their career in Canada.

However, it is noteworthy that respondents in the general labour market were more likely to report being happy in

TABLE 4.9

RESPONDENT'S SELF-PERCEPTION OF HIS SOCIO-ECONOMIC POSITION IN CANADA

	Population			χ^2	c/c _{max}
C _T	C _{ELM}	C _{GLM}			
Social position in Canada as compared to that prior to migration to Canada					
Lower	25.6	22.2	27.6	1.38	0.13
Same	36.9	42.6	33.3		
Higher	<u>37.5</u>	<u>35.2</u>	<u>39.0</u>		
Total	100%	100%	100%		
N	(160)	(54)	(105)		
Standard of living in Canada as compared to that prior to migration to Canada					
Worse	12.7	11.3	13.6	0.25	0.05
Little/no difference	14.9	16.1	14.4		
Better	<u>72.4</u>	<u>72.6</u>	<u>72.0</u>		
Total	100%	100%	100%		
N	(181)	(62)	(118)		
Family economic position in Canada as compared to other families in Canada					
Low	14.0	18.8	11.7	20.14***	0.44
Average	69.4	81.3	62.5		
High	<u>16.7</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>25.8</u>		
Total	100%	100%	100%		
N	(186)	(64)	(120)		
Career achievement in Canada					
Unsuccessful	24.3	39.1	15.7	20.05***	0.43
Average	48.2	49.3	48.0		
Successful	<u>27.4</u>	<u>11.6</u>	<u>36.2</u>		
Total	100%	100%	100%		
N	(197)	(69)	(127)		

***: $p \leq 0.001$ C_T : All respondents.C_{ELM} : Respondents working in the ethnic labour market.C_{GLM} : Respondents working in the general labour market.

TABLE 4.10

LIFE SATISFACTION IN
CANADA

	C_T	Population		X^2	C/Cmax
		C_{ELM}	C_{GLM}		
Happiness in Canada (general)					
Unhappy	6.5	8.6	4.7		
In Between	23.9	34.3	18.6		
Happy /V Happy	69.6	57.1	76.7		
Total	100%	100%	100%	8.28*	0.28
N	(201)	(70)	(129)		
Satisfaction with life in Canada					
Dissatisfied	5.5	8.6	3.9		
In Between	17.9	22.9	14.7		
Satisfied	76.6	68.6	81.4		
Total	100%	100%	100%	4.49	0.21
N	(201)	(70)	(129)		
Job Satisfaction					
Dissatisfied	7.5	10.0	6.2		
In Between	24.9	37.1	17.8		
Satisfied	67.6	52.9	76.0		
Total	100%	100%	100%	11.32**	0.33
N	(201)	(70)	(129)		
Is current job the type of job R wanted					
Not at all	4.5	7.2	3.1		
Not exactly	15.5	21.7	12.4		
Yes, more or less	43.5	46.4	41.9		
Yes, exactly	36.5	24.6	42.6		
Total	100%	100%	100%	8.42*	0.29
N	(201)	(69)	(129)		

 C_T : All respondents. C_{ELM} : Respondents working in the ethnic labour market. C_{GLM} : Respondents working in the general labour market.* : $p < 0.05$ ** : $p < 0.01$

Canada, to view their family economic position as higher than other families in Canada, to evaluate their career as successful, to be satisfied with their job, and to have an occupation that was exactly what they wanted. These differences between respondents in the two segments of the labour market were all statistically significant at 0.05 level.

It is thus not surprising that the comparison of their current occupational achievement with their occupational aspiration⁶ indicates a higher proportion of respondents in the general labour market who had fulfilled their occupational aspiration or surpassed it. According to Table 4.11, 65.1% of respondents from the general labour market had attained or surpassed what they regarded as an ideal occupation as opposed to 45.2% who did in the ethnic labour market. In the general labour market, these were mainly people in professional, technical, managerial, and service occupations. Those holding clerical and sales position were least likely (11.1%) to have attained their aspiration followed by those holding manual occupations (35.7%). In the ethnic labour market, the contrast between different occupational groups was less prevalent. Although workers in the service sector were most likely to have fulfilled their aspirations (70%), a considerable percentage from other occupational groups also did (Table 4.12).

⁶Measurements of occupational aspiration are based on responses to the question "what would be the ideal occupation you would want to get?"

In interpreting these results, it is essential to note that the occupational aspiration of these two groups was significantly different. About two-thirds of the respondents from the ethnic labour market (61.3%) aspired to service occupations which was the predominant employment available in the ethnic labour market. Only 11.3% of them aspired to professional or technical occupations. On the contrary, respondents from the general labour market were predominantly in favour of white collar occupations (80.3%) especially managerial (20.8%) and professional (53.8%) occupations (Table 4.13). Thus, our earlier findings show that respondents from the general labour market were more likely to have an occupation that was exactly what they wanted, and, at the same time, more likely to view their family economic position as higher than other families in Canada. The general improvement in standard of living as a result of migration probably explains the similar evaluation of one's social position in Canada in both groups despite substantive differences in their likelihood in fulfilling their occupational aspirations.

Is an ethnic career a mobility trap from the point of view of the participant? So far as job satisfaction, general happiness in Canada, and likelihood to attain one's occupational aspiration are concerned, respondents in the ethnic labour market were less likely to evaluate their situation favourably. These results are consistent with the idea of the

TABLE 4.11

COMPARISON OF CURRENT OCCUPATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT AND OCCUPATIONAL
ASPIRATION FOR SELECTED POPULATIONS
(ACCORDING TO BLISHEN'S SEI CLASS)

Current occupational achievement	Population		
	C_T	C_{ELM}	C_{GLM}
Lower than occupational aspiration	41.8	54.8	34.9
Same as occupational aspiration	53.5	43.6	58.5
Higher than occupational aspiration	4.7	1.6	6.6
Total	100%	100%	100%
N	(170)	(62)	(106)

C_T : All respondents.

C_{ELM} : Respondents working in the ethnic labour market.

C_{GLM} : Respondents working in the general labour market.

TABLE 4.12

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION BY CURRENT OCCUPATION^a IN CANADA
FOR SELECTED POPULATIONS

Selected Population	Current Occupation	Occupational Aspiration						Total	N	Tau _b	R
		Manual	Farm	Service	Clerical & Sales	Managerial	Professional & Technical				
C _{ELM}	Manual	50.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100%	(2)		
	Farm	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0%	(0)		
	Service	6.0	0.0	70.0	8.0	6.0	10.0	100%	(50)		
	Clerical & Sales	0.0	0.0	20.0	40.0	20.0	20.0	100%	(5)		
	Managerial	20.0	0.0	20.0	0.0	40.0	20.0	100%	(5)		
	Prof. & Tech.	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0%	(0)	0.31**	0.32**
	Total	8.1	0.0	61.3	38.1	9.7	11.3	100%	(62)		
C _{GLM}	Manual	35.7	0.0	0.0	7.1	28.6	28.6	100%	(14)		
	Farm	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0%	(0)		
	Service	13.3	0.0	73.3	13.3	13.3	0.0	100%	(15)		
	Clerical & Sales	0.0	0.0	22.2	11.1	22.2	44.4	100%	(9)		
	Managerial	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	85.7	14.3	100%	(7)		
	Prof. & Tech.	0.0	1.6	0.0	4.9	14.8	78.7	100%	(61)	0.57†	0.62†
	Total	6.6	0.9	12.3	5.7	20.8	53.8	100%	(106)		

a: Occupational groups according to Treiman's (1975) Standard International Occupational Prestige Scale.

**: $p < 0.01$ †: $p < 0.001$ C_{ELM}: Respondents working in the ethnic labour market.C_{GLM}: Respondents working in the general labour market.

TABLE 4.13
OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION^a

	C_T	<u>Population</u> C_{ELM}	C_{GLM}	χ^2	c/c_{max}
Manual	7.1	8.1	6.6		
Farm	0.6	0.0	0.9		
Service	30.6	61.3	12.3		
Clerical and Sales	7.1	9.7	5.7		
Managerial	16.5	9.7	20.8		
Professional and Technical	38.2	11.3	53.8	54.0***	0.70
Total	100%	100%	100%		
N	(170)	(62)	(106)		

a : Occupational groups according to Treiman's (1975) Standard International Prestige Scale

*** : $p \leq 0.001$

C_T : All respondents

C_{ELM} : Respondents working in the ethnic labour market

C_{GLM} : Respondents working in the general labour market

mobility trap. However, as most of them had experienced an improvement in their standard of living as a result of migration, no difference was observed between respondents from the two segments of the labour market in relation to their change in social position consequent upon migration. Whether an improvement in standard of living is sufficient to provide a positive image of the opportunity structure even if many fail to fulfill their occupational aspirations would require additional research.

D. CONCLUSIONS


The analysis examines the mobility processes and monetary returns to human capital investments in the ethnic labour market and the general labour market. The findings reinforce the earlier results in Chapter III in support of a segmental model in which the ethnic labour market constitutes a distinctive segment essential for our understanding of the socio-economic achievements of members of an ethnic group such as the Chinese.

Comparison of the mobility patterns in the ethnic labour market with that in the general labour market indicates that respondents from the ethnic labour market exhibited a shorter distance of intra-generational and inter-generational mobility, had experienced a more intense status dislocation upon arrival, were less successful in moving out of their entrance status, and were less likely to fulfill their occupational aspirations. Substantive differences in earning determination were also

observed in the two segments of the labour market. Regression of income on three types of human capital investment shows that education was the most salient factor in both segments of the labour market but monetary return for each year of schooling completed was almost double in the general labour market. A career in the general labour market also provided working experience which had a significant effect on income, while a career in the ethnic labour market provided working experience which brought no significant effect on income.

These findings, taken as whole, support Wiley's (1968) thesis of 'ethnic mobility trap'. An ethnic career offers a lower ceiling for advancement, brings a lower monetary return to one's education, and at the same time provides working experience which has no significant bearing on income. Thus, the ethnic labour market is not only empirically distinct from the general labour market in terms of composition of the labour force and employment characteristics as established in Chapter III, its opportunity structure also differs from that of the general labour market.

This has important theoretical implications for the study of socio-economic achievements of members of an ethnic group. Substantive differences in the opportunity structure in different segments of the labour market challenges the adequacy of a neo-classical conception of a homogeneous market where success and failure depend only on individual attributes.



Segmental differences in monetary return to education and working experience require one to take structural explanations into account beyond individual attributes.

In the case of the Chinese in Montreal, the distinctive experience of the subgroup in the ethnic labour market provides a starting point for further research using a segmental model. It is noteworthy that the difference in economic cost in participating in the ethnic labour market for Cubans in Miami (Wilson and Portes, 1980) and Chinese in Montreal are suggestive of the importance of structural characteristics of the ethnic business sector in determining the economic cost of ethnic economic segregation. A comparative analysis of various ethnic groups may broaden the understanding of the basis of economic power of minority groups in Canada.

