Ethnic Vancouver:
Essays in Cultural Geography

Edited by

P.L. Wagner

Discussion Paper No. 16

Disclaimer: Simon Fraser University, Department of Geography. Discussion Papers are prepared or edited by Department members for private circulation to interested individuals. Since these papers may represent preliminary work in progress, their contents should neither be quoted nor referred to in published work without written consent of the author.

Comments are invited.
PREFACE

Philip L. WAGNER, "Introduction to ethnic Vancouver."

Ferdinand BIERBRAUER, "Francophones in Vancouver."

Paul BUTTENHUIS, "West Indians in Vancouver: A relocated ethnic group."

Chris COLLETT, "The Italian Community of Vancouver."

Peter DÖRFENBÄCHER, "Acculturation, assimilation, and mobility of the German ethnic group in Vancouver. Is there a time-space relationship?"

Michael GEIB, "A European German View of the Germans in Vancouver."

Wayne HINADA, "An in-depth historical examination of the Polish family unit in Canada, as well as an analysis of an actual case study done in Toronto (1967) and the contrasting views which are brought out."

Knud LILHOLT, "The Vancouver Japanese community."

Frank ROBERTO, "An outlook on the Italians in Vancouver."

Yuk Yee Amy YAU, "Diversity of the ethnic Chinese population in Vancouver, British Columbia."
PREFACE

The papers in this collection are the essays written by the members of a class at Simon Fraser University in "Comparative Cultural Geography," in the Spring Semester 1981. The research for the papers was conceived and carried out within a three month period, which fact imposed limitations on the extent of survey work and on the degree of detail of the investigations. The essays therefore should be recognized as tentative, and regarded as progress reports and as invitations to further, lengthier research.

A general introduction, paralleling the direction of discussion in the class, accompanies the nine essays on the topics chosen and investigated by the several students, and covering a variety of ethnic groups and aspects of their contribution to the polyglot Vancouver scene.

No extensive bibliography can be offered here, but beside the various census publications, the following are basic references:

Ethnic groups in British Columbia: a selected bibliography based on a check-list of material in the Provincial Library and Archives. Victoria, B.C. Centennial Commission, 1957. 64 p.


It is hoped that the studies here presented will contribute to a greater understanding and appreciation among the many groups that constitute Vancouver, and will stimulate the further study of their origins, achievements, and expressions, and their special needs.

P. L. Wagner
Introduction to Ethnic Vancouver

by

Philip L. Wagner

March 31, 1981
Diverse and vigorous expression of ethnicity has become a striking feature of contemporary urban Canada. The older heavy dominance of French and English speech and ways is challenged now by new pluralities from elsewhere than the Founding Nations. Vancouver, as the "third metropolis," displays the heightened multi-ethnic character of the late twentieth century Canadian large city in its full intensity and complexity, which are the subject of this essay.

**Ethnicity: Elusive Concept**

The obvious variety in languages, genetic stocks, behavior norms, and dietary habits, as well as different residential and commercial concentrations in metropolitan Vancouver correspond, of course, to a wide range of identities and origins. But imperfect categories and inadequate enumeration make it very difficult to be precise about the constitution of the groups concerned and their numerical importance. The self identification and even the personal histories of many persons properly considered "ethnics" do not jibe with their designations by officialdom, most academics, or the public. Likewise those people whom such consensus somehow excludes from "ethnic" status nonetheless exhibit traits and backgrounds almost equally diverse.

Canadian multiculturalism does not regard the francophone and anglophone of native origin as "ethnic" persons in the same way as it classes immigrants that way, and it also excludes the native Amerind population from the "ethnic" category. Formerly, however, the overriding importance of the French/English dichotomy gave rise to a curious classification of persons in the census according to their ultimate descent in the paternal line, often tracing ostensible "Germans" born in Canada of native parents, for example, many generations back to distance ancestors. That sort of subtlety reflected thinking in those days in terms of European "races" that in fact were hardly more than what are now called simply "nationalities," and indeed the very word "nationality" was used to designate such categories of ancestral national origin. Perhaps the best thing that could be said for this quaint system was that it served well enough in keeping score on French and English and exotic elements politically significant within the special Canadian reality.

Ancestral origins do not of course necessarily misrepresent a person's true ethnicity. They may on occasion coincide with other criteria accepted
by the individual and society in general for measuring this quality. Continuity of language, culture, or religion, for example, over several generations might well validate distinctions of such nationality in practice. Yet it would appear more realistic to assess such clues directly in establishing ethnic differences. Since a person's speech, behavior patterns, religious faith, and other characteristics may notoriously differ drastically from those of his or her ancestors or even parents, the criterion of "nationality" through descent is highly unreliable and now is justifiably long since abandoned in many countries.

An obvious approach to ethnic origins lies through the designation of the place of residence or country from which the individual came, or was finally and fully authorized to come, to Canada. The immigration services of many countries use a similar criterion, and it often serves the general public as a rough and ready source of ethnic distinctions. Yet the place-of-origin criterion suffers from a number of telling defects. First of all, ethnicity ought not be restricted just to immigrants. Other people, longer here, frequently identify themselves, and behave, in such a way as fully to deserve the designation too. Furthermore, the category "immigrant" is evanescent under present Canadian official practice, lapsing three years after entry, although ethnicity may still remain well after individuals have moved from initial landing to final citizenship or permanent residence. Another source of error lies in the fact that the place and jurisdiction registered at time of application for emigration to Canada are very often neither the place of actual origin nor the residence of applicants, and they are therefore incorrectly represented. In addition, foreign countries too exhibit a diversity of ethnic groups (however one defines them) that is comparable with Canada's in many cases, and so a simple tabulation of administrative origins is missing something vital. In order to keep track of volume of administrative activity, immigration statistics must understandably continue to record the place of origin of persons coming into the country, however, rather than accounting more particularly for the true identity of individuals.

Official Canadian data have been published on two other aspects of ethnicity that help to hint, but only hint, at actual diversity. Recent censuses have included information on home language, intended probably to focus on English and French primarily, but picking up numerous other idioms too, as well as data on the self identifications preferred by respondents. Language may or may not adequately index all ethnicity in a given context,
though; often it does not. Clearly a linguistic competence may not survive so long as other distinguishing features of a group, and conversely persons from outside a group may sometimes master and habitually use its language—as is common in some areas of Europe, for example, or in India. Furthermore, the several varied ethnic groups whose native tongue is one or another variety of English could be overlooked by this criterion.

The way a person may identify himself or herself would seem a fair approximation to a true identity, but what of deliberate misrepresentation, sheer fantasy, or unconscious mistakes? The standards that an individual in isolation may attempt to use, or may falsely claim, need necessarily have nothing at all really to do with affiliation or affinity with a specific group, whereas for "ethnicity" to remain a meaningful and useful concept it must refer to social groups and not the idiosyncracies of single subjects. Other objections also occur. If declarations are to be not forced—and therefore not be worthless evidence—how, for example, can a respondent be restrained from answering, say, "Canadian" to a query about identification, even when he or she is evidently a fresh arrival or a member of a well authenticated special group? How are volunteered responses reducible to some finite standard nomenclature?

Perhaps the single most effective way of measuring ethnicity in Canada today is by assessing participation in the activities of certain kinds of groups within society that stand explicitly for ethnic status. Constituted, ongoing social groups with the declared objective of maintaining given languages, religions, arts, and other cultural components drawn from elsewhere in the new Canadian milieu, or links political and social with a former homeland, would for instance amply qualify as "ethnic institutions," and membership or steady involvement in them ought to serve to indicate a corresponding ethnic identity—both because an individual who thus participates must more or less expressly embrace the declared ethnic purposes of the institution, and because its members must in turn acknowledge his or her entitlement to that participation. This kind of group accordingly invests its members, in the face of general society, with symbols and credentials of ethnicity, as well as affording them a measure of reassuring solidarity and collective security. The kind and character of their participation in such social groups will necessarily be varied, according to individual circumstances.
Seen thus, "ethnicity" must be regarded as at most a special case of individual involvement with society, under which in this particular sort of case, the participants are grouped selectively by language or some other of the features indicated, rather than for instance in conformity with their professions, political outlook or leisure tastes. A degree of difference from the host society is, however, also implicated and influential. It is justified to speak of "ethnic minorities," for it is all too clear that the numerical (or at least political) inferiority of ethnic individuals can impose on them a powerful disadvantage that requires especial remedies. At the same time, the notion of "minority" as such should not be confused, as often happens, with that of "ethnic group", for many instances of not particularly ethnic kinds of minorities exist in most societies--e.g., the elderly, the highly educated, or the vegetarians.

The idea of racial (i.e., genetic) difference often enters into discussions of social minorities, and the clarity of the term "ethnic" has been blurred by its application in the United States particularly to (real or assumed) racial/genetic isolates when considered as minorities, yet with an accompanying denial of any substantial cultural separateness in these social categories. Black people there are held to constitute an ethnic minority yet to be culturally American like their white neighbors. This twists "ethnicity" too far. Race, or external phenotype, may help to categorize people--though probably for no very wholesome purpose--but need have no connection with culture, national origin, self identification, participation in constituted social groups, or any other acceptable criterion of ethnicity. In Canada the concept of "race" was all too recently still overtly applied in immigration policy as well as education, residential zoning, and a variety of other domains, but it now lacks official relevance and is invoked by vulgar prejudice alone.