Also, ethnic groups differ in their degree of institutional completeness (Breton, 1964). In the case of Chinese, there are Chinese churches, Chinese associations, and in some cases Chinese schools. How does participation in the ethnic labour market relate to other involvements in the ethnic community and ethnic solidarity? Weinfeld's study of the Jewish sub-economy in Montreal shows that one's participation in the 'ethnic sub-economy' is related to one's preference to do business with other members of one's ethnic community. He suggests that the concentration of Jews' economic activity among other Jews might be explained by generational transmission

and the convenience of adopting inherited patterns of economic activity. Immigrants may pass on to second and third generations their established economic networks which are no worse than any other new ones. So, how the various pull and push factors interact with the extent of ethnic economic segregation, as an ethnic group receives new immigrants and more Canadian-born Chinese join the labour force, would complement research on acculturation and adaptation of members of an ethnic group in Canada.

CONCLUSIONS

The present analysis of the labour market experience of Chinese post-war immigrants in Montreal addresses the question of intra-ethnic differences among members of an ethnic group. The findings indicate that participants in the ethnic and general labour markets face fundamentally different conditions of employment, and their occupational and income achievements are endogeneous to their segmental assignments. Specifically, for the Chinese in Montreal, an ethnic career brings a lower monetary return to education. This disadvantaged position is further reinforced by the lack of learning opportunities and promotional training. In view of the relatively static mobility patterns exhibited by Chinese immigrants in their ethnic labour market in Montreal, the process of segmental assignment plays a crucial role in their final status attainment. It is therefore clear that the present model differentiating between ethnic and general labour markets provides a more comprehensive way of relating the economic impact of career origin to the overall income and occupational achievements.

Also, the present dualistic model offers a non-individualistic framework for the analysis of ethnic groups exhibiting a considerable degree of economic segregation.

It introduces both the historical and institutional dimensions of intra-ethnic differences into the interpretation of inter-ethnic differences in socio-economic achievements. In the case of Chinese in Montreal, the observed segmental differences in mobility patterns are, to a considerable extent, related to the particularities of the Chinese business sector. The concentration of Chinese enterprises in the service sector fails to absorb professionals and skilled workers. Instead, it recruits mainly sponsored and nominated immigrants who have received high school education or less, have come from a blue collar family, and were in manual or lower white collar occupations in their country of last permanent residence. The specialization of Chinese enterprises also explains the differential occupational achievements of immigrants in the two segments of the labour market. The findings show that professionals and service workers are most likely to enter similar occupations in Canada. But the former predominantly join the general labour market while the latter join the ethnic labour market. Furthermore, the upwardly mobile immigrants in the general labour market mainly move from manual or lower white collar jobs into professional occupations, in sharp contrast to the shorter distance of mobility from manual or service jobs to managerial positions in the ethnic labour market.

The lower ceiling for advancement is consistent with the prediction of Wiley's thesis of the ethnic mobility trap. A career in the ethnic labour market resembles a limb which leads primarily outwards and away from all serious chances of ascent. This tree metaphor suggests that ethnic differences in socio-economic achievement are not solely a function of individual 'failure' in a homogeneous market situation, but the outcome of differential distribution of group members within a segmented labour market and the corresponding differences in opportunities for advancement.

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APPENDIX 1

COUNTRY OF LAST PERMANENT RESIDENCE BY ETHNIC ORIGIN

Since 1962, immigration statistics according to ethnic origin have not been available. In order to estimate the volume of Chinese immigration since 1962, data on immigration from China and Hong Kong are used. Since immigration from these two places made up 96.8% of all Chinese admitted to Canada from 1956 to 1961¹ and over 95% of all immigrants from these two places were of Chinese origin (Table 1-A), it provides a close estimate of the volume of Chinese immigration since 1962.

TABLE 1-A: ETHNIC ORIGIN OF IMMIGRATIONS FROM CHINA AND HONG KONG, 1956-61

Country of Last Permanent Residence	Ethnic Origin	%	N
China	Chinese	98.0	4,003
	Others	2.0	83
Hong Kong	Chinese	95.7	6,799
	Others	4.3	308

Source: Canada, Dept. of Citizenship and Immigration, Immigration Statistics, 1956-61.

¹From 1956 to 1961, a total of 11,162 Chinese were admitted to Canada. Among them, 10,802 came from Hong Kong or China (Canada, Dept. of Citizenship and Immigration, Immigration Statistics, 1956-61).

APPENDIX 2

TABLE 2-A: INTENDED DESTINATION OF CHINESE POST-WAR IMMIGRANTS, 1946-1975

Intended Destination	1946-55 %	1956-60 %	1961-65 %	1966-70 %	1971-75 %	1946-75 %
British Columbia	35.3	35.7	30.5	34.1	29.5	32.0
Alberta	12.6	10.4	10.1	9.0	11.2	10.6
Saskatchewan	9.5	6.4	6.1	3.5	2.3	4.1
Manitoba	2.8	3.0	4.3	2.9	3.6	3.3
Ontario	26.8	31.0	32.5	37.2	43.7	38.1
Quebec	10.0	11.0	13.3	10.4	7.7	9.4
New Brunswick	0.4	0.5	0.7	0.8	0.6	0.6
Nova Scotia	1.6	1.2	1.4	1.1	0.8	1.1
Newfoundland	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.8	0.5	0.6
Others	0.2	0.1	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.2
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	(14,104)	(10,301)	(9,744)	(32,534)	(56,723)	(123,406)

Source: Canada, Dept. of Citizenship and Immigration, Annual Reports, 1952-1953, 1960-1961; Immigration Statistics, 1956-1965; Dept. of Manpower and Immigration, Immigration Statistics, 1966-1976.

Remark: Census data from 1962 to 1975 are listed under "Country of last permanent residence" instead of ethnic origin. Figures for 1962 to 1975 presented above are estimated from data on Hong Kong, China and Taiwan. See Appendix 1 for further detail.

APPENDIX 3

TABLE 3-A: SOCIO-ECONOMIC ATTAINMENT^a AT VARIOUS STAGES OF THE RESPONDENT'S CAREER

Stages	Population		X ²	c/c _{max}
	C _{ELM}	C _{GLM}		
Last occ. in HK/China, etc.				
20-29 (6)	37.2	15.2		
30-39 (5)	34.9	16.7		
40-49 (4)	14.0	30.3		
50-59 (3)	4.7	7.6		
60-69 (2)	4.7	10.6		
70-79 (1)	4.7	19.7	17.6**	0.53
N	(43)	(66)		
First occ. in Canada ^b				
20-29	68.6	20.9		
30-39	24.3	17.8		
40-49	2.9	14.0		
50-59	4.3	10.9		
60-69	0.0	13.2		
70-79	0.0	23.2	61.6***	0.68
N	(70)	(129)		
Current occ. in Canada				
20-29	52.9	9.3		
30-39	27.1	14.0		
40-49	2.9	13.2		
50-59	17.1	12.4		
60-69	0.0	22.5		
70-79	0.0	28.7	80.8***	0.76
N	(70)	(129)		
Total %	100	100		

a : Measured in Blishen's (1967) SEI with Blishen's class in parenthesis.

b : First occupation in Canada held for over one month.

** : $p < 0.01$

*** : $p < 0.001$

C_{ELM} : Respondents working in the ethnic labour market.

C_{GLM} : Respondents working in the general labour market.

TABLE 3-B: OCCUPATIONAL ACHIEVEMENTS^a AT VARIOUS STAGES OF THE RESPONDENT'S CAREER

Stages	Population		x ²	c/c _{max}
	C _{ELM} %	C _{GLM} %		
Last occ. ^b in HK/China, etc.				
Manual	46.5	28.1		
Farm	0.0	3.1		
Service	11.6	3.1		
Clerical & Sales	32.6	31.3		
Managerial	4.7	3.1		
Professional & Technical	4.7	31.3	15.7**	0.51
N	(43)	(64)		
First occ. in Canada ^c				
Manual	10.0	13.2		
Farm	0.0	0.0		
Service	82.9	25.6		
Clerical & Sales	4.3	12.4		
Managerial	2.9	1.6		
Professional & Technical	0.0	47.3	69.9***	0.72
N	(70)	(129)		
Current occ. in Canada				
Manual	4.3	14.0		
Farm	0.0	0.0		
Service	81.4	14.0		
Clerical & Sales	7.1	8.5		
Managerial	7.1	7.0		
Professional & Technical	0.0	56.6	98.6***	0.81
N	(70)	(129)		
Total %	100	100		

a : Occupational groups according to Treiman's (1975) Standard International Occupational Prestige Scale.

b : Two cases in other occupational categories have been deleted from the present analysis.

c : First occupation in Canada held more than one month.

** : $p < 0.01$

*** : $p < 0.001$

C_{ELM} : Respondents working in the ethnic labour market.

C_{GLM} : Respondents working in the general labour market.

APPENDIX 4

**TABLE 4-A: MOBILITY FROM FIRST OCCUPATION IN CANADA TO CURRENT OCCUPATION IN CANADA
FOR SELECTED POPULATIONS (ACCORDING TO
BLISHEN'S SEI)**

Population	First occ. in Canada ^a		Current occupation in Canada						N	Tau _b	R
			20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79			
C _T	(6) ^b	20-29	46	14	2	11	2	1	76		
	(5)	30-39	4	22	4	5	4	1	40		
	(4)	40-49	0	1	13	1	5	0	20		
	(3)	50-59	0	0	0	11	1	6	18		
	(2)	60-69	0	0	0	0	17	0	17		
	(1)	70-79	0	0	0	1	0	29	30		
	N		50	37	19	29	29	37	201	0.73***	0.82***
C _{ELM}	(6)	20-29	34	8	0	6	0	0	48		
	(5)	30-39	3	11	0	3	0	0	17		
	(4)	40-49	0	0	2	0	0	0	2		
	(3)	50-59	0	0	0	3	0	0	3		
	(2)	60-69	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
	(1)	70-79	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
	N		37	19	2	12	0	0	70	0.50***	0.51***
C _{GLM}	(6)	20-29	11	6	2	5	2	1	27		
	(5)	30-39	1	11	4	2	4	1	23		
	(4)	40-49	0	1	11	1	5	0	18		
	(3)	50-59	0	0	0	7	1	6	14		
	(2)	60-69	0	0	0	0	17	0	17		
	(1)	70-79	0	0	0	1	0	29	30		
	N		12	18	17	16	29	37	129	0.71***	0.79***

a : First occupation in Canada held more than one month

b : Blishen's class in parenthesis

*** : p < 0.001

C_T : All respondents

C_{ELM} : Respondents in the ethnic labour market

C_{GLM} : Respondents in the general labour market.

TABLE 4-B: MOBILITY FROM LAST OCCUPATION IN COUNTRY OF LAST PERMANENT RESIDENCE (HK/CHINA, ETC.) TO FIRST OCCUPATION IN CANADA FOR SELECTED POPULATIONS (ACCORDING TO BLISHEN'S SEI)

Population	Last occ. in HK/China, etc.		First occupation in Canada ^a						N	Tau _b	R
			20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79			
C _T	(6)	20-29	23	1	1	0	1	0	26		
	(5)	30-39	14	11	0	0	0	1	26		
	(4)	40-49	7	8	6	2	3	0	26		
	(3)	50-59	3	0	1	3	0	1	8		
	(2)	60-69	1	0	1	4	2	1	9		
	(1)	70-79	0	2	2	3	2	6	15		
	N		48	22	11	12	8	9	110	0.59***	0.68***
C _{ELM}	(6)	20-29	15	1	0	0	0	0	16		
	(5)	30-39	12	3	0	0	0	0	15		
	(4)	40-49	5	1	0	0	0	0	6		
	(3)	50-59	1	0	0	1	0	0	2		
	(2)	60-69	1	0	0	1	0	0	2		
	(1)	70-79	0	2	0	0	0	0	2		
	N		34	7	0	2	0	0	43	0.37**	0.51***
C _{GIM}	(6)	20-29	8	0	1	0	1	0	10		
	(5)	30-39	2	8	0	0	0	1	11		
	(4)	40-49	2	7	6	2	3	0	20		
	(3)	50-59	2	0	1	1	0	1	5		
	(2)	60-69	0	0	1	3	2	1	7		
	(1)	70-79	0	0	2	3	2	6	13		
	N		14	15	11	9	8	9	66	0.58***	0.67***

a : First occupation in Canada held more than one month

b : Blishen's class in parenthesis

*** : $p < 0.001$

** : $p < 0.01$

C_T : All respondents

C_{ELM} : Respondents in the ethnic labour market

C_{GIM} : Respondents in the general labour market.

TABLE 4-C: MOBILITY FROM LAST OCCUPATION IN COUNTRY OF LAST PERMANENT RESIDENCE (HK/CHINA, ETC.) TO CURRENT OCCUPATION IN CANADA FOR SELECTED POPULATIONS (ACCORDING TO BLISHEN'S SEI)

Population	Last occ. in HK/China, etc.		Current occupation in Canada						N	Tau _B	R
			20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79			
C _T	(6) ^a	20-29	20	2	1	2	1	0	26		
	(5)	30-39	9	13	0	2	1	1	26		
	(4)	40-49	4	7	6	3	5	1	26		
	(3)	50-59	1	1	1	3	0	2	8		
	(2)	60-69	1	0	1	3	3	1	9		
	(1)	70-79	1	1	2	1	2	8	15		
	N		36	24	11	14	12	13	110	0.54***	0.62***
C _{ELM}	(6)	20-29	14	1	0	1	0	0	16		
	(5)	30-39	8	6	0	1	0	0	15		
	(4)	40-49	3	2	0	1	0	0	6		
	(3)	50-59	0	1	0	1	0	0	2		
	(2)	60-69	1	0	0	1	0	0	2		
	(1)	70-79	1	1	0	0	0	0	2		
	N		27	11	0	5	0	0	43	0.36**	0.31*
C _{GLM}	(6)	20-29	6	1	1	1	1	0	10		
	(5)	30-39	1	7	0	1	1	1	11		
	(4)	40-49	1	5	6	2	5	1	20		
	(3)	50-59	1	0	1	1	0	2	5		
	(2)	60-69	0	0	1	2	3	1	7		
	(1)	70-79	0	0	2	1	2	8	13		
	N		9	13	11	8	12	13	66	0.53***	0.62***

a : Blishen's class in parenthesis

* : $p < 0.05$

** : $p < 0.01$

*** : $p < 0.001$

C_T : All respondents

C_{ELM} : Respondents in the ethnic labour market

C_{GLM} : Respondents in the general labour market.

APPENDIX 5

TABLE 5-A: MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF VARIABLES IN THE HUMAN CAPITAL INVESTMENT TEST MODEL

Variables in the equation	C _{ELM}			C _{GLM}		
	Mean	Std. dev.	N	Mean	Std. dev.	N
Human Capital Investment Model						
X ₁	10.933	3.225	60	15.575	3.937	113
X ₂	0.117	0.324	60	0.566	0.498	113
X ₃	0.017	0.129	60	0.062	0.242	113
X ₄	0.217	0.416	60	0.611	0.490	113
X ₅	15.483	7.721	60	10.062	7.630	113
X ₆	3.633	3.991	60	3.274	3.333	113
Y	2.467	0.791	60	3.478	1.233	113
Condensed Human Capital Investment Model						
X ₁	10.531	3.505	64	15.374	4.190	115
X ₂	0.109	0.315	64	0.557	0.499	115
X ₅	15.828	7.901	64	10.391	7.971	115
X ₆	3.500	3.900	64	3.357	3.487	115
Y	2.453	0.775	64	3.461	1.230	115

X₁ : Years of schooling

X₂ : Fluency in English (1=good/v. good; 0=fair/not at all)

X₃ : Fluency in French (1=good/v. good; 0=fair/not at all)

X₄ : Place R has obtained his highest degree (1=Canada; 0=others)

X₅ : Years of experience in the labour market

X₆ : Years of working experience in present job

Y : Income (1 = <\$5,00; 2 = \$5,00-\$9,999; 3 = \$10,000-\$14,999; 4 = \$15,000-\$19,999; 5 = \$20,000-\$24,999; 6 = \$25,000 or more)

C_{ELM} : Respondents in the ethnic labour market

C_{GLM} : Respondents in the general labour market.

APPENDIX 6

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTIONNAIRE

MC GILL UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Project:

MIGRATION AND MULTICULTURALISM IN CANADA

GROUP: CHINESE

Date: _____

Time: _____

Place: _____

Language
used: _____

Interviewer: _____

Respondent:

--	--	--

1 2 3

I.D. Number

4

Card Number

- (1) Where were you born?

你在那里出生?

5 6 7 8

City or Hsien (城市/縣) _____

Province (省) _____

9

Country (國家) _____

- (2) What was the approximate population of that city (or hsien) when you finally left there?

当你最後離開那城市或縣的時候,那兒大概有多少人口?

10

Less than (少過) 4,999.....1

5,000 - 9,999.....2

10,000 - 29,999.....3

30,000 - 99,999.....4

100,000 - 499,999.....5

More than (多過) 500,000.....6

DK/NA.....9

- (3) Did you spend most of your life before age 18 in your place of birth?

在你18歲之前,你是否常在你的出生地?

11

Yes (是).....1 → (GO TO Q.6)

No (否).....2

DK/NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.6)

- (4) Where did you spend most of your life before age 18?

在你18歲之前,你常在那里?

12 13 14 15

City or Hsien (城市/縣) _____

Province (省) _____

16

Country (國家) _____

- (5) What was the approximate population of that city (or hsien) when you finally left there?

当你最後離開那城市或縣的時候,那兒大概有多少人口?

17

Less than (少過) 4,999.....1

5,000 - 9,999.....2

10,000 - 29,999.....3

30,000 - 99,999.....4

100,000 - 499,999.....5

More than (多過) 500,000.....6

DK/NA.....9

- (6) Where were you living just before coming to Canada?
在你来加拿大之前,你住在那里?

Place of birth (出生地).....1

Place where you spent most of
your life before age 18

(在18岁之前常在地).....2

Other place (其他地方).....3 → (GO TO Q.8)

DK/NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.12)

- (7) How many years did you live there?

你住在那里有多少年?

_____ years (年) (GO TO Q.12)

- (8) Where were you living just before coming to Canada?

在你来加拿大之前,你住在那里?

City or Hsien (城市/县) _____

Province (省份) _____

Country (国家) _____

- (9) How many years did you live there?

你住在那里有多少年?

_____ years (年) → (IF "MORE THAN A YEAR", GO TO Q.11)

- (10) Where was your last permanent residence before coming to
Canada?

在你来加拿大之前,你最后的永久居留地是那里?

City or Hsien (城市/县) _____

Province (省份) _____

Country (国家) _____

- (11) What was the approximate population of that city (or hsien)
when you finally left there?

当你最后离开那城市或县的时候,那里大概有多少人口?

Less than (少于) 4,999.....1

5,000 - 9,999.....2

10,000 - 29,999.....3

30,000 - 99,999.....4

100,000 - 499,999.....5

More than (多于) 500,000.....6

DK/NA.....9

- (12) Where do you consider as your place of origin?

你認為那里是你的原籍地?

City or Hsien (城市/縣) _____

Province (省份) _____

Country (國家) _____

- (13) Where do you consider as your home country?

你認為那里是你的祖國?

- (14) Have you ever stayed elsewhere for more than six months continuously? (INTERVIEWER: DISREGARD CANADA AND ANY OF THE PLACES MENTIONED ABOVE)

你曾否在其他地方逗留連續六個月以上?

Yes (是).....1

No (否).....2 → (GO TO Q.16)

DK/NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.16)

- (15) Did you have any intention of settling down when you were in any of these places?

當你在那些地方的時候,你是否有定居下來的打算?

Yes (是).....1

No (否).....2

DK/NA.....9

- (16) You say you were born in (CHINA, TAIWAN, HONG KONG, MACAU.....), where did you move from there?

你說你是在(香港, 中國, 台灣, 澳門....)出生, 你從(這個地方)搬到那里?

Hong Kong (香港).....1

China (中國).....2

Taiwan (台灣).....3

Macau (澳門).....4

Canada (加拿大).....5 → (GO TO Q.18)

Other place (其他地方).....6 → Specify: _____

DK/NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.19)

- (17) Why did you leave there? (REFER TO ANSWERS IN Q.16)

你為什麼離開那里?

→ (GO TO Q.19)

- (18) Why did you leave your place of birth?
你為什麼離開你的出生地?

49 50 51 52

53 54

- (19) Why did you come to Canada?
你為什麼來加拿大?

55 56 57 58

59 60

- (20) When did you come to Canada for the first time?
你是在何時第一次來加拿大的?

61 62

19 _____

- (21) In that year, did you come to Canada alone or with somebody else?

在那年你是單獨還是與其他人一起來加拿大的?

63

Alone (單獨).....1 → (GO TO Q.23)

With other(s) (與其他人)....2

DK/NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.23)

- (22) Who are they?
他們是誰?

64 65

- (23) Did you have an immigrant visa at that time?
當時你是否已經擁有移民証?

66

Yes (是).....1 → (GO TO Q.28)

No (否).....2

DK/NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.28)

- (24) What type of visa did you have at that time?
當時你擁有那一類証件?