Thus manifest participation in some kind of social institutions seems to offer the most suitable single criterion for recognizing ethnicity and ethnic distinctions. Such a measure evidently may produce perceptions somewhat or entirely different from the ones arising out of national origin, ancestry, race, language, or self identification, but any realistic picture of ethnicity must involve all such aspects in unison, and judgement is required. The complexities observable within the actual community make this apparent.
The Complex Community

Although participation in specific institutions may provide the single most generally reliable and valid criterion of ethnicity, this sort of clue can by no means definitively solve all problems of resolving ethnic identities. Certain complicating principles apply.

Many or even most nominal ethnic entities distinguished on the basis of national origin or residence at time of emigration prove in fact to be compounded of several distinct and often antagonistic elements. Among those prominently represented in Vancouver, the "German" ethnic unit (encompassed in no single set of institutions!) comprises such divergent elements as German speaking families of Mennonite faith resident already for several generations in Canada; post World War II German speaking refugees from Eastern Europe (the so-called Volksdeutsche), some of whom may never have seen Germany itself; bona fide immigrants from Germany, businessmen here representing German firms, consular officials, students—all of whom are temporary and yet often influential; and people of German speech who have come to Canada after residence, and sometimes birth, in countries like South Africa and Argentina. The folk called loosely "East Indians" prove even more diverse: the term as popularly used covers Pakistani Muslims of various languages and sects; Bengalis from Bangladesh; Punjabi Sikhs (by far the most numerous element); Fijians of somewhat remote South Indian "Hindu" origin; East Africans of Marathi or Gujarati ancestry and Shi'a Muslim faith speaking English at home; persons of predominantly but not exclusively East Indian descent of one kind or another (and often Presbyterian faith traceable to Canadian missionary exertions!), who come from Caribbean countries and talk Creole and English; and a few Parsees, Sri Lankans, retired Gurkha soldiers, and others. Many further groups such as Italians, Filipinos, and Yugoslavs show like diversity. Often the distinctions within the ostensible major group mean so much to the people concerned that they scrupulously maintain separate patterns of association, such as the utterly distinct Serbian, Slovene, and Croatian political, religious, and fraternal organizations, among which no great love is lost.

The members of ethnic communities in Vancouver or other immigrant cities tend to have come from some few sharply restricted areas of their respective homelands. A large part of the population originating in Jugoslavia emigrated from the islands and adjacent coasts of Dalmatia. The Vancouver Portuguese came to a large extent from the Azores Islands. The preponderant element in
the local Italian community is now from Calabria and nearby provinces of the south. In this latter case, or in that of the Greeks, distinctions among localities of origin are enshrined in a plethora of home district social clubs. Among about 12,000 Greeks in Vancouver (from throughout that country, Cyprus, and overseas colonies), there are said to exist 54 clubs and societies oriented to particular old country localities!

Owing at least in part to "push" factors of a political or religious nature in respective homelands, there occur a disproportionate number of certain small but rather "aberrant" social elements among emigrants from certain countries. Thus, notoriously, overseas Chinese (including people merely of remote Chinese descent) make up a large percentage of the recent immigrants from Vietnam, including the boat people. The East Africans of Asian descent already referred to are another such contingent, along with people of European stock from Guyana, Jamaica, Barbados, and other parts of the West Indies; Catholic Creole "Portuguese" from Malacca and Macao; or Baha'is and Zoroastrians recently fled from Iran.

"Secondary migration" to the area, involving people who belonged to recent immigrant stock in their former homelands—a category strongly overlapping with the one above—occurs quite frequently. A number of immigrant Black residents of Vancouver actually were born in Britain, and in fact the actual number of both Black and "East Indian" persons in Canada remains vague because of the multiplicity of categories of origin (like British or West Indian) that hide in turn a multiplicity of ethnic and genetic differences. Armenian people, represented in modest numbers but numerous enough to support an Armenian Apostolic religious congregation, came via many way stations over several generations from the oriental homeland around Ararat. The history of immigrants of foreign origin also frequently involves intervening residence in other places within Canada before settlement in Vancouver—a feature common as well to the native Canadian population of the city.

A large number of the immigrants and other people of non-Canadian cultural origin are automatically almost "invisible" because they come from some kind of anglophone stock. Americans and British count among the largest immigrant contingents, not to mention South Africans, New Zealanders, Rhodesians/Zimbabweans, Australians, Irish, and so on. (In 1980, out of 18,583 immigrants to British Columbia, 3,084 were from the United Kingdom and 2,096 from the United States—together nearly 28% of the total). The degree of "ethnic participation" of these several sorts of anglophones is hard to gauge. One
important congeries of groups, consisting of the native Amerinds, though largely anglophone by now are notoriously and painfully neither assimilated nor homogenous culturally and socially. Culturally, the people from the north and south of England itself differ noticeably among themselves, to say nothing of the contrast between them and the Welsh and Scots. The distinctive identities are organized to some extent through clubs devoted to the arts (Welsh singing societies, Highland dance groups), sports activities, and even religion. The "Aussies" and New Zealanders join forces to support their own association with its clubhouse, emphasizing sport and conviviality in a way quite typical.

Among anglophones, West Indians of African and mixed African ancestry stand apart through their highly developed musical culture and associated lifeways. Altogether the factor of ethnic diversity, including institutional expressions, is probably a good deal more developed among the "anglos" than has ever been well documented, but it shows up less noticeably than the cultural distinctiveness of many of the other groups.

Some native born Canadians, at the same time, continue their parents' involvement in ethnic institutions, and so may qualify for some purposes as ethnics, whereas other of their fellows of like origin dissociate themselves from parental ways, and are only mistakenly (and perhaps maliciously) assigned to the respective alien categories. Thus Canadians of either an East Indian or Chinese descent who have never learned the ancestral language and culture can belong fully to the Canadian mainstream, but treatment as outsiders may nonetheless bedevil them. Yet rejection of a foreign heritage is not invariably the norm with either these or other native born descendants of immigrants. Because of a strong sense of national heritage, numerous families continue to assert Ukrainian affiliation although domesticated here for several generations. Comparatively few of Vancouver's loyal Ukrainians were born in the Ukraine.

Of course, the existence of a partial identification with some ancestral culture
does not conflict with full involvement with the mainstream, and in fact may be regarded properly as an optional feature of the latter, in which at least in theory the "cultural mosaic" is a valued property.

Explicitly corporate groups, usually but not always of a religious character, maintain a distinctive variety of ethnicity unlike, and more enduring than, the immigrant variety in general. The majority of such groups are rural, and their urban members few and rather disaffected or slack in their observance of group norms. The prominent Canadian communal bodies such as Mennonites of various persuasions, Doukhobors, and Hutterites, have representatives among Vancouver's population to be sure, but most people from their rural colonies who come to the city in so doing break with their inherited tradition. The rural way of life and the faithfulness to German or Russian language as an associated isolating mechanism are antithetical to what the city represents. Some branches of the Mennonites in particular, however, have adapted to the urban scene and in effect become just one more church congregation without the former German-Russian ties. In fact one such urban group of Mennonites consists of individuals of Chinese background!

The Jews, on the other hand, here as elsewhere appear as overwhelmingly an urban population, but most are "ethnic" only marginally if at all. Members of Orthodox temple congregations and especially some families of Chasidic background—not common in Vancouver—do preserve more of their old traditions. Altogether the Jewish community in Vancouver is smaller and less visible than what is typical in North American cities.

Another corporate, exclusive group are the Romany. The travelling habit and their origin in several European countries help conceal the presence of the Gypsies but a colony exists, and Vancouver is a stopping place for mobile family groups that follow the traditional vocations and loyally hold to customs and values seldom exhibited to strangers.

All the foregoing groups—often multi-ethnic in themselves, insofar as members are conversant with a variety of languages and come from different countries—share the trait of total institutional distinctiveness to the degree that members still belong fully, and so they exemplify ethnic participation in an extreme form, although the religious aspect is uncommonly accentuated in the greater number of them.

Religion plays a varied role in ethnic differentiation. The case of the Chinese, for whose majority culture religion (unless it be a recently adopted Christian faith) has fuzzy boundaries and does not serve to differentiate among sub-groups, contrasts dramatically with that of the far flung, polyglot
East Indians, a clumsy category that embraces vividly diverse religious bodies. Thus Vancouver has a Parsee community; several Vishnuite and Shivaite temples servicing regional devotees from various parts of India; two major bodies of the Sikhs, the largest single group; and two or three Shi'ite Muslim bodies with their own mosques and other institutions. Because of a deliberate selection, the city has become a major gathering place for the Ismaili Muslims, many of whom came from East Africa to join the prosperous and influential Vancouver colony at the express request of their religious leadership.

Separate religious congregations tend to spring up rather readily to serve discrete ethnic elements, and around them cluster other institutions. The French Canadians of Maillardville and those of the Heather Street enclave focus on their respective churches, around which group the buildings of school, credit union, and other visible institutions as well as clubs and cultural or sport societies of various kinds. The Polish Catholic church of St. Casimir was founded explicitly to serve and guide the highly centripetal community of some 30,000 Poles, and with it went a school, a credit union, social, cultural, athletic, and patriotic organizations. Other Catholic churches were similarly established for Italians, Germans, Portuguese, Hungarians, Uniate Ukrainians, Croatians, Slovaks, and Chinese, and mass is regularly said in several other languages as well. Separate Lutheran churches serve Estonians, Finns, Danes, Latvians, Norwegians, Swedes, Hungarians and Germans and their now less ethnic offspring. Many Evangelical denominations have special churches for their Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Italian, German, and other ethnic adherents.