67

Tourist visa (旅遊証).....1

Student visa (學生証).....2

Business visa (商業証).....3

Other (其他).....4 →

Specify: _____

DK/NA.....9

- (25) Where did you get your landed immigrant visa, in Canada or outside Canada?

你是在那里取得移民証,在加拿大或加拿大以外?

In Canada (在加拿大).....1

Outside Canada (加拿大以外)...2 → (GO TO Q.27)

DK/NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.28)

68

- (26) When did you become a landed immigrant?

你何時成為移民?

19____ → (GO TO Q.28)

69 70

- (27) When did you arrive in Canada as an immigrant?

你何時以移民身份到達加拿大?

19____

71 72

- (28) Were you sponsored or nominated to become a landed immigrant?

你是否被保證或被提名而成為移民的?

Yes (是).....1

No (否).....2 → (GO TO Q.30)

DK/NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.30)

73

- (29) Who was your sponsor or nominator?

誰是你的保證人或提名人?

74 75

- (30) Have you sponsored or nominated anyone?

你曾否有保證或提名過其他人?

Yes (是).....1

No (否).....2 → (GO TO Q.34)

DK/NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.34)

76

- (31) How many persons did you sponsor or nominate?

你曾保證或提名過多少人?

_____ person(s) (人) _____

77 78

1 2 3

I.D. Number

2

Card Number

(32) When did you sponsor?

你保證過誰?

5 6 7 8

9 10

(33) When did you nominate?

你提名過誰?

11 12 13 14

15 16

(34) Have you been residing in Canada continuously since you first came here?

你第一次來加拿大之後,是否一直居留到現在?

17

Yes (是).....1 → (GO TO Q.36)

No (否).....2

DK/NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.36)

(35) When did you come to Canada to live?

你何時到達加拿大生活?

18 19

19 _____

(36) When did you come to Montreal to live?

你何時到達滿地可生活?

20 21

19 _____

(37) Why did you come to Montreal and not to another city?

你為什麼來滿地可而不去其他城市?

22 23 24 25

26 27

(38) Are you going to settle here in Montreal permanently?

你是否打算永久居留滿地可?

28

Definitely yes (絕對是)....1

Probably yes (可能是).....2

Undecided (未決定).....3 → (GO TO Q.45)

Probably not (可能否).....4 → (GO TO Q.45)

Definitely not (絕對否).....5 → (GO TO Q.45)

DK/NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.45)

(39) Why are you going to settle in Montreal?

為什麼你會繼續居住在滿地可?

29 30 31 32
33 34

→ (GO TO Q.45)

(40) Why do you intend to leave Montreal?

你為什麼有離開滿地可的打算?

35 36 37 38
39 40

(41) Are you planning to:

你是否打算:

move to some other city/region in Canada?

(搬到加拿大其他城市或地區)...1

move on to some other country?

(搬到其他國家).....2

move back to (Hong Kong, China, Taiwan, Macau...)?

(搬回香港、中國、台灣、澳門...)...3 → (GO TO Q.44)

DK/NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.45)

(42) Where are you planning to move?

你打算搬到哪里?

41
42

(43) Why there?

為什麼那里?

43 44 45 46
47 48

→ (GO TO Q.45)

(44) Why are you planning to move back to (HONG KONG, CHINA, TAIWAN, MACAU....)?

你為什麼計劃搬回(香港、中國、台灣、澳門...)?

49 50 51 52
53 54

- (45) Have you ever lived in other Canadian cities for more than six months consecutively before coming to Montreal?

在你來滿地可前，你是否曾在加拿大其他城市居住過六個月？

35

Yes (是).....1

No (否).....2 → (GO TO Q.47)

DK/NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.47)

- (46) Could you tell me chronologically the name(s) of the place(s)?

你可否跟著次序把地方名列出？

36 37 38 39

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____

4. _____

- (47) How many times have you moved since you came to Montreal?

你來滿地可之後，搬過多少次家？

40

Never (從未).....0

Once (一次).....1

Twice (二次).....2

Three times (三次).....3

Four times (四次).....4

Five times (五次).....5

Six times (六次).....6

Seven times and more

(七次或以上).....7

DK/NA.....9

- (48) May I ask how old are you?

請問你今年多少歲？

41 42

43

(IF NO RESPONSE, ASK):

Are you between

你的年齡是：

25 - 34.....1

35 - 44.....2

DK/NA.....9

- (49) How many years of schooling have you completed?

(Including kindergarten)

除了幼稚園，你一共完成了多少年學業？

44 45

_____ years (年)

(IF NO RESPONSE, ASK):

What is the highest grade you completed?

你最高讀到那一班？

46 47

- (50) Have you done all these years of study in (HONG KONG, CHINA, TAIWAN, MACAU.....)?

你是否在(香港, 中国, 台湾, 澳门...)完成你的学业?

Yes (是).....1 → (GO TO Q.53)

No (否).....2

DK/NA/TA.....9 → (GO TO Q.53)

- (51) How many years of schooling have you completed in (HONG KONG, CHINA, TAIWAN, MACAU.....)?

你在(香港, 中国, 台湾, 澳门...)完成了多少年学业?

_____ year(s) (年) (IF NO RESPONSE, ASK):

What is the highest grade you completed in (HONG KONG, CHINA, TAIWAN, MACAU.....)?

你在(香港, 中国, 台湾, 澳门...)最高读到那一班?

- (52) Where did you complete the rest of your study?

你在那里完成其他的学业?

Country (国家) _____

- (53) What is the highest diploma or degree you received?

你获得的最高文凭或学位是什么?

None (没有).....00 → (GO TO Q.57)

Elementary/primary school

(小学).....01

Secondary/high school

(中学).....02

Post high school/post secondary school (CERT, F.6, F.7, etc.)

(大学预科).....03

College (专门学院).....04

Bachelor (学士).....05

Master (硕士).....06

Doctor (博士).....07

Professional degrees

(专业学位).....08 → Specify: _____

Other (其他).....09 → Specify: _____

DK/NA.....99 → (GO TO Q.57)

- (54) Did you receive your highest diploma or degree in (HONG KONG, CHINA, TAIWAN, MACAU.....)?

你是否在(香港, 中国, 台湾, 澳门...) 獲得你的最高文憑或學位?

Yes (是).....1 → (GO TO Q.57)

No (否).....2

DK/NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.57)

- (55) Where did you receive your highest diploma or degree?

你在那里獲得你的最高文憑或學位?

Country (國家) _____

- (56) What is the highest diploma or degree you received in (HONG KONG, CHINA, TAIWAN, MACAU.....)?

你在(香港, 中国, 台湾, 澳门...) 獲得的最高文憑或學位是什麼?

None (沒有).....00

Elementary/primary school

(小學).....01

Secondary/high school

(中學).....02

Post high school/post secondary school (CEGEP, F.6, F.7, etc.)

(大學預科).....03

College (專科學院).....04

Bachelor (學士).....05

Master (碩士).....06

Doctor (博士).....07

Professional degrees

(職業學位).....08 → Specify _____

Other (其他).....09 → Specify _____

DK/NA.....99

1 2 3
4 3
4

I.D. Number

Card Number

- (57) With whom did you live when you were young, say when you were around 16 years old?

當你大約16歲的時候，你是與誰一起居住？

5 6

Both parents (父母).....01

Father only (只是父親).....02 → (GO TO Q.60)

Mother only (只是母親).....03 → (GO TO Q.60)

Father and female household head (父親和女性家長).....04

Specify female household heads

Mother and male household head (母親和男性家長).....05

Specify male household heads

Male household head only (只是男性家長).....06

Specify:

(GO TO Q.60)

Female household head only (只是女性家長).....07

Specify:

(GO TO Q.60)

Both male and female household heads (男性和女性家長).....08

Specify:

Other(s) (其他).....09

Specify:

DK/NA/TA.....99 → (GO TO Q.68)

- (58) How many years of schooling has your mother (OR FEMALE HOUSEHOLD HEAD) completed? (Excluding kindergarten)

除幼稚園，你母親(或女性家長)一共讀了多少年書？

_____ year(s) (年)

(IF NO RESPONSE, ASK):

What is the highest grade your mother (OR FEMALE HOUSEHOLD HEAD) completed?

你母親(或女性家長)最高讀到那一班？

7 8

9 10

- (59) What is the highest diploma or degree your mother (OR FEMALE HOUSEHOLD HEAD) completed?

你母親(或女性家長)獲得最高的文憑或學位是什麼?

None (沒有).....00

Elementary/primary school
(小學).....01

Secondary/high school
(中學).....02

Post high school/post
secondary school (CEGEP,
F.6, F.7, etc.)
(大學預科).....03

College (專科學院).....04

Bachelor (學士).....05

Master (碩士).....06

Doctor (博士).....07

Professional degrees
(職業學位).....08 → Specify: _____

Other (其他).....09 → Specify: _____

DK/NA.....99

- (60) How many years of schooling has your father (OR MALE HOUSEHOLD HEAD; OR FEMALE HOUSEHOLD HEAD, OR MOTHER) completed? (Excluding kindergarten)

除了幼稚園,你父親(或男性家長,女性家長,或母親)一共讀了多少年書?

_____ year(s) (年) → (IF NO RESPONSE, ASK):

What is the highest grade he/she completed?
他/她讀到最高的是那班

- (61) What is the highest diploma or degree he/she received?

他/她獲得的最高文憑或學位是什麼?

None (沒有).....00

Elementary/primary school
(小學).....01

Secondary/high school
(中學).....02

Post high school/post
secondary school (CEGEP,
F.6, F.7, etc.)
(大學預科).....03

College (專科學院).....04

Bachelor (學士).....05

Master (碩士).....06

Doctor (博士).....07

Professional degrees
(職業學位).....08 → Specify: _____

Other (其他).....09 → Specify: _____

DK/NA.....99

- (62) What was your father's (OR MALE HOUSEHOLD HEAD'S, OR FEMALE HOUSEHOLD HEAD'S, OR MOTHER'S) full-time occupation when you were younger, say when you were around 16 years old?
 当你大概16岁的时候,你父親(或男性家長,或女性家長,或母親)的正業是什麼?
 _____ (IF NO ANSWER, GO TO Q.66)

19

- (63) In what kind of business, industry or service was he/she working?
 他/她是在那一行業工作?

20 21

- (64) What was his/her position or title?
 他/她的職位或銜頭是什麼?

22 23 24 25

- (65) Was he/she employed, self-employed, or was he/she a family worker at that time?
 他/她當時是自僱、被僱、或家庭員工?

26

Self-employed (自僱).....1
 Employed (被僱).....2
 Family worker (家庭員工)...3
 DK/NA.....9

- (66) What is his/her present occupation, or what was the one he/she held at the time of his/her retirement, or at the time of his/her death?
 他/她現在的正業是什麼,或他/她退休時,或他/她死時的正業是什麼?

27

→ (IF NO ANSWER, GO TO Q.70)

- (67) In what kind of business, industry or service is/was he/she working?
 他/她是在那一行業工作?

28 29

- (68) What is/was his/her position or title?
 他/她的職位或銜頭是什麼?

30 31 32 33

- (69) Is/was he/she employed, self-employed, or is/was he/she a family worker?

他/她也是自僱、被僱、或家庭員工？

Self-employed (自僱).....1

Employed (被僱).....2

Family worker (家庭員工).....3

DK/NA.....9

- (70) How many brothers and sisters did you have when you were young, say when you were around 16 years old? (Excluding those who were deceased)

當你大約16歲的時候，你一共有多少兄弟姐妹？
(除了已經身亡的)

35 36 37 38

39 40 41 42

_____ elder brother(s) (兄)

_____ younger brother(s) (弟)

_____ elder sister(s) (姊)

_____ younger sister(s) (妹)

- (71) How many brothers and sisters do you have now? (Excluding those who were deceased)

你現在有多少兄弟姐妹？(除了已經身亡的)

43 44 45 46

47 48 49 50

_____ elder brother(s) (兄)

_____ younger brother(s) (弟)

_____ elder sister(s) (姊)

_____ younger sister(s) (妹)

- (72) Are you

你是

single (獨身).....1 → (GO TO Q.75)

married (已婚).....2

divorced (離婚).....3

widowed (喪偶).....4

other (其他).....5 → Specify: _____

(GO TO Q.75)

NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.75)

- (73) Where did you get married?

你在那里結婚？

In (Hong Kong, China, Taiwan, Macau

....) before coming to Canada

(來到加拿大前，在(香港、中國、台灣、澳門)結婚).....1

In Canada under Canadian law

(在加拿大，依照加拿大法律).....2

Went back to (Hong Kong, China, Taiwan, Macau....) to get married

(回去(香港、中國、台灣、澳門)結婚).....3

In other place (其他地方).....4 → Specify: _____

NA.....9

- (74) Is/was your wife
你的妻子是

Chinese or Chinese immigrant?
(中国人或中国裔移民).....1

Canadian-born Chinese?
(加拿大土生中国人).....2

English-Canadian?
(英国裔加拿大人).....3

French-Canadian?
(法国裔加拿大人).....4

Other than above (其他).....5

NA.....9

Specify: _____

- (75) Did you have family member(s), relative(s), or in-law(s)
living in Montreal or other part in Canada when you came to
Canada?

当你来加拿大的时候,你有没有家人,亲戚,或姻亲
居住在满地可或其他加拿大的地方?

Yes (是).....1

No (否).....2

DK/NA.....9

- (76) Do you have family member(s), relative(s), or in-law(s)
living somewhere else in Montreal or in Canada now?

你现在有没有家人,亲戚或姻亲居住在满地可
或其他加拿大的地方?

Yes (是).....1

No (否).....2 → (GO TO Q.83)

DK/NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.83)

- (77) How many households of family members are in Montreal?

(FAMILY MEMBERS INCLUDE RESPONDENT'S PARENTS, BROTHERS,
SISTERS, CHILDREN, WIFE, GRANDPARENTS AND GRANDCHILDREN)

有多少家庭是在满地可?

_____ household(s) (家)

- (78) How many households of family members are in other Canadian
cities?

有多少家庭是在加拿大其他城市?

_____ household(s) (家)

- (79) How many households of relatives are in Montreal? (RELATIVES INCLUDE RESPONDENT'S UNCLE, AUNT, NEPHEW, NIECE, COUSINS, etc.)

有多少家親戚是在滿地可?

58

_____ household(s) (家)

- (80) How many households of relatives are in other Canadian cities?

有多少家親戚是在加拿大其他城市?

59

_____ household(s) (家)

- (81) How many households of in-laws are in Montreal? (IN-LAWS INCLUDE THOSE WHO ARE RELATED TO THE RESPONDENT BY MARRIAGE)

有多少家姻親是在滿地可?

60

_____ household(s) (家)

- (82) How many households of in-laws are in other Canadian cities?

有多少家姻親是在加拿大其他城市?

61

_____ household(s) (家)

(TELL THE RESPONDENT):

Now, I would like to ask you some questions about your occupation.

現在我想問你一些關於你職業的問題。

- (83) Did you work in (HONG KONG, CHINA, TAIWAN, MACAU....)?

你在(香港, 中國, 台灣, 澳門...)有沒有工作?

62

Never worked (從沒有工作).....1 → (GO TO Q.108)

Working full-time (正業工作).....2

Working part-time (兼業工作).....3 → (GO TO Q.108)

Working both full-time and part-time

(正業和兼業工作).....4

Other (其他).....5 → Specify:

NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.108)

- (84) When did you start working full-time in (HONG KONG, CHINA, TAIWAN, MACAU....)?

你是在(香港, 中國, 台灣, 澳門...)你是在那一年開始你的正業工作?

63 64

19 _____

- (85) How old were you at that time?

你當時多少年紀?

65 66

- (86) Were you self-employed, employed, or were you a family worker in your first full-time occupation?

你在第一份正業是自僱, 被僱, 或家庭員工?

Self-employed (自僱).....1

Employed (被僱).....2

Family worker (家庭員工).....3

NA.....9

- (87) What was your first full-time occupation in (HONG KONG, CHINA, TAIWAN, MACAU....)?

你在(香港, 中國, 台灣, 澳門...)的第一份正業是什麼?

→ (IF NO ANSWER, GO TO Q.93)

- (88) In what kind of business, industry or service were you working?

當時你是在那一行業工作?

- (89) What position did you hold last in this job?

你在這份工作最後的職位是什麼?

- (90) (FOR EMPLOYED RESPONDENT OR FAMILY WORKER): How many people were employed at the place where you worked?

(Including part-time workers)

在你工作的地方共有多少職工? (兼工在內)

(FOR SELF-EMPLOYED RESPONDENT): How many people did you employ? (Including part-time workers)

你共僱了多少職工?

_____ people (人)

- (91) (FOR EMPLOYED RESPONDENT OR FAMILY WORKER): How long did you work in that company, or institution, or organization?

你在那間公司一共工作了多久?

(FOR SELF-EMPLOYED RESPONDENT): How long did you run that company?

你那間公司一共營業了多久?

_____ month(s) (月) and (和) / or (或) _____ year(s) (年)

I.D. Number

Card Number

(92) (TO EMPLOYED RESPONDENT ONLY): How did you get that job?

你是怎样得到那份工作的?

(93) What was your last full-time occupation in (HONG KONG, CHINA, TAIWAN, MACAU.....)?

你在(香港, 中国, 台湾, 澳门...)最後的一份職業是什麼?

(IF NO ANSWER, GO TO Q.100)

(94) In what kind of business, industry or service were you working?

你當時是在那一行業工作?

(95) What position or title did you hold last in this job?

你這份工作最後的職位或銜頭是什麼?

(96) Were you self-employed, employed, or were you a family worker?

你當時是自僱, 被僱, 或家庭員工?

Self-employed (自僱).....1

Employed (被僱).....2

Family worker (家庭員工)...3

NA.....9

(97) (FOR EMPLOYED RESPONDENT OR FAMILY WORKER): How many people were employed at the place where you worked? (Including part-time workers)

在你工作的地方共有多少職工(包括兼職工在內)?

(FOR SELF-EMPLOYED RESPONDENT): How many people did you employ? (Including part-time workers)

你共請了多少職工?(包括兼職工在內)

_____ people (人)

(98) (FOR EMPLOYED RESPONDENT OR FAMILY WORKER): How long did you work in that company, or institution, or organization?

你在那間公司/機構/組織工作多久?

(FOR SELF-EMPLOYED RESPONDENT): How long did you run that company?

你那間公司一共營業了多久?

_____ month(s) (月) and (年)/or (或) _____ year(s) (年)

(99) (TO EMPLOYED RESPONDENT ONLY): How did you get that job?

你是怎樣得到那份工作的?

21 22

(100) Which occupation was the longest you ever held in (HONG KONG, CHINA, TAIWAN, MACAU.....)?

你在(香港, 中國, 台灣, 澳門...)做得最長的職業是那一份?

Your first occupation (你第一份職業)...1 → (GO TO Q.106)

Your last occupation (你最後的職業).....2 → (GO TO Q.108)

Some other occupation (其他職業).....3

DK/NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.108)

23

(101) What was the full-time occupation you held for the longest period of time in (HONG KONG, CHINA, TAIWAN, MACAU...)?

你在(香港, 中國, 台灣, 澳門...)做得時間最長的職業是那一份?

→ (IF NO ANSWER, GO TO Q.106)

24

(102) In what kind of business, industry, or service were you working?

當時你是在那一行業工作?

25 26

(103) What position or title did you hold last in this job?

在這份工作你最後的職位或銜頭是什麼?

27 28 29 30

(104) Were you self-employed, employed, or were you a family worker at that time?

你當時是自僱, 被僱, 或家庭員工?

Self-employed (自僱).....1

Employed (被僱).....2

Family worker (家庭員工).....3

NA.....9

31

(105) (FOR EMPLOYED RESPONDENT OR FAMILY WORKER): How many people were employed at the place where you worked? (Including part-time workers)

在你工作的地方共有多少職工? (包括兼工在內)

(FOR SELF-EMPLOYED RESPONDENT): How many people did you employ? (Including part-time workers)

你共請了多少職工? (包括兼工在內)

people (人)

32 33

- (106) (FOR EMPLOYED RESPONDENT OR FAMILY WORKER): How long did you work in that company, or institution, or organization?
你在那间公司一共工作了多久?

(FOR SELF-EMPLOYED RESPONDENT): How long did you run your company?

你那间公司一共经营了多久?

34 35 36 37

_____ month(s) (月) and (和)/or (或) _____ year(s) (年)

- (107) (TO EMPLOYED RESPONDENT ONLY): How did you get that job?
你是怎样得到那份工作的?

38 39

- (108) When you came to Canada to live, when did you start working full-time?

当你到达加拿大居住,你何时开始正式工作?

40 41

19 _____

- (109) How old were you then?

你当时有多大年纪?

42 43

- (110) Did you start working immediately after arriving in Canada?
你是否到达加拿大后便马上工作?

44

Yes (是).....1 → (GO TO Q.113)

No (否).....2

NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.113)

- (111) After how long did you start working full-time in Canada?
过了多久,你才开始正式工作?

45 46 47 48

_____ week(s) (星期) and (和)/or (或)

_____ month(s) (月) and (和)/or (或)

49 50

_____ year(s) (年)

- (112) What did you do between that period of time?

你在此期间做什么?

51

- (113) What was your first full-time occupation in Canada?

你在加拿大的第一份正业是什么?