Not only differences in local origin, but those of social class can play an important role in subdividing groups. Especially when, like the Germans, people have come together from a wide range of backgrounds and their numbers include everything from traditional and rather "backward" peasants to hyper-modern, well educated business executives and engineers, vast differences of culture content and emphasis may be evident within the group. The degree to which an "official" or "high" standard culture from a foreign area is manifested in the institutions that an ethnic group establishes in Canada depends by and large on its social composition and articulation, which may in turn reflect conditions in the homeland. In some cases the contrasts in social origins may give rise to a multiplicity of ethnic institutions of varied social standings and cultural orientations, and perhaps even to outspoken rivalries among them.
Thus immigrant Italians form a multitude of regional associations where divergent dialects prevail and different customs are observed, whereas the institutions of the Polish or Korean colonies represent the strong uniformity of standard national culture obtaining in the respective homelands, and in fact reinforce and propagate that version actively against whatever might compete.

Social class and the closely related factor of schooling also influence the degree of retention of ethnic cultures in general. The more educated the person—in whatever language and tradition—probably the more likely he or she is to relinquish a dependence on (not necessarily devotion to) imported ethnic norms and usages. The Latvian and Estonian Canadians in Vancouver surely take second place to no one in their loyalty to ideals and traditions of their old homelands, but they also tend to enter comfortably into ordinary Canadian life much more readily than people from countries that have lain less emphasis on education. A large contingent of these people of Baltic background works in professional and engineering fields, for example, and it is primarily through folklore societies and religious bodies—and of course personal friendship networks—that their separate identity is manifested.

Homes and Meetingplaces

The spatial patterns formed by ethnic groups, whatever definition of the latter be employed, themselves fall into several distinct categories. Whether nationality or place of origin, paternal ancestry, home language, self identification, or affiliation with some specified social institutions provides the indicator of ethnicity, "ethnic" individuals thus distinguished may themselves be located by residence, and their concentrations plotted thus directly; or the services they patronize and institutions they support, instead, can be plotted to produce a scheme of ethnic districts. The one criterion may or may not match the other well. Evidently the "Italian district" along Commercial Drive and East Hastings is inhabited by large minorities of East Indian, Chinese, and native Indian background among others, as well as the Italian born and their offspring—although commercially and institutionally it looks more Italian than anything else. The heavy, virtually exclusive Chinese character of Chinatown, centering on Main and Pender Streets, serves as a focus for a large population of Chinese ancestry, formerly segregated in a ghetto in this area when it was a vastly smaller group, but today dispersed throughout the metropolitan zone. In contrast again, the large settlement of people of East Indian background immediately north of Southeast Marine Drive exhibits but a few com-
mercial outlets serving in particular this special clientele. The major rationale of their location--within walking distance of the splendid new Sikh temple--is the practice in their faith of visits daily to the place of worship.

The uncertainties of ethnic classification remarked upon already make it all the harder to delimit ethnic districts of a city, especially if residence be taken as criterion. For the more prominent conventionally defined groups--Chinese, East Indian, Italian, German, Ukrainian, for example--census counts, by tract, of language used at home permit an estimate on such a basis, by-passing all the complications mentioned and ignoring element, still ethnic but linguistically assimilated. For the many smaller groups the census does not give sufficient data for such plotting. In only two or three tracts do the homes of designated ethnic groups constitute a majority, whereas elsewhere they represent nothing more than pluralities or something less among mixed populations.

The residential distributions would perhaps become much more apparent if accompanied by clearer landscape expressions. The enduring visible reminders of the presence of the various peoples constitute a disappointingly small list, however. Chinatown, which in fact accounts for only a small percentage of the homes of people of Chinese background, exhibits by far the most readily and widely recognizable ethnic features in its architecture, in the form of details, but not basic structure, of several blocks of buildings, as well as signs in Chinese characters. Curiously, the next most prominent display of foreign language signs, in the Central Business District, betokens no such permanent component of the population; on restaurants and souvenir shops, they address sojourning businessmen and tourists from Japan.

Other landscape markers correlate less fully with the residence of various ethnic groups. The trades of stonework and bricklaying common among Italian immigrants, as well perhaps as old country predilections for stone walls and patios and outside statuary, find sporadic expression in areas primarily of Italian concentration--but not enough to count on. In the close-in zone of heaviest German language concentration, on lower Fraser and Victoria Streets, the telltale evidence of spotless double, fancy, full length white window curtains (Gardinen) marks many German houses, and the unusually zealous maintenance of property may itself here amount to an ethnic clue as well. A scattering of older houses, painted bright in blue and white, just south of Broadway and east of Arbutus Street, proclaim the presence of Greek families. Such markers do not faithfully reflect ethnicity, however, for most houses
even in a given ethnic district lack them. Their main significance is that whenever they do occur, they tend to be restricted to the group in question.

Commercial services and outlets serving certain ethnic groups may offer better clues to their locations, but do not necessarily coincide with residence patterns. German owned or oriented bakeries, travel agencies, and delicatessens can be found throughout the metropolitan region, in shopping centers and along commercial streets, for instance, regardless of the fact of concentration of the German population in the area just mentioned and in Surrey, Richmond, and sections of the North Shore. The purportedly "German" shopping zone along Robson "strasse" downtown has by now preserved only a handful of authentically German establishments. Despite the fact that the heterogeneous German population was the largest of all Vancouver's non-anglophone immigrant groups at the most recent full census, it is served by only one exclusively German bookshop, which at that turns out to be religiously specialized (a clue, perhaps, to social origins within this ethnic group here). The large Italian colony also lacks a major bookstore.

Conversely, the ubiquitous small family groceries operated by Chinese people seldom signal concentrations of Chinese, and most of them do not sell Chinese products in particular. The dispersal of Chinese restaurants throughout the metropolitan area likewise has nothing special to do with Chinese residential locations.

On the other hand, specialty shopping facilities catering directly to an Italian clientele—travel agencies, shoe shops, tailoring shops, meat markets, bakeries, hardware and home furnishing establishments—all with an intensive emphasis on distinctive Italian preference and taste, cluster strongly in the areas where people of Italian origin or ancestry (along of course with many others) live, and especially where they regularly walk. The most prominently "ethnic" scenes in Vancouver—Greek, Italian, and Chinese—are vastly more pedestrian than is the city as a whole.

Although the spectrum of Vancouver restaurants is vast, and the locations of ethnic restaurants do not by any means invariably conform to ethnic residential distributions, the Italian and Greek cafes and restaurants, and Chinese tea houses, do tend to occur preferentially within the respective home areas and to serve (sometimes only at hours when the outside "tourists" are not present)
an ethnic clientele that comes by foot. As this suggests, relationships between immigrants and cars deserve investigation on account of what they might reveal about the adaptations, sociability patterns, preferences, and economic status of the different groups.

People of all Vancouver's ethnic groups do congregate in the most literal sense of the word, at certain times and places, and those locales where this phenomenon so visibly occurs might stand for their focality, although such places do not always locate in the geometric centers of the areas of their dispersion. Many churches like those previously mentioned serve this way as focal points for ethnic congregations, and indeed at times provide the only physically fixed and permanent collective meeting place for an ethnic group. A fair estimate of ethnic churches and ethnic congregations meeting in the premises of other bodies would certainly be above a hundred in Vancouver and vicinity. Some of these congregations attract members or visitors from some distance, including, as in the case of the several Latvian churches, people from across the international border.

Associated oftenest with ethnic parishes and congregations, schools that foster the retention and propagation of ancestral languages operate after the regular school hours (as in the case of the Chinese) or on weekends (for Hebrew, Japanese, Armenian, Greek, Punjabi and Hindi, and an uncertain number of other languages). Polish, French, and Italian Catholics, and in nearby towns Dutch Reformed, have parish schools instructing at least partially in the mother tongue. At least one German language program functions on a lay basis.

Social centers and clubhouses, on occasion linked with churches, offer places for convivial encounter and cultural activities for many groups. These range from large institutions like the Russian Community Centre, the Italian Cultural Centre, and the Deutsches Haus through dozens of distinct ethnic clubs with their own facilities—over thirty readily identifiable in the telephone directory—to small societies of regional character, e.g. the Fane Furlane, Circolo Abbruzzese, and Calabria Society and many like them among the Italians, or the very numerous village, district and family associations, all intertwining, among the Chinese.

Many ethnic groups maintain old age homes for their members. Icelandic, Norwegian, Swedish, Danish, and Finnish organizations of this kind, for
example, cluster closely near each other in South Burnaby and adjoining East Vancouver. Various other sorts of social service institutions look after special needs of the aged or infirm or destitute of many groups.

Veterans' organizations, sporting clubs, cultural societies, and interest groups fill out the picture of diverse association that marks the ethnic sectors of the city. A whole complex geography of social linkage and participation, yet to be investigated, constitutes the special milieu of the immigrant, and buffers and relieves the difficult encounter with the host environment. Too little information still can be assembled in regard to all these special ethnic socio-spatial universes to afford a proper basis for discussion of their character and influence, but for many people in Vancouver this geography is surely the most vital one in daily living.

The Ethnic Milieu

Kinship and close friendship are the cornerstones of a secure identity within the city. Convivial encounters in the institutions cited earlier, as well as regular exchanges in the neighborhood and via telephone (that peerless substitute for village pumps and marketplaces!) maintain the necessary networks of communication to endow the ethnic groups and subgroups with vivacious interaction. With confinement to the ghetto gone, how else would groups remain in contact intimate enough to keep them separate?

But the constitution of the ethnic milieus just alluded to remains a matter for the most part still awaiting real research. The general community facilities of ethnic entities can be better summarized than can the welter of specialized associations, clubs, societies, and organizations devoted to the great variety of personal needs and interests among the immigrants and ethnic persons, while professional and commercial services attending to their special requirements are still less readily detailed. This represents but one of a number of largely geographic questions that pertain to ethnic groups within the city. About such questions this brief essay can offer only tentative summaries.

The particular geographic distribution of the different groups, and the relation thereto of facilities designed to serve them, pose a general problem that deserves analysis when the data can be suitably assembled. The degree of dependence and orientation of individuals upon such special sources of help and contact, and thus the intensity of circulation within respective socio-spatial fields, pose their own interesting issues. In this connection, language
may be vital. Interpretation and translation are an often overlooked but vital element within the polyglot city, and such language needs are catered to—no doubt in altogether insufficient measure—in Vancouver by a small group of special agencies such as MOSAIC (Multilingual Orientation Service Association for Immigrant Communities) and SUCCESS (United Chinese Community Enrichment Services Society). Constant calls for language help in all encounters with officialdom, or medical emergencies, absorb the greater part of the capacities of these agencies, and the person unable to communicate adequately in English usually has to deal with shopping and the like unaided. The relative sufficiency of the "support environment" in taking care of daily needs, assessed in terms of different language and cultural criteria, would make a worthy topic of investigation.

Related is the matter of provision for the special dietary needs of various communities. Some seem well provided for: one can easily find shops that stock the necessary ingredients for Italian, Greek, Portuguese, German, Chinese, Japanese, East Indian, Caribbean, Middle Eastern, Philippine, Korean, and Dutch dietary. No doubt they cover, among them, most requirements of a number of the other ethnic groups. The European people patronize their own butcher shops with old country cuts of meat and sausages, as well as bakeries that offer traditional breads and pastry. Not only can the Jewish shopper find his kosher meat, but Scots can go to Scottish butchers too. For the East Indians, certain exotic vegetables and a tremendous range of spices, locally otherwise unknown, appear crucial, and the exotic spice shop is perhaps the East Indian landscape symbol par excellence. Fish and fish products dominate the peculiarly Japanese assortment of foods, which appears of course in one small sector of Powell Street, but also in downtown locations and (along with Dutch and Indonesian foods, for some reason) even in the large markets in most shopping centers. People of Chinese heritage from all over the region patronize markets in Chinatown with sidewalk displays of a wide variety of fruits and vegetables. Thus the shopping facilities within Vancouver may well satisfy the needs of practically all ethnic groups of any considerable size within the region.

Other services may be less satisfactory. Medical care may well suffer from linguistic barriers, for what does a non-English speaker do when consultation with a specialist is called for? How does such a person survive emotionally through a stay in hospital? Who can minister to psychiatric
problems of such people? Although physicians occur among the members of the
group; not all groups can count on their own doctors, and nurses and other medical support personnel can often not communicate
with foreign language monolinguals. Such limitations also may apply to other
professional and administrative domains.

Yet another aspect of the everyday Vancouver milieu of an ethnic group,
the information media include substantial provision for the needs of larger
groups: local newspapers published at varying intervals in such languages
as Italian, Swedish, German, Chinese, Japanese, Croatian, Greek, Punjabi,
Hungarian, and Danish; radio programs over CIWK, an expressly ethnic station,
in about a dozen languages at present, with several foreign language trans-
missions from across the border and the Lower Fraser Valley also locally
receiving; a wide diversity of newspapers and magazines in many tongues
brought in from elsewhere in Canada and abroad, available in a good many
shops and also some library branches; infrequent television programs in two
or three languages on TV cable stations. Foreign bookstores do not exist,
apart from an excellent Japanese and several small Chinese ones, a French
shop with a German section, a German religious bookshop, and a couple of
Ukrainian "bookstores" selling mostly souvenirs and magazines. The fraction
of the immigrant and ethnic population that fails to learn English well
remains deprived of much of the information ordinarily imparted to the
citizen, and the milieu of the persons thus restricted is accordingly impover-
ished.

Considered overall, the quality of milieu for the immigrant or ethnic
individual depends above all on facilities for contact with like persons
perhaps more than on exposure to the general Canadian environment, at least
until a comfortable level of accommodation is attained. "Ethnicity," as a
version of belongingness dependent on involvement in a series of institutions
ministering to needs of newcomers or holdout ethnics, can be looked on as a
positive and necessary recourse. Whoever has no access to a social milieu
is defenseless, and the "ethnic" individual depends upon the solidarity and
help of his or her countrymen, including in particular close companions, and
those bound by kinship just as everyone within the general society depends
upon such shelter and support from relatives and friends and certain kinds of
social entities. Ethnicity, as participation in a given kind of social
institutions, holds the key to the advancement and well being of many of the people of Vancouver. Seen this way, it amounts to something other than mere vestiges of obsolescent usages and loyalties, or obstacles to quick assimilation. It deserves to be admired and fostered, and the vital social geographic milieux it creates are worthy of our better understanding.
FRANCOPHONES IN VANCOUVER

by

Ferdinand Bierbrauer

March 1981
FRANCOPHONES IN VANCOUVER

Ethnicity

1) Introduction

2) A brief history of Francophone communities in Vancouver:
   a) Maillardville
   b) St. Sacrement

3) Institutions and Associations of Francophones in Vancouver:
   a) La Fédération des Franco-Colombiens
   b) La Fédération Jeunesse Colombienne
   c) Le Centre Culturel Colombien
   d) La Paroisse St. Sacrement
   e) La Paroisse Notre Dame de Lourdes and la Paroisse Notre Dame de Fatima
   f) La Caisse populaire in Maillardville
   g) Le Bouguineur

4) Interviews

5) Research about new migrants to Vancouver

6) Conclusion

7) Some photos:

St. Sacrement, le Centre Culturel Notre Dame de Lourdes, de Fatima Maillardville, Caisse populaire
Ethnicity

What is Ethnicity? In a study of 65 sociological and anthropological works, W. Isajiw (in: Ethnicity and Ethnic Relations in Canada by J. Goldstein, R. Bienvenue) could find only 13 with some definition of ethnicity. He discusses abstract and specific definitions and underlines the distinction between European and American researchers concerning the definition. In a conclusion he defines ethnicity as: "a group or category of persons who have common ancestral origin and the same cultural traits, who have a sense of peoplehood and Gemeinschaft type of relations, who are of 'immigrant background and have either minority or majority status within a larger society."

To his definition, more general, he adds a specific one: "an involuntary group of people who share the same culture or to descendants of such people who identify themselves and/or are identified by others as belonging to the same involuntary group."

From this viewpoint all groups in Canada (with the exception of aboriginal people) have immigrant backgrounds for the last five centuries and we have to look for the other important features of ethnicity like cultural traits, sense of peoplehood, Gemeinschaft type of relations and status within the society.

In the special case of Francophone communities in Vancouver I will research for cultural traits (language use, religion), sense of peoplehood (social life, institutions, associations), Gemeinschaft type of relations (meetings, festivals, friendships among Francophones, celebrations), and status within the society (relation to other groups, participation in the majority group, identification).

1) Introduction

Francophone people were some of the first explorers in British Columbia and in 1870 they were the majority in this province. Heavy migration of Anglophone people in the last century and in this century and also strong immigration of other ethnic groups since W.W. II placed the Francophone community in a minority corner with about 4% in B.C. today and only about 3% in Greater Vancouver. The Francophone communities are not so strongly visible as many other ethnic groups in this city (e.g. Chinese, Italian) yet they created their own communities.
2) **A brief history of Francophone communities in Vancouver**

a) **Maillardville:**

In the last century many Francophone Canadians (mostly from Quebec) travelled through B.C. and settled many places in the lower Fraser Valley and the mainland. Since growing settlement areas in the Prairies demanded supply for buildings the lumber industry of B.C. developed heavily. There was a shortage of labour after the beginning of the 20th Century and the Fraser Mill Company (in Coquitlam) sent Theroux and Father O'Boyle to Quebec to hire French lumbermen. Some 770 persons (40 families) came in September 1909 and the mill built a school and a church for them. This was the Notre Dame de Lourdes church. The lumber company subdivided its blocks of land in Coquitlam into quarter-acre lots ($150.00 each).

In May 1910 there was another contingent of people coming down from Quebec and because of the activities of both fathers (O'Boyle and E. Maillardville) there was a rich social life developing in the community. In 1913 a post office was created with the name of Maillardville. Every year new Francophones arrived and the community was augmented. One French Canadian held one of the fire municipal council seats of Coquitlam. In the 1930's there was a great migration from the Prairies to B.C. School activities were not very good so that in 1938 a high school was built in Coquitlam. More and more Scandinavians, Ukrainians and Anglo-Saxons went into the community (1944 a Protestant church was erected). But the migration of French Canadians also almost doubled between 1942 and 1950 (migration mostly from the Prairies). In 1946 a second parish was created with the name Notre Dame de Fatima, with a school for 300 pupils. This parish had three fathers (Leduc, Denommee and Demers).

Several associations helped to maintain the French language and culture and in July and August many visitors from Quebec and the Maritimes, Ontario, and New England were coming through "la Liaison francaise."

A credit Union and le Cercle Canadien Français, also two newspapers from the Prairies and le Comité de l'éducation tried to develop a comprehensive community.