52

_____ → (IF NO ANSWER, GO TO Q.123)

- (114) In what kind of business, industry, or service were you working at that time?

你当时是在那一行业工作?

53 54

- (115) What was your position or title at that time?

当时你的职位或头衔是什么?

55 56 57 58

- (116) Were you self-employed or employed, or were you a family worker?

你当时是自雇, 被雇, 或家庭员工?

59

Self-employed (自雇).....1

Employed (被雇).....2

Family worker (家庭员工).....3

NA.....9

- (117) (FOR EMPLOYED RESPONDENT OR FAMILY WORKER): How many people were employed at the place where you worked?

(Including part-time workers)

在你工作的地方共有多少职工? (包括短工在内)

(FOR SELF-EMPLOYED RESPONDENT): How many people did you employ? (Including part-time workers)

你共雇了多少职工? (包括短工在内)

60 61

_____ people (人)

- (118) Had that job been arranged before coming to Canada?

这份工是否在你来加拿大之前已经安排好了?

62

Yes (是).....1

No (否).....2

DK/NA.....9

- (119) Was this the type of job you wanted to get?

这份工作是你想得到的吗?

63

Yes, exactly (正是).....1

Yes, more or less (大概是).....2

No, not exactly (绝对不是).....3

No, not at all (绝对不是).....4

DK/NA.....9

- (120) (TO EMPLOYED RESPONDENT ONLY): How did you get that job?

你是怎样得到那份工作的?

64 65

- (121) (FOR EMPLOYED RESPONDENT OR FAMILY WORKER): How long did you work in that company, or institution, or organization?

你在那間公司一共工作了多久?

(FOR SELF-EMPLOYED RESPONDENT): How long did you run that company?

你那間公司一共經營了多久?

66 67 68 69

_____ month(s) (月) and (和)/or (或) _____ year(s) (年)

- (122) In which city did you hold that job?

你是在那一個城市做那一份工作的?

70

Montreal (滿地可).....1 → (GO TO Q.141 ONLY IF "MORE THAN A MONTH" IS GIVEN IN Q.121)

Toronto (多倫多).....2

Vancouver (溫哥華).....3

Calgary (卡加利).....4

Other (其他).....5

NA.....9

(GO TO Q.133 ONLY IF "MORE THAN A MONTH" IS GIVEN IN Q.121)

Specify _____

(GO TO Q.133 ONLY IF "MORE THAN A MONTH" IS GIVEN IN Q.121)

- (123) What was your first full-time occupation that you held for more than a month in Canada?

你在加拿大第一份超過一個月的正業是什麼?

71

_____ → (IF NO ANSWER, GO TO Q.133)

- (124) In what kind of business, industry, or service were you working?

當時你是在那一行業工作?

72 73

- (125) What was your position or title at that time?

當時你的職位或銜頭是什麼?

74 75 76 77

- (126) Were you self-employed, employed, or were you a family worker?

你當時是自僱、被僱或家庭員工?

78

Self-employed (自僱).....1

Employed (被僱).....2

Family worker (家庭員工).....3

NA.....9

- (127) (FOR EMPLOYED RESPONDENT OR FAMILY WORKER): How many people were employed at the place where you worked? (Including part-time workers)

在你工作的地方共有多少職工?(包括短工在內)

(FOR SELF-EMPLOYED RESPONDENT): How many people did you employ?

(Including part-time workers)

你共請了多少職工?(包括短工在內)

79 80

_____ people (人)

1 2 3

I.D. Number

5

Card Number

- (128) (FOR EMPLOYED RESPONDENT OR FAMILY WORKER): How long did you work in that company, or institution, or organization?

你在那間公司一共工作了多久?

- (FOR SELF-EMPLOYED RESPONDENT): How long did you run that company?

你那間公司一共營業了多久?

5 6 7 8

_____ month(s) (月) and (和)/or (或) _____ year(s) (年)

- (129) Had that job been arranged before coming to Canada?

那份工作是否在你來加拿大之前已經安排好?

1

Yes (是).....1

No (否).....2

DK/NA.....9

- (130) (TO EMPLOYED RESPONDENT ONLY): How did you get that job?

你是怎樣得到那份工作的?

10 11

- (131) Was this the type of job you wanted to get?

這份工作是你想得到的嗎?

12

Yes, exactly (正是).....1

Yes, more or less (大概是).....2

No, not exactly (大概不是).....3

No, not at all (絕對不是).....4

DK/NA.....9

- (132) In which city did you hold that job?

你是在那一個城市做那份工作的?

13

Montreal (滿地可).....1 → (GO TO Q.141)

Toronto (多倫多).....2

Vancouver (溫哥華).....3

Calgary (卡加利).....4

Other (其他).....5 → Specify: _____

NA.....9

- (133) What was your first full-time occupation that you held for more than a month in Montreal?

你在滿地可第一份超過一個月的正業是什麼?

14

→ (IF NO ANSWER, GO TO Q.141)

- (134) In what kind of business, industry, or service were you working at that time?

你當時是在那一行業工作?

15 16

- (135) What was your position or title at that time?

你當時的職位或銜頭是什麼?

17 18 19 20

- (136) Were you self-employed, employed, or were you a family worker?

你當時是自僱, 受僱, 或是家庭員工?

21

Self-employed (自僱).....1

Employed (受僱).....2

Family worker (家庭員工)....3

NA.....9

- (137) (FOR EMPLOYED RESPONDENT OR FAMILY WORKER): How many people were employed at the place where you worked? (Including part-time workers)

在你工作的地方有多少職工?(包括短工在內)

(FOR SELF-EMPLOYED RESPONDENT): How many people did you employ? (Including part-time workers)

你共僱了多少職工?(包括短工在內)

22 23

_____ people (人)

- (138) (FOR EMPLOYED RESPONDENT OR FAMILY WORKER): How long did you work in that company, or institution, or organization?

在那間公司你一共工作了多久?

(FOR SELF-EMPLOYED RESPONDENT): How long did you run that company?

你那間公司一共營業了多久?

24 25 26 27

_____ month(s) (月) and (和)/or (或) _____ year(s) (年)

- (139) (TO EMPLOYED RESPONDENT ONLY): How did you get that job?

你是怎樣得到那份工作的?

28 29

- (140) Was this the type of job you wanted to get?

這份工作是你想得到的嗎?

30

Yes, exactly (正是).....1

Yes, more or less (大概是)....2

No, not exactly (大概不是)....3

No, not at all (絕對不是)....4

DK/NA.....9

- (141) Are you self-employed, employed, or are you a family worker now?
你現在是自僱, 被僱, 或家庭員工?

Self-employed (自僱).....1
Employed (被僱).....2 → (GO TO Q.144)
Family worker (家庭員工)....3 → (GO TO Q.144)
NA.....9

- (142) Are many of your customers Chinese and/or Chinese-Canadians?
你的顧客是否多數是中國人, 及/或中國裔加拿大人?

Yes (是).....1
No (否).....2
NA.....9

- (143) Could you tell me roughly how many of your customers are Chinese and/or Chinese-Canadians?
你是否可以告訴我你的顧客裡有多少中國人, 及/或中國裔加拿大人?

Almost all of them
(差不多全部).....1 → (GO TO Q.146)
Nearly three-quarters
(差不多四分之三).....2 → (GO TO Q.146)
About one-half
(大概一半).....3 → (GO TO Q.146)
Nearly a quarter
(差不多四分之一).....4 → (GO TO Q.146)
Less than a quarter
(少過四分之一).....5 → (GO TO Q.146)
DK/NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.146)

- (144) Who owns the company, institution, or organisation you work with?
誰擁有你工作的公司?

Chinese or Chinese-Canadian
(中國人或中國裔加拿大人)....01
Chinese and English-Canadian
(中國裔及英國裔加拿大人)....02
Chinese and French-Canadian
(中國裔及法國裔加拿大人)....03
British or English-Canadian
(英國人或英國裔加拿大人)....04
French or French-Canadian
(法國人或法國裔加拿大人)....05
American or American-Canadian
(美國人或美國裔加拿大人)....06
Jewish or Jewish-Canadian
(猶太人或猶太裔加拿大人)....07
The Government of Canada
(加拿大政府).....08
The Government of Quebec
(魁北克政府).....09
Other
(其他).....10
DK/NA.....99

Specify: _____

- (145) What is the ethnic background of the majority of the executives/management of the company, or institution, or organization?

你公司的高級職員與經理階級多數是屬於那一種族?

Chinese or Chinese-Canadian

(中國人或中國裔加拿大人)...1

British or English-Canadian

(英國人或英國裔加拿大人)...2

French or French-Canadian

(法國人或法國裔加拿大人)...3

American or American-Canadian

(美國人或美國裔加拿大人)...4

Jewish or Jewish-Canadian

(猶太人或猶太裔加拿大人)...5

Mixed

(混雜).....6

Other

(其他).....7 → Specify: _____

DK/NA.....9

- (146) What is your present full-time occupation?

你現時的正業是什麼?

- (147) In what kind of business, industry, or service are you working?

你是在那一行業工作?

- (148) What is your present position or title?

你現時的職位或銜頭是什麼?

- (149) (FOR EMPLOYED RESPONDENT OR FAMILY WORKER): How many people are employed at the place where you work now? (Including part-time workers)

在你工作的地方共有多少職工?(包括短工在內)

(FOR SELF-EMPLOYED RESPONDENT): How many people do you employ?

(Including part-time workers)

你共聘了多少職工?(包括短工在內)

_____ people (人) → (FOR SELF-EMPLOYED RESPONDENT, GO TO Q.151)

- (150) Please think about five people, either colleagues or supervisors you most closely work with, could you please tell me the ethnic background of each of them?

請想五位你工作時經常接觸到的同事或上司,可否告訴我他們每一個人的種族是什麼?

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____

4. _____ 5. _____ → (GO TO Q.152)

- (151) How many of your employees are Chinese or Chinese-Canadians?
 在你的職工之中, 有多少是中國人或中國裔加拿大人?

52 53

_____ people (人)

- (152) (FOR EMPLOYED RESPONDENT OR FAMILY WORKER): How long have you been working in this company, or institution, or organization?
 你在这間公司工作多久?

(FOR SELF-EMPLOYED RESPONDENT): How long have you been running this company?

54 55 56 57

_____ month(s) (月) and (年)/or (年) _____ year(s) (年)

- (153) (TO EMPLOYED RESPONDENT ONLY): How did you get your present job? 你是怎样得到现时这份工作的?

58 59

- (154) Is this the type of job you wanted to get?
 这份工作是你想得到的嗎?

Yes, exactly (正是).....1
 Yes, more or less (大概是).....2
 No, not exactly (大概不是).....3
 No, not at all (绝对不是).....4
 DK/NA.....9

- (155) Everything taken into consideration, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with your present job?
 總括來說, 你对現時的工作滿意否?