---

* a) from Stewart: French Canadian settlement in B.C.

b) from own research in communities.
b) St. Sacrement:

South of the central hospital of Vancouver on the corner of 15th Avenue and Heather Street a second francophone community developed after W.W. II. There was a demand for Catholic priests in the hospital and many people coming from the Prairies looked for a French community. Therefore the bishop of Vancouver, Mgs. W.M. Duke, created a new parish with priests from Montreal (four priests arrived, two for the parish and two for the hospital, les Pères du Saint Sacrement de Montréal). This was in 1946 and about 150 families surrounded the new parish. At first the parish could only survive with help, money, and advice from Montreal. With this help and the money of the parish a caisse populaire, l'association canadienne-française and a school were built up. The school was opened in 1954 and all pupils were taught to be bilingual. It was under the control of les Soeurs du Bon Pasteur de Quebec. Until today, more and more anglophone pupils attend this school and since 1979 the Ministry of Education has subsidized the institution by 7/3. But also more and more francophone parents sent their children to anglophone schools. St. Sacrement is a national parish (paroisse nationale), which means that people come from all over Vancouver.

3) Institutions and Associations of Francophones in Vancouver.

a) La Fédération des Franco-Colombiens:

The federation is a federated group of institutions with the task of maintaining the French language and culture within an anglophone environment. There are sub-branches in Kelowna, Prince George, Kamloops and Victoria and other major cities in the Province. The membership is about 6,000 people in B.C. To improve the francophone culture the federation works together with private and public associations and helps to organize cultural festivals, plan regional trips, coordinate different cultural organisations, finance the development of arts under certain conditions and research for artists. It also helps artists to improve their talents. There is an information Centre which diffuses information about the major activities. It deals with lodging, accommodation, job opportunities, francophone services (for example doctors, dentists, insurance, lawyers, etc.), translators and teachers, community services in Vancouver, French activities, information about different governmental
French activities, information about different governmental services and tourist advice. The Public Relations department has connections to the media (press, radio, television) by promoting conferences, communiques, articles, and advertisements. It is organizing public campaigns and distributing francophone information about the French language, the Federation des Franco-Colombiens, the Federation des franco-candiens hors du Quebec and French classes. The federation maintains an education service coordinating educational actions. It works to promote a provincial association of francophone teachers and an association or a comité for parents. It wants to give francophone parents an incentive to send their children to French classes. Another service is the plan for family insurance. It protects the family with children to the age of 25 in case of accidents.

The services of: La Fédération des Franco-Colombiens in an overview

```
+-----------------+
|                  |
| Culture          |
| Community        |
| development      |
|                 |
| F.P.C.          |
|                 |
| Information     |
| Center          |
|                 |
| Public          |
| Information     |
| Regional        |
| Services        |
|                 |
| Family          |
| Insurance       |
|                 |
```

b) La Fédération Jeunesse Colombienne

This federation serves the demand and needs of the francophone youth. It helps to maintain the francophone culture by organizing festivals, trips, camps and meetings. It is not exclusively francophone but anglophone participants have to speak French. They have a small newspaper to improve writing and reporting skills.

c) Le Centre Culturel Colombien

The center was founded in 1972 but until 1975 there was neither a program nor any money. Since then much activity developed, beginning with art, a gallery and a kaleidoscope. There is also a 200-book library mostly for students and a cafe theatre for the social life. The Center offers several courses in dance, pottery, weaving and macramé, which are almost twice as expensive as the English ones because they are
not sponsored. The Center makes a profit with its French classes which are offered three nights a week. There are also courses for children (planned for 26 but 56 came last session). The café croissant is a meeting point on Sunday mornings. The Center was founded by the Federal Secretary of State and there is no provincial financial help. It can survive not only through the support of the 200 members ("francophones do not want a membership with a card") but through the immense help of anglophone friends with a bilingual attitude. The Center had 28,000 visitors for all festivals and exhibitions in 1980.

The Institution is temporarily closed because it had a $20,000 deficit from last 'festival francophone' and is running in a $46,000 deficit now. The Secretary of State is not willing to support it any more under these circumstances but it will be open again soon.* The reason for this high deficit is in one respect the geography of Canada. Artists from Quebec or Manitoba are three times more expensive in B.C. than in their own provinces (accommodation, flight etc.) and two times more expensive in publicity (newspapers...) But there are hopes of improving and helping francophone artists in B.C. so that the Center can support itself.

The Center is the focus of this francophone community today because activities shifted from the parishes in the past to federations and associations today.

d) La Paroisse St. Sacrement

Since the foundation of the parish in 1946 the community developed considerably with about 500 families and 3000 persons today. A few years ago the church was renovated. All the church services and the mass are held in the French language. The parish has four priests today who live in a three storey housing cooperative with other francophone members. The members of the church are from all parts of Vancouver and about half of the families attend the mass on Sundays. Beside the church there is a bilingual elementary school for about 200 pupils of whom 60% have English as their mother tongue. Ten teachers and 14 nuns (all bilingual) teach the pupils. There is a kindergarten and school from grades 1-4 and the classes are held only in French. The children have some difficulties at the beginning because of most of them coming from anglophone families.

* Information of Mme. Baillot
From grade 4-7 French and English are taught equally. For 2 years the provincial government has paid 7/3 of the annual budget of the school.

e) La Paroisse Notre Dame de Lourdes and la Paroisse Notre Dame de Fatima

The older parish, Notre Dame de Lourdes, has about 1000 members and the services are bilingual (in contrast to St. Sacrement). The parish is situated in Laval Street and there is no great distance to the other parish in Walker Street. Therefore they share their social life. The activities are mixed and not specifically in French. The culmination point of all activities is the "francophête" on June 24th which is organized jointly with St. Sacrement. They organize sports, dinners, dances, exhibitions and other parties. The meetings are in Maillardville and people from St. Sacrement come over.

The school has 770 pupils of whom half are not from the parish. Of the nine teachers seven are bilingual. The pupils speak all English and only a few are able to speak some French. The school if provincially assisted with grants, but parents have to pay tuition fees because the grant is not high enough.

The younger parish, Notre Dame de Fatima in Walker Street, is also bilingual, so all services are held in French and English. About 40% of parishioners are French and the rest are English, Asian, Italian, Filipino or of other origins. The francophone members of the church living in the southern part of Coquitlam came mainly from Saskatchewan and Manitoba and less than 10% from Quebec. The 1200 members are mostly older people because new migrants and younger families cannot afford the high housing prices in Coquitlam. They go therefore to Delta, Maple Ridge and further away. High housing prices are one reason for the declining membership.

There are about 125 students and 8 teachers in the bilingual school. The federal government gives a grant but still the parents have to pay about $45.00 a month for tuition fees. There seems to be a great enthusiasm to learn French. About half of the students come from non-francophone families and there are even some Chinese and Phillipne students. Parents send their children to francophone schools not only for the possibility to learn French but because of the close knit atmosphere and feeling in a small school. Today the school has some difficulties in getting teachers who speak both languages fluently.
The social life of the parish is quite rich. There are the "Knights of Colombus", the "Scouts and Guides", "les échos du pacifique", chanteclair" and several other associations. A good relationship connects the members but there are no relations to Vancouver. The parish council meetings are in English, as are those for education committees, because some people are not able to speak French. It is interesting to recognize that most members of the community are mill-workers and only a small number are professionals. The professionals and managerial group has to participate in anglophone communities to be acknowledged in public life.

f) La Caisse populaire in Maillardville

La Caisse populaire is a co-operative institution at 1013 Brunette which serves its members as a bank and has the same interest rates as a bank. Yet at the end of the year the profit will be returned to the members. A half of the members are francophone. The goal of this co-operative institution is the education of people in the philosophy of the co-op system. Everybody is an owner and user of the services and there is no "exploitation". The benefits are shared and the services will be increased. There are approximately 6000 members from the local area and there is an increasing trend to go to the caisse populaire rather than to a bank. But the money is not lent to non-members. All the services in the caisse are bilingual.

g) Le Bouguineur

Le Bouguineur is a francophone bookstore in a pretty house in Robson Street. It has existed since 1971 and the business runs very well. They offer many kinds of books (for trips, romance, cookery, leisure, work, literature about Quebec, France, and Canada, books by French authors (e.g. Sartre). There are also records and games and a large section of books for children. Their customers are mostly French speaking, but also English speaking people look for books to learn French. In summer time the customers are mostly from Quebec and also from Manitoba. It was interesting to see that they also have a German book section because of the great demand for German literature by German speaking people in Vancouver. They also intend to open an Italian section.

4) Interviews

The first person I interviewed came from a small francophone community in Manitoba. Her father had hurt his back and so the family moved to Vancouver, where she met her husband, also francophone from the east. They speak French at home and their children are also bilingual. Since she has been 30 years in Vancouver she is very much a part of the life of the parish. Her children are
much more influenced by the anglophone community and have no connections to francophone communities today.

The second person came to Vancouver 25 years ago from France with her husband. They speak French at home and she still has, even after 25 years, a little accent. They are very active in the cultural life of the French community (le cercle français) and support it with their assistance and activities. She has many friends of all ethnic backgrounds (Ukrainian, British, Quebequois, American) and she is able to speak English or French. Her husband (a clerk) has to speak English at his work but remains francophone by having many francophone friends. They go to francophone restaurants and pubs. There are no connections with the parish, although they live close to it (a shift from parish to associations and no religious institutions). Their daughter is bilingual (from what I understood she has anglophone friends) and is integrated in francophone activities like the cercle français and la Federation Jeunesse Colombienne where she works writing for the newspaper. She also works for the cop-op radio. The family regards itself as "open-minded" toward French culture and art.

The third person is married to an anglophone. She came from Manitoba and has to work in an anglo-francophone environment. Since her husband isn't able to speak French they speak English at home. She is an "international" person since she worked in Germany, North Africa and all over Canada. She is not deeply rooted in any association but much concerned about them and I would say she is the image of the "modern, mobile, intellectual Canadian." They have friends in both languages.

Another person came 20 years ago from Quebec. Again the major reason was the job opportunity in B.C. He speaks French at home (his wife is also from Quebec). His children and even his grandchildren are fluently bilingual. He is very active in French community in Maillardville and participated in the F.F.C. There are about twenty different French speaking organizations in Maillardville; in some of them he is active as organizer. He and his wife have many anglophone friends and he is convinced that the French education has to be strengthened to maintain the cultural heritage. If he lived in Quebec he would vote for separation because he thinks that the rest of Canada has no great cultural differences to the U.S.A. But Quebec has a distinct cultural heritage and life, even the different language strengthens this. He has much knowledge about the West-Indian islands and compares the different cultures there (expressed mainly by language) with the differences in Canada. He thinks that the francophone community will assimilate because of the high pressures of the modern life to communicate and to participate in the mainstream culture. Yet he supports
francophone media by reading French newspapers and watching French T.V.

The next interviewed persons are a married couple who came from Ontario to B.C. 40 years ago. He used to work in the construction industry but they now live in the retirement house in Maillardville. Both are unable to speak in English. They had only francophone friends and participated in the parish life in Maillardville. Because of their lack of English knowledge they use French media (newspaper, television, radio; they even get a newspaper from Quebec which is very often two months late!). Their children are bilingual. They are both strongly religious and the community offers them the possibility to survive in a francophone environment.

Another person came from an Alberta francophone community to B.C. 32 years ago. She also lives in the retirement home today. Having anglophone friends she speaks both English and French, yet she has a strong accent in English and is proud to speak in French wherever possible. Job opportunities were also the main reason to come to B.C. (great migration from the Prairies). She educated her children in the Francophone environment and two of them went to Quebec to live and work there. She did not participate much in the parish life yet she has many friends in the neighborhood.

In the retirement home francophone and anglophone people live together in a ratio of about half and half.

5) Research about new migrants

The secretary of state undertook research concerning newly arrived francophone migrants and immigrants (who were less than three years in Vancouver). The purpose was to illuminate the knowledge and perceptions of new migrants regarding francophone institutions, parishes and associations in Vancouver. There are very interesting results in this research.

The structure of the interviewees: about 80% were less than 35 years of age. (45% less than 25). In most cases they were single (about 60%) and had no children (80%). More than half of them had at least a college education. So we have a picture of a modern Canadian migrant: young, single, no children and with a high education. These facts increase the possibility of a high migration rate and we cannot compare these data to the whole francophone community. Yet it is a picture of the francophone migrant of today.

More than half of them have their origin in Quebec. About 10% come from France and smaller numbers from Ontario, Manitoba and other Provinces
(about 15% altogether). About half of them came wishing to change their social and physical environment. A third wanted to learn English in B.C. and came for this purpose to the Province. Only a quarter wanted to change their working place or to find new work in B.C. The rest came because of studies and other reasons. Because most of them do not have very deep reasons to come to B.C. in particular, about 2/3 don't see their stay here as permanent. The determination to learn English in B.C. seems to be very strong - about 40% are able to speak very little or no English at all (within this 40% are probably the one third of persons wishing to learn English in B.C.). So more than half speak French at home and about 15% only English. The number of people who can speak French or both languages at work is surprisingly high (about 55%). In social institutions and activities people use more both languages. More than 2/3 of the new migrants use francophone media (French t.v., radio and Le Soleil) at least occasionally. This is one of the features - that the migrants look for contact with other francophones. 76% want to have contact to their ethnic group.

Institutions and associations with high promotion or very high social contact and activities are best known by the interviewed. "Le soleil de Colombie", and "le Centre Culturel Colombien" are by far the best known, recognized by almost 3/4 of the migrants, "Le Centre Info", la Fédération des Franco-Colombiens", "La Troupe de Seizième", and "La Paroisse St. Sacrement" were familiar to half of the people, while smaller associations and associations for special groups like "1'Association des parents", "La Société historique", "MOSAIC", "la Caisse populaire St. Sacrement", la Fédération Jeunesse Colombienne" and "1'Alliance française" were not known to most of them. It is surprising to see that more than half of the migrants did not know of the existence of the community in Maillardville. This feature will again be seen later. People don't go to live in Coquitlam.

All the institutions in hierarchy of their acquaintance:

1. (1) le Centre Culturel Colombien
2. (2) le Soleil de Colombie
3. (4) la Fédération des Franco-Colombiens
4. (5) la Troupe de Seizième
5. (3) le Centre Info.
6. (6) la Paroisse St. Sacrement
7. (8) la Caisse Populaire St. Sacrement
8. (7) La Federation Jeunesse Colombien
9. (10) La Communante de Maillardville
10. (9) La Societe historique
11. (12) l'Association des Parents
12. (11) MOSAIC

About 3/4 of the people used some services of these different organizations. The number in brackets indicate a hierarchy of organizations in terms of use of their services. Again we recognize that "le Centre" and "le Soleil" are used mostly but then followed by "le Centre Info" and "la F'12erat1on". Less than a fifth of the people used each of the other organizations, yet they were used.

The distance to the organizations is important for the perception and acquaintance and for their service use. About 1/3 of the people asked live in the West End and 20% in the East End. Kitsilano and North Vancouver both attracted about 10% of the migrants. The rest is very much dispersed in all suburbs of Greater Vancouver. This locational factor has a strong influence on the familiarity to Maillardville. Not one of the interviewed people lived there, probably because of different reasons about which no questions were asked (i.e. housing prices for one family homes in Coquitlam, low attractiveness for singles who likely prefer the city center and the existing parish of St. Sacrement as a second francophone center near downtown).

Only a third want to be served in French when they have contact with Federal services. Another third want to be served sometimes in French, and the rest doesn't ask. Mostly they think that the service is not sufficient, or it is useless, or they had a bad experience. So most of them did not know that there it is possible to complain against a lack of service in French in a Federal institution.
6) Conclusion

The efforts to maintain the francophone culture in Vancouver seems to be very high. Yet the very small number of francophones, their different origins (Quebec, Ontario, the Prairies, France, Switzerland, Belgium, the West Indies etc.) and their dispersed homes in Vancouver make it very difficult to organize and to bring people together. The division between the two centers, St. Sacrement and Maillardville, the division between the generations and the division between parish and not-parish social and cultural activities show the difficulties which responsible persons have to overcome. On the other side francophones, whatever their origin is, are proud of their cultural heritage in Canada and ask for their rights as one of the two "founding nations". It is unclear what the future will bring: the younger generation, mainly people born in Vancouver, is under very high pressure to assimilate. The migrants seem to bring new stimulations but the high migration rate weakens many thriving relationships.

I think the francophone community is one of the best examples of how important cultural institutions are in maintaining connections and relations among people who otherwise would lose themselves in the large metropolitan area with its high acculturation pressures.
School of St. Sacrement

Church St. Sacrement
in 3196 Heather Street (built in 1948)

Apartments La Bruyere
le Centre Culturel Colombien
in 795 W. 16th Avenue

residential quarter around St. Sacrement
Church Notre Dame de Lourdes (built in 1910)
in Laval Street, Coquitlam
Church Notre Dame de Fatima (built in 1946)
in Walker Street, Coquitlam
Notre Dame de Fatima and school besides the church
residential quarter in Maillardville

caisse populaire de Maillardville in 1013 Brunette, Coquitlam.

old age home in Maillardville
WEST INDIANS IN VANCOUVER:
A Relocated Ethnic Group

by

Paul Buitenhuys
In the last two or three decades thousands of West Indians have left their homeland for "greener pastures". Due to an intolerable political situation on most islands, a depressed economic structure, little chance of improvement in the present state of affairs, massive exodus of population to England, and more recently North America, has occurred. The majority of West Indians, which includes blacks and a few whites of varying descents from a number of islands south of Florida and east of Venezuela, who have migrated to North America have established residence in large cities like New York, Montreal, and Toronto. Very few ever move out to the rural areas surrounding these cities because of strong family ties which already exist in the urban centers and a strong desire to be affiliated with the North American city. In the last ten years an increasing number of West Indians have chosen Vancouver as a likely place to create a new life for themselves and their families. It is my opinion that this trend will not only continue but accelerate.