Very satisfied (非常滿意).....1
 Satisfied (滿意).....2
 In between (在滿意與不滿意之間).....3
 Dissatisfied (不滿意).....4
 Very dissatisfied (非常不滿意).....5
 DK/NA.....9

- (156) Do you feel that your career in Canada so far has been successful?
 到目前為止, 你覺得你在加拿大的事業是否成功?

Very successful (非常成功).....1
 Pretty successful (很成功).....2
 Average (普通).....3
 Pretty unsuccessful (很不成功).....4
 Very unsuccessful (非常不成功).....5
 DK/NA.....9

- (157) Some people judge their occupational achievement by comparing themselves with other people (for example: close friends, colleagues, supervisors, schoolmates, neighbors, a particular friend, some other Chinese, some other Canadians, etc.) With what kind of people do you usually judge your own occupational achievement in Canada?

有些人將自己與他人比較來判斷自己事業上的成就
(例如: 好朋友, 同事上司, 同學鄰居, 某朋友, 其他中國人, 其他加拿大人等等), 你通常與那些人比較來判斷你自己
在加拿大事業上的成就?

→ (IF NO ANSWER, GO TO Q.160)

- (158) Are most of them
他們多數是

Chinese or Chinese-Canadian?

(中國人或中國裔加拿大人)...1

British or English-Canadian?

(英國人或英國裔加拿大人)...2

French or French-Canadian?

(法國人或法國裔加拿大人)...3

American or American-Canadian?

(美國人或美國裔加拿大人)...4

Jewish or Jewish-Canadian?

(猶太人或猶太裔加拿大人)...5

Mixed (混雜).....6

Others (其他).....7

DK/NA.....9

Specify: _____

- (159) Do you feel most of them have achieved better, the same or worse than you?

他們的成就是否多數好過, 一樣, 或差過你?

Better (好過).....1

Same (一樣).....2

Worse (差過).....3

DK/NA.....9

- (160) How many times did you change your full-time employment since you started to work in Canada - jobs that you kept at least for one month?

你在加拿大開始工作後曾經轉過多少次正業工作(做超過一個月的)

None (沒有).....0

Once (一次).....1

Twice (二次).....2

Three times (三次).....3

Four times (四次).....4

Five times (五次).....5

Six times (六次).....6

Seven times or more

(七次或以上).....7

DK/NA.....9

(161) Have you ever applied or bid for a promotion?

你曾否申請升職?

Yes (是).....1

No (否).....2

DK/NA/TA.....9

(162) Have you ever taken or are you taking courses given by your company? 你曾否或你現在有否讓公司舉辦的課程?

Yes (是).....1

No (否).....2

DK/NA/TA.....9

(163) Have you taken or are you taking courses in a school, university, or by correspondence, since working?

你自工作以來是否曾經或現在正就讀於學校, 大學, 或其他函授課程?

Yes (是).....1

No (否).....2

DK/NA.....9

(164) What would be the ideal occupation you would want to get?

(INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR IDEAL BUSINESS, INDUSTRY OR SERVICE; AND POSITION OR TITLE)

你心目中想得到理想職業是什麼?

Ideal occupation (理想職業): _____

Ideal business, industry or service (理想行業): _____

Ideal position or title (理想職位或銜職): _____

(165) What was your own total earning for 1976 from all sources

including wages, salaries, rents, investment income and so on? 包括一切入息, (例如薪金, 工資, 房租, 投資收入等等), 你在1976年的收入大約共有多少?

\$25,000 and more (和上述)...1

\$20,000 - \$24,999.....2

\$15,000 - \$19,999.....3

\$10,000 - \$14,999.....4

\$5,000 - \$9,999.....5

Less than (少於) \$5,000.....6

DK/NA.....9

1 2 3

I.D. Number

4 5

Card Number

- (166) How many people are living in your household including yourself?

包括你自己在內，一共有多少人住在你家里？

5 6

_____ people (人) → (IF NO ANSWER, OR "ONE", GO TO Q.169)

- (167) Excluding yourself, how many of them are:

除了你自己，其中有多少人是：

7 8

Adult family members
(those who are over 21)

(超过21岁的成年家人): _____ people (人)

9 10

Children family members

(小孩家人): _____ people (人)

11 12

Adult relatives

(超过21岁的成年亲戚): _____ people (人)

13 14

Children relatives

(小孩亲戚): _____ people (人)

15 16

In-laws

(姻親): _____ people (人)

17 18

Tenants

(租客): _____ people (人)

19 20

Friends

(朋友): _____ people (人)

21 22

Others

(其他): _____ people (人)

Specify: _____

- (168) What was the total earning of your household for 1976 from all sources including wages, salaries, rents, investment income and so on for all persons including yourself (but excluding tenants and friends, if any)?

包括一切入息(例如薪金、工酬、房租、投資收入等等)，你全家(包括你自己，但不包括你的租客和朋友)在1976年的收入大约有多少？

23

\$25,000 and more (多过).....1

\$20,000 - \$24,999.....2

\$15,000 - \$19,999.....3

\$10,000 - \$14,999.....4

\$5,000 - \$9,999.....5

Less than (少于) \$5,000.....6

DK/NA.....9

- (169) Would you say your family's economic position in Canada is high, low or average compared to that of other families in Canada?

為其他加拿大家庭比較,你認為你家庭的經濟地位,在加拿大是說高,低,還是普通呢?

High (高).....1
Average (普通).....2
Low (低).....3
DK/NA.....9

- (170) How would you say your standard of living in Canada compared with the standard of living you had in (HONG KONG, CHINA, TAIWAN, MACAU.....)?

你是怎樣比較你在加拿大的生活水準和你(香港, 中國, 台灣, 澳門...)的生活水準?

Very much better off in Canada
(在加拿大更好).....1
A little better off in Canada
(在加拿大更好).....2
Little or no difference
(無大分別).....3 → (GO TO Q.172)
A little worse off in Canada
(在加拿大更差).....4
Much worse off in Canada
(在加拿大更差).....5
DK/NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.172)

- (171) Could you tell me what makes the difference?

你可否告訴我差別的原因?

26 27 28 29

30 31

- (172) Regarding one's position in society, people judge other people not only by their income, education, or occupation, but also by general acceptance and respect they receive in the society. Thinking in this way, is your social

position in the community higher, lower or the same now in comparison with that in (HONG KONG, CHINA, TAIWAN, MACAU...)?

一個人在社會上的地位,不單以其收入,學歷,或職業來衡量;而且還以他在社會得到的普遍接受和尊敬而決定。從這方面去想,你覺得你在社會上的地位是比(以前)香港,中國,台灣,澳門...高些,低些或相同?

Higher (高些).....1
Same (相同).....2 → (GO TO Q.174)
Lower (低些).....3
DK/NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.174)

32

- (173) Could you tell me why do you think there is such a difference?
你可否告訴我為什麼會有這樣的差別?

33 34 35 36
37 38

- (174) Did you attend or are you attending language courses?
你曾否或是否正在就讀語言課程?

Yes (是).....1

No (否).....2 → (GO TO Q.176)

NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.176)

- (175) What language courses did you attend or are you attending?
你曾讀過或正在讀的是什麼語言課程?

English (英文).....1

French (法文).....2

Both English & French
(英文與法文).....3

Others (其他).....4 → Specify: _____

NA.....9

- (176) Could you please rate your fluency and ability in Chinese, English, and French? 你可否估計你對中、英、法文的能力及流暢程度?

41 42 43

	Chinese (中)	English (英)	French (法)
Very good (非常好)	1	1	1
Good (好)	2	2	2
Fair (不錯)	3	3	3
Poor (差)	4	4	4
Not at all (全不會)	5	5	5
DK/NA	9	9	9

- (177) Here in Canada, what language do you use when speaking to your wife? (REFER TO CODE IN CODE BOOK)
在加拿大,你用什么語言和你妻子傾談?

44 45

- (178) Here in Canada, what language do you use when speaking to your children? (REFER TO CODE IN CODE BOOK)
在加拿大,你用什么語言和你子女傾談?

46 47

- (179) Here in Canada, what language do you use when speaking to your brothers and sisters? (REFER TO CODE IN CODE BOOK)
在加拿大, 你用什麼語言和你的兄弟姊妹傾談?

48 49

- (180) Here in Canada, what language do you use when speaking to your close friends? (REFER TO CODE IN CODE BOOK)
在加拿大, 你用什麼語言和你的好朋友傾談?

50 51

- (181) Here in Canada, what language do you use when speaking to people at work? (REFER TO CODE IN CODE BOOK)
在加拿大, 你用什麼語言在工作地方與人傾談?

52 53

- (182) If you read books, do you read English, French or Chinese books? (REFER TO CODE IN CODE BOOK)
如果你看書, 你是看中文, 英文或法文書呢?

54 55

- (183) If you read magazines, do you read English, French or Chinese magazines? (REFER TO CODE IN CODE BOOK)
如果你看畫報, 你是看中文, 英文或法文畫報呢?

56 57

- (184) If you read newspapers, do you read English, French or Chinese newspapers? (REFER TO CODE IN CODE BOOK)
如果你看報紙, 你是看中文, 英文或法文報紙呢?

58 59

- (185) What kind of food do you prefer for your main meals, Canadian or Chinese food?
在你日常的主要膳用, 你較喜愛吃加拿大或中國食物呢?

60

Completely Canadian food (全部加拿大食物).....1
Mostly Canadian food (多屬加拿大食物).....2
Both Canadian and Chinese food (加拿大與中國食物二種).....3
Mostly Chinese food (多屬中國食物).....4
Completely Chinese food (全部中國食物).....5
Other (其他).....6

Specify: _____

NA.....9

- (186) What kind of festivals do you celebrate here in Canada, Canadian or Chinese festivals?

你在加拿大慶祝什麼節日，是加拿大或中國節日？

Only Canadian festivals (只是加拿大節日).....1
 Mostly Canadian festivals (多數加拿大節日).....2
 Both Canadian and Chinese festivals
 (加拿大與中國節日二種).....3
 Mostly Chinese festivals (多數中國節日).....4
 Only Chinese festivals (只是中國節日).....5
 NA/IA.....9

- (187) When you watch T.V., do you watch English-language programs or French-language programs?

當你看電視，你是看英文或法文節目？

Only English-language programs (只看英文節目).....1
 Only French-language programs (只看法文節目).....2
 Mostly English-language programs (多數看英文節目)....3
 Mostly French-language programs (多數看法文節目).....4
 Both English- and French-language programs
 (看英文與法文節目二種).....5
 NA/IA.....9

- (188) Do you go to Chinese movies?

你看中國電影嗎？

Yes, always (永遠看).....1
 Yes, frequently (經常看).....2
 Yes, occasionally (有時看)....3
 Yes, seldom (很少看).....4
 No, never (從不看).....5
 NA.....9

- (189) As you know, Chinese women were taught to follow "the three rules of obedience and the four virtues". Do you think they should retain these virtues?