In the past West Indians have not considered Vancouver as a place to settle and this has largely been the result of three factors. First the lack of direct air routes from the West Indies to Vancouver has deterred many individuals from inhabiting the West Coast. The eastern centers previously mentioned proved much more convenient when West Indies wished to board a plane and fly home to visit friends and relatives. A second factor has been the availability of semi-skilled and unskilled jobs often associated with the secondary industry so prevalent in the east. Factory jobs and maintenance related work were, in the past, fairly simple to acquire in Toronto, Montreal, and New York but less so in Vancouver because it is a smaller center and it depends on primary industries as opposed to secondary manufacturing. Recently though, a poor economic situation has developed in the eastern industrial sector and this coupled with a flood of semi- and unskilled labour from all parts of the world has left the job market in a stagnant state. It has been necessary, therefore, to look elsewhere for work. Finally, since Vancouver has not in the past been a prime destination for migrating West Indians, there has been a lack of family connections which often draw new immigrants to a given city. It is for these reasons that so few West Indians live in Vancouver at present.
Over the past ten years, though, the number of immigrants from the Caribbean choosing Vancouver as a place to live has increased quite dramatically. At present, the estimated number of West Indians living in Vancouver is between 7,000 and 10,000 whereas only a few years ago there were fewer than 2,000. It is difficult to get an exact number of West Indians living in Vancouver because there are a large number of visa students and illegal immigrants. The numbers given were estimates by local West Indians presently residing in Vancouver. The reasons for this recent increase seems to be a) the improved economic stability in the West, and b) a developing social infrastructure and family ties which provide incentive for West Indians considering a place to live in Canada. Both reasons provide "pull factors" and make Vancouver a highly probably and secure city in which to establish residence.

This brings us to the main issue to be discussed in this paper; what problems will this ethnic group face upon arrival in Vancouver and during the stages of assimilation into the society which prevails here? A newly arrived immigrant from the West Indies is likely to face a number of problems regardless of which city he decides to settle in but there are three which, in my opinion, will be most prominent in Vancouver. These problems, housing, jobs, and racial prejudice, are a result of recent trends in the financial and social framework of the city.

It is important when discussing West Indian migration to understand the situation from which these people are fleeing in their homeland. These can be known as "push factors". Obviously there are reasons for this mass exodus of people and these reasons will play an important role in the personality that this group will assume in this new home. A major factor contributing to the exodus from the Caribbean is the desperate economic situation which prevails throughout the islands. This has been caused largely by the education system's failure to fulfill the necessary role and hence a poorly trained and ill-prepared work force.

Most of the Caribbean Islands utilize the British school model. Jan Schreiber, in an article entitled West Indian Immigrants in Toronto Schools, noted the problems with this arrangement. She says,

As an imperial power during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,
Britain tended to impose her own institutions on the peoples of other countries in the rather naive assumption that what had proven successful at home must succeed elsewhere. In the case of the West Indies the result has been a local version of the educational system of England that generally disregards all the salient features of West Indian life. (pg. 95)

The structure of the British school model is such that a student must achieve certain levels of academic proficiency in order to pass "O" level and "A" level examinations. If a student does not pass "O" levels then he or she must leave school and look for a job but with this level of education, a blue collar job is the only choice and the West Indies lacks secondary industry and hence this type of work is difficult to obtain. These students who pass their "O" levels are forced to face the almost impossible task of gaining acceptance into Grammar School, the next level of education. For instance, on the Island of St. Vincent, the only Grammar School has up to five hundred applicants a year from among whom only thirty-five can be accepted. Of those thirty-five some are unable to pay the high tuition fees unless they receive government sponsored scholarships, or their parents have access to the necessary funding. Once enrolled in the school students face crowded classrooms which are ill-equipped and teachers who are poorly trained. Upon graduation from Grammar School, students will find few white collar jobs from which to choose, and belatedly discover that most employment requires technical training. The technical schools, however, are as limited as the Grammar Schools.

The job market for students is extremely limited and education does not necessarily guarantee work. For those individuals who do not attend school there is even less chance of gaining employment. According to the individuals interviewed for this paper, unemployment is often as high as 50% on some islands. This is due to two reasons. First, the still evident hangovers of slavery have made farming a despised and avoided occupation, severely limiting the employment spectrum. Second, the lack of secondary industry leaves many unskilled and semi-skilled workers absolutely no employment opportunities. In response to this no-work situation there has been, in Jamaica particularly, a tremendous growth in the membership of the Rastafarian cult which believes that working is a white man's evil and it should only be done occasionally to make enough money to support oneself.
Increased membership in this cult can only be seen as a sign of how little hope there is of actually finding employment in Jamaica, and by implication, throughout the West Indies.

Working in conjunction with the Push Factors, which themselves provide a strong impetus for leaving, are a series of pull factors exerting a good deal of pressure on individuals considering the move out of the West Indies. The desire to leave is often strengthened by the view of a better life in North America. The belief in North America as the "land of milk and honey", where opportunity lies waiting, is continually perpetuated both by the media, in this case the movies, and by relatives and friends who have already moved and gained employment in either Canada or the United States.

The media play a strong role in the West Indies, especially movies. With people having little else to do but hang out at local theatres, movies influence many individuals and play a strong role in shaping their views of the outside world. It is films like Shaft and its trailers, James Bond films, and the Fly Man, that present the urban Black American as a high-flying, romanticized character with a big car and money to spend, the type of person most poor West Indians dream about. The allure of this lifestyle is extremely appealing to young males of the Caribbean and therefore presents itself as a pull-factor towards North America. The pull is further strengthened by friends and relatives who have already left and have established residence in Canadian or U.S. cities. These people often send money and material items back home for others, reinforcing the dreams of the "land of milk and honey" which lies to the north.

The view of North America presented in the films and substantiated by people already living in either Canada or the U.S. very often turns out to be far different from what many migrating West Indians actually find. Upon arrival in one of the gateway cities, either Toronto, Montreal, or New York, a West Indian is met with a chilling climate, a predominantly white society, a brand of English far different from his or her own, and a huge city like nothing close to those found in the Caribbean. However, these are only initial problems which can be adapted to; there are far worse problems which new West Indians must deal with. These problems vary from location to location and depend on the circumstances prevailing in each. It is the
problems of Vancouver which are to be discussed here and how these problems will affect the West Indian immigrant - the individual and the group. The three most prominent problem areas for these people are the lack of housing, the lack of unskilled and semi-skilled work, and a recent surge in racial tension which has sprung up against such groups as the East Indians. It seems, on the basis of various interviews I conducted recently, that these issues provide the bulk of the worry for West Indian immigrants already in Vancouver and for those moving in.

Housing in Canadian cities is a problem. But in Vancouver, the cost of acquiring living quarters, by either rent or outright purchase, is far higher than anywhere else. The popularity of this West Coast city as a place for land investment has forced land and housing prices to ridiculous heights. To find residence in the Vancouver downtown area is almost out of the question, yet an immigrant without enough money to purchase a car is therefore required to use public transport. Where else is there? This lack of cheap housing will force immigrants to live where they can; the cheapest housing available at present is in the areas of Surrey, Langley, and Delta. But most of the new West Indian immigrants would prefer to live in close proximity to their fellow West Indians, relatives, and friends. This is evidenced in Toronto around the Dufferin Street and St. Clair Avenue area which, up until five years ago, was completely populated by Italians - the area was actually titled "Little Italy". The first West Indians began moving into the area in 1976 and there are now an estimated 40,000. The ability to live in close proximity to people of similar backgrounds gives new immigrants security for the first years of their assimilation into new surroundings. Ethnic areas are places where native foods are available and other services which can replace various necessities of life found at home. The lack of housing in Vancouver will cause diffusion of the new group and therefore a lack of cohesiveness and strength amongst the group as a whole. It does not seem probable that within the next few years a central location in Vancouver will become attainable for West Indian immigrants. And if there is to be an area which will be known as the "West Indian part of Town", characterized by shops and other native references, then the time for creating its influence in the city and a nucleus is now.
The lack of central housing will cause problems for the West Indians looking for work too; public transport will have to be a major mode for getting from place to place for those without a car. However, public transport does not reach the outlying areas of town where most West Indians are finding employment. The majority of these immigrants are, as mentioned before, semi-skilled or unskilled labour. The one area which has consistently provided jobs for these people is the pulp and paper industry. Most of the pulp mills, located on the Fraser River in New Westminster area, have hired unskilled labour in the past, but according to those individuals interviewed, these jobs are getting harder to come by. Due to the lack of secondary industry in British Columbia in general and in Vancouver more specifically, there is little work for immigrants from the Caribbean. Instead, they will find an economy built predominantly on primary activities requiring a highly skilled work force. Although Vancouver has, over the past few years, been able to absorb most of the incoming immigrants, any large scale migration will most certainly soon fill all the positions available. In fact this seems already to have happened.

The last problem, and perhaps the most volatile, is the deep racial prejudice which exists not only in Vancouver but in the surrounding suburbs as well. The recent upsurge of racial tension has largely been aimed against the East Indians, a group which has grown significantly in size over the past five years. And, with so much attention being paid to the Klu Klux Klan in Vancouver, a group which has largely been ignored since the 1920's in other Canadian cities, one can only conclude that there must be a fairly substantial number of people who are, if not practicing members, at least curious and interested in the groups activities. As Dean Fraser states in his book Canada's Role in the West Indies: "It is not 'race' as such that singles a man out in a 'racially conscious' society, but colour. And colour is but one of the distinguishable marks that can be easily identified."\(^1\)

It is for these reasons that the East Indians have become such scapegoats in the racial tension of Vancouver; they are easily identifiable. It would seem logical that if and when a large scale migration of black West Indians to Vancouver does occur they too will be the target of much racial prejudice as well.

\(^1\) Fraser, Dean, Canada's Role in the West Indies, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969, p. 46.
Perhaps the fact that the West Indians coming to Vancouver will not be able to live in one particular area will alleviate much of the prejudicial feeling such as that expressed towards the East Indians who have established a solid community in the area of South West Marine Drive and Main Street. People wishing to express their racial prejudices know where they can go to find a scapegoat and this is evidenced by the number of racial slurs spray-painted on walls throughout the East Indian sector of town. There are other possible alternatives to the possibility of racial tension. The Black Solidarity Association is one organization which has in the past dealt with problems of this sort and there have been several West Indian clubs recently formed like Cari-Cda. and West-Cda. which offer connections to ways in which to deal with discrimination and possible racial violence. The groups also provide native entertainment for the West Indians such as Reggae and Calypso which act as strong unification influences. Music is a strong part of West Indian life and thus serves as a bond between individuals from every island in the Caribbean.

As the number of jobs available decreases with the ever-growing number of immigrants, the eastern cities become less desirable. As more and more individuals choose other cities to find work in, like Vancouver, the more family connections will reach back home to the West Indies. At present, Vancouver's West Indian population is relatively small but it will soon begin to grow rapidly as in Toronto, as family ties begin to draw others to this "land of milk and honey". Considering the facts discussed in this paper, the poor housing condition, the lack of necessary types of jobs, and a trend toward racial intolerance, the new West Indian immigrant will find it difficult to fit into Vancouver. But the quickly growing social network and the number of West Indian organizations will no doubt accommodate these newcomers and assist in their adaptation to life in Canada. Whether Vancouver makes a good place for West Indians, fleeing a life of poverty and discontent, to establish a new life can only be speculated on; these "greener pastures" may not turn out to be so green after all.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Fraser, Dean, Canada's Role in the West Indies, Toronto: University Press Toronto, 1969.

The Italian Community of Vancouver

by

Chris Collett

March, 1981
Introduction

The population of Vancouver, similar to that of other North American cities, is culturally diverse. It is composed of people from many different ethnic backgrounds who have arrived at various times since incorporation in 1886.

At present, certain ethnic groups are highly visible in the day to day functioning of the city, forming distinct districts throughout the Metropolitan area. This distinctiveness is expressed in such facts as concentrated residential locations, networks of ethnic orientated institutions and expressions of ethnicity in landscape symbol such as architectural styles.¹

Such diversity in the North American population has been of academic interest during the last sixty years. A multitude of studies having been produced spanning the social sciences, examining many aspects of ethnic groups. Major themes of research include:

1. The study of Ethnic Residential Patterns in the Urban Environment.²


²Many studies can be quoted to exemplify this theme. The earliest was that of the Chicago school, especially Burgess, Park and McKenzie, who identified "natural areas" of distinct ethnic groups. Following on from this, Social Area Analysis
2. The responses of the group to the host society in terms of adaptation and assimilation.

3. Studies of formal ethnic organisations in terms of institutions and services.

This paper will, in part, relate these themes to the particular case of the Italian ethnic group in Vancouver. Further, it will examine in more detail the problems faced in research by stereotyping and labelling people as members of "ethnic groups" and it will assert that such labelling and subsequent generalisation does not truly represent and reflect the internal structure of the group.

However, this should not imply that a generalised approach should be dismissed in relation to ethnic studies, rather only that a combination of the two approaches is needed for an overview.

(cont'd)examined patterns within cities. For example see E. Shevky and W. Bell, Social Area Analysis. Stanford, California: S. U. Press, 1955.

One other area of interest concerned the residential segregation of groups. For this, see the varied research of Lieberson.


4 Under this theme, an interesting study was carried out in Montreal by, R. Breton, "Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the Personal Relations of Immigrants." American Journal of Sociology pp. 193-205, Vol 70, 1964.
Reflecting this thought, the paper is divided into two sections.
The first focuses on the development of the group in Vancouver, noting the characteristics which outwardly promote unity within the Italian community. The second examines the internal variations within the community itself.

The Development of the Italian Community

The year 1886, that of the city's incorporation, may be cited as the arrival of the first Italians to settle in Vancouver, although they had already settled elsewhere in British Columbia by that time, for example in Trail, Kamloops and Duncan. From this point, others began arriving in small numbers having worked as part of the construction gangs of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Since these beginnings, the Italian presence has increased to a point where in 1971, the census recorded 30,045 people of Italian origins living in Metropolitan Vancouver. This figure actually may be somewhat conservative because as Germano (1977) noted:

---------------------
"Many Italian families (and also families from other ethnic groups) either because of language difficulties or because they were still Italian citizens (and therefore do not have the right to vote, which is sometimes mixed up with census taking) did not send back the completed form." 

He estimated as much as 30 per cent difference between census and actual figures. This point is also made by a later study which estimated 40,000 Italians in 1980. 

Despite possible inaccuracy of census material, the quantitative development of the Italian Community is evident from official figures, with a marked increase in population during the century due to natural increase and migration. From Table One, it is apparent that the Italian community today forms a small but significant proportion of the total population. In reviewing this growth, it is possible to identify four major phases of increase which reflect many influences including changing immigration policies, economic conditions in Italy and the attraction of British Columbia for potential immigrants.

The Early Years 1886 - First World War

During this period, the early foundations of the Italian community were established, with immigration taking place

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Italian Origin in City</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>% Italian</th>
<th>Italian Population in Vancouver C.M.A.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>2,156</td>
<td>2.26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>1,590</td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>3,390</td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>3,544</td>
<td>1.32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>5,095</td>
<td>1.47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>12,941</td>
<td>3.86</td>
<td>18,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>19,020</td>
<td>4.46</td>
<td>30,045</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census Canada
largely from already established communities in Eastern Canada, particularly Toronto and Montreal. This was supplemented by a direct flow from Italy itself. At this time, however the major flows of emigration from Italy focused upon the Northeastern United States.

In Vancouver, this period was one of emerging Italian owned businesses and Italian institutions such as churches and meeting places. For example, the first Italian church, the Church of the Sacred Heart, was founded in 1905.

The Inter-War Period

The initial growth period ended around the time of the First World War and was followed by a time between the wars of waxing and waning of the city's Italian population. As the figures in Table One indicate, an actual decline occurred and by the early 1920's, the city's total was significantly under two thousand. The reasons for this probably relate to the influences of the First World War and also, in the time prior to the depression, the Canadian Government encouraged primarily immigration to, and the development of, agricultural regions of Canada.

In the next decades, absolute figures for Vancouver again grew. This was particularly due to the attractiveness of Vancouver to migrants from elsewhere in North America, rather
than from Italy. The Italian homeland of the twenties saw Mussolini rise to power and emigration was forbidden from Italy between 1930 and 1945. 8

The Post War Boom Period

With the end of World War Two and later in 1947, with restrictions lifted in Canadian Immigration policies to end discrimination against former enemies, a sharp increase in Italian migration to Canada took place, continuing until the late sixties. This increased immigration occurred particularly in response to poor social economic conditions in Southern Italy combined with a perception that Canada was a land of great opportunity. The consequence of this was a large increase of Italians in Canada, chiefly in the major cities in the east. However, numbers also increased in Metropolitan Vancouver with over 30,000 Italians in the region by 1971, concentrated in particular locations.

The Slowing Down Of The 1970s

In the last decade, this immigration has slowed especially during the late 1970’s. For example, for Canada as a whole,

8 For this, reference may be made to F. Walhouse, "The Influence of Minority Ethnic Groups on The Cultural Geography of Vancouver." Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1961, p 221.
during 1978 a total of only 2,976 Italians arrived. Considering the distribution of Italians nationwide, it is likely that only a small proportion arrived in Vancouver. In this context, two factors are of importance. First, immigration policies have changed. In 1967, a new immigration act was passed stipulating a set of requirements necessary for potential relocation in Canada. This new act did not have the effect of halting Italian immigration but did limit the flow to close relatives of already established immigrants.

Second, it appears the Italian propensity to migrate has declined. This may be due to the global economic recession with the perceived opportunities of emigration lessening. In fact, a recent article suggests a present day situation where a greater number of immigrants were returning to Italy than were arriving in Canada. Although this may be the case, it is important to note (although the article neglects this point) that this phenomenon is not peculiar to Canada but is also apparent in other nations which have received substantial Italian immigration.

For the particular case of Vancouver, the forthcoming census is likely to reflect these trends and will indicate no

---

9 These figures are obtained from the immigration centre in Vancouver, and are unpublished preliminary figures.
11 This point was made in conversation with Dr. Clifford Jansen, York University, who was quoted in the Macleans article.
dramatic increase in the size of the Italian community, with any increment due to natural increase as well as limited migratory flows.

The Italian Congregation in Vancouver

The previous section discusses the differential growth of the Italian community in Vancouver up to the present day, when Italians form a small but distinct group in the region. This distinctiveness is marked in particular districts in the city where a relative Italian residential concentration has occurred. This is by no means peculiar to Vancouver but has occurred in urban areas throughout North America. This, as previously noted, has provided a major theme of research for social scientists. This research has often examined the residential structure of ethnic groups using census data and quantifying a series of indices to explain the residential distinctiveness of groups. Reference has frequently been made to the segregation of groups in cities and terms such as "ethnic residential concentration" have also been used.\(^1\)

However, it is the contention of this paper that research can not effectively examine ethnic groups by concentrating on residential patterns, but must also consider the role of ethnic

\(^1\)For example, by A.H. Richmond. Ethnic Residential Segregation in Metropolitan Toronto. York University, Institute of Behavioral Research, 1972.
orientated institutions which have developed to perform a vital function. Adapting a point made by Vance (1977), the combination of residential and institutional factors may be termed an "ethnic congregation", taking note of the importance of an institutional network in maintaining an ethnic identity, thus providing a core area focus