以你所知，中國女子是授予傳統「三從四德」，你認為她們是否應該保留這種美德？

Definitely yes (絕對是).....1
 Probably yes (可能是).....2
 Uncertain (不確定).....3
 Probably not (可能不是).....4
 Definitely not (絕對不是)....5
 DK/NA.....9

(190) Do you feel that Canadian-born Chinese should keep alive some of the Chinese traditions?

你覺得加拿大土生中國人是否應該保留部份中國傳統？

Definitely yes (絕對是).....1

Probably yes (可能是).....2

Uncertain (不肯定).....3

Probably not (可能不是).....4

Definitely not (絕對不是).....5

DK/NA.....9

(191) Do you think that it is necessary for a son, once working, to give part of his salary to his parents to repay them?

你認為做兒子的是否應該從工作所得的新金給予一部份給父母親，以作報答？

Definitely yes (絕對是).....1

Probably yes (可能是).....2

Uncertain (不肯定).....3

Probably not (可能不是).....4

Definitely not (絕對不是).....5

DK/NA.....9

(192) Do you think that a Chinese should marry to Chinese only?

你認為中國人是否應該只與中國人結婚？

Definitely yes (絕對是).....1

Probably yes (可能是).....2

Uncertain (不肯定).....3

Probably not (可能不是).....4

Definitely not (絕對不是).....5

DK/NA.....9

(193) Do you resent it when people say harsh things about Chinese although they do not refer to you personally?

當他人談中國人的壞話，但又卻不是指你個人而言，你會覺得反感嗎？

Very much (十分反感).....1

Much (很反感).....2

Somewhat (略為反感).....3

Little (少許反感).....4

None (沒有反感).....5

DK/NA.....9

- (194) Do you feel that in many ways Chinese is superior to other nationality groups?

在很許多方面來說，你覺得中國人是比其他國家的人優秀嗎？

Very much (十分優秀).....1
 Much (很優秀).....2
 Somewhat (略為優秀).....3
 Little (少許優秀).....4
 None (毫無優秀).....5
 DK/NA.....9

- (195) Do you feel that Canadian-born Chinese should learn the Chinese language?

你覺得加拿大土生中國人是否應該學習中國語言？

Definitely yes (絕對是).....1
 Probably yes (可能是).....2
 Uncertain (不肯定).....3
 Probably not (可能不是).....4
 Definitely not (絕對不是).....5
 DK/NA.....9

- (196) Please think of three close friends that you have. To what ethnic origin does each of them belong?

請想及你的三位好朋友，他們每個人的種族是什麼？

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____

- (197) With which of the following persons do you feel most at ease?

你與以下那一種人會覺得最相處自如？

British or English-Canadian
 (英國人或英國裔加拿大人).....1
 French or French-Canadian
 (法國人或法國裔加拿大人).....2
 Canadian-born Chinese
 (加拿大土生中國人).....3
 Chinese or Chinese immigrants
 (中國人或中國裔移民).....4
 Others (其他).....5
 DK/NA.....9

Specify _____

1 2 3

I.D. Number

4

Card Number

- (198) When you are invited to parties and dinners, are they usually given by

通常請你去舞會或宴會的人是

British or English-Canadian?

(英國人或英國裔加拿大人).....1

French or French-Canadian?

(法國人或法國裔加拿大人).....2

Canadian-born Chinese?

(加拿大土生中國人).....3

Chinese or Chinese immigrants?

(中國人或中國新移民).....4

Others (其他).....5 → Specify: _____

NA.....9

- (199) What is your religion?

你的宗教是什麼?

Protestant (基督教).....1

Catholic (天主教).....2

Buddhist (佛教).....3

Confucianist (孔教).....4

No religion or atheist

(無宗教或反宗教).....5 → (GO TO Q.202)

Others (其他).....6 → Specify: _____

NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.202)

- (200) Do you attend church?

你去教堂嗎?

Yes (是).....1

No (否).....2 → (GO TO Q.202)

NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.202)

- (201) Is the church you usually attend a Chinese church?

你通常去的教堂是否中國教堂?

Yes (是).....1

No (否).....2

NA.....9

- (202) Do you belong to any clubs or associations?

你是否屬於任何社團或會所?

Yes (是).....1

No (否).....2 → (GO TO Q.207)

NA.....9 → (GO TO Q.207)

- (203) How many Chinese associations or clubs do you belong to?
你屬於多少間中國社團或會所?

_____ (IF "NONE", GO TO Q.205)

- (204) Among the Chinese associations or clubs you belong, please think of the one which you consider most important. How often do you attend the meetings or activities held by that association or club?

在你屬於的中國社團或會所，請想及其中一個你認為最重要的，你多久才去一次這個社團或會所舉行的聚會或活動？

Always (永遠去).....1
Often (經常去).....2
Occasionally (有時去).....3
Seldom (很少去).....4
Never (從不去).....5
NA.....9

- (205) How many non-Chinese associations or clubs do you belong to?
你屬於多少間非中國社團或會所？

_____ (IF "NONE", GO TO Q.207)

- (206) Among the non-Chinese associations or clubs you belong, please think of the one which you consider most important. How often do you attend the meetings or activities held by that association or club?

在你屬於的非中國社團或會所，請想及其中一個你認為是最重要的，你多久才去一次這個社團或會所舉行的聚會或活動？

Always (永遠去).....1
Often (經常去).....2
Occasionally (有時去).....3
Seldom (很少去).....4
Never (從不去).....5
NA.....9

- (207) If a football match or other game was being played between a Canadian team and a Chinese team, which team do you want it to win?

若加拿大足球隊(或其他運動隊)與一隊中國足球隊比賽，你係那一隊勝利？

Canadian team (加拿大隊)....1
Don't care (沒有所謂).....2
Chinese team (中國隊).....3
NA.....9

- (208) Do you feel now you belong to Canada, or do you feel you belong to (HONG KONG, CHINA, TAIWAN, MACAU....), or some other place?

你現在認為你是屬於加拿大, 或你仍然屬於(香港, 中國, 台灣, 澳門...), 或是其他地方?

Really belong to Canada
(真正屬於加拿大).....1
Partly belong to Canada and partly to (Hong Kong, China, Taiwan, Macau...)
(部份屬於加拿大及部份屬於香港, 中國, 台灣, 澳門).....2
Partly belong to Canada and partly to other place
(部份屬於加拿大及部份屬於其他地方).....3
Really belong to (Hong Kong, China, Taiwan, Macau...)
(真正屬於香港, 中國, 台灣, 澳門.....).....4
DK/NA.....9

- (209) Of what country or city are you a citizen?
你是那一國家或城市的公民?

Canada (加拿大).....1 (GO TO Q.213)
Hong Kong (香港).....2
China (中國).....3
Taiwan (台灣).....4
Macau (澳門).....5
Other (其他).....6 Specify: _____
NA.....9 (GO TO Q.213)

- (210) Do you plan to become a Canadian citizen?
你是否計劃成為加拿大公民?

Definitely Yes (絕對是).....1
Probably yes (可能是).....2
Uncertain (未決定).....3
Probably not (可能不是).....4
Definitely not (絕對不是).....5
DK/NA.....9

- (211) Are you already eligible to become a Canadian citizen?
你是否已經有資格成為加拿大公民?

Yes (是).....1
No (否).....2 (GO TO Q.213)
DK/NA.....9 (GO TO Q.213)

- (212) Why have you not taken citizenship so far?
你為什麼到現在還未成為公民?

- (213) In your opinion, what will be the consequences of becoming a Canadian citizen?

以你的意見，成為加拿大公民會有什麼後果？

21 22 23 24
25 26

- (214) There are some people who regret to have come to Canada; are you happy being in Canada?

有些人後悔來到加拿大，你在加拿大是否快樂？

Very happy (非常快樂).....1

Happy (快樂).....2

In between (快樂與不快樂之間).....3

Unhappy (不快樂).....4

Very unhappy (非常不快樂).....5

DK/NA.....9

21

- (215) Everything taken into consideration, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with life in Canada?

總括一切來說，你對加拿大的生活滿意否？

Very satisfied (非常滿意)....1

Satisfied (滿意).....2

In between (滿意與不滿意之間).....3

Dissatisfied (不滿意).....4

Very dissatisfied (非常不滿意).....5

DK/NA.....9

22

- (216) Do you feel that if a Chinese immigrant or Canadian-born Chinese does the same work as an average Canadian he will get paid more, the same, or less for that work?

當一個中國新移民或加拿大土生中國人與普通一個加拿大人做同樣的工作，你認為他是否會得到多些，少些，或同等薪酬？

More pay (更多薪酬).....1

Same pay (同等薪酬).....2

Less pay (少些薪酬).....3

DK/NA.....9

23

- (217) Do you think that a Chinese immigrant or Canadian-born Chinese who is qualified can get as good a job, a better job, or not as good a job as an average Canadian with the same qualifications?

你觉得一个中国裔移民或加拿大土生中国人, 与其他加拿大人有同等的资历是否会获得一份相同, 较好, 或较差的工作?

Better job (较好的工作).....1
As good a job (相同的工作).....2
Not as good a job (较差的工作)....3
DK/NA.....9

- (218) Do you feel Chinese immigrants or Canadian-born Chinese are discriminated against in trying to get a job?

你是否觉得中国裔移民或加拿大土生中国人找工作做时会被歧视呢?

Strongly discriminated against
(被强烈歧视).....1
Moderately discriminated against
(被缓和歧视).....2
Not discriminated against at all
(没有被歧视).....3
DK/NA.....9

- (219) Do you feel there is prejudice against Chinese immigrants or Canadian-born Chinese?

你是否觉得他人对中国裔移民或加拿大土生中国人存有偏见?

Yes, very strong prejudice
(非常强烈偏见).....1
Yes, some prejudice (有些偏见)....2
Yes, just a little among a very
few people
(只是极少数人中有少许偏见).....3
No, not at all (绝对没有偏见)....4
DK/NA.....9

- (220) To what extent do you feel that you have been a victim of prejudice because of your membership in a minority group?

你觉得因为你的民族身份而受害偏见的程度有多少?

To a great extent (很高程度).....1
More or less average
(差不多平均程度).....2
Average (平均程度).....3
Less than average (低于平均程度)....4
Not at all (没有).....5
DK/NA.....9

- THE END -

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION!

多谢合作!

INTERVIEWER: PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS

(221) In general, what was the respondent's attitude toward the interview?

Friendly and interested.....1

Cooperative but not particularly interested.....2

Impatient and restless.....3

Hostile.....4

Other further comments _____

(222) Was respondent's understanding of the questions -- good, fair or poor?

Good.....1

Fair.....2

Poor.....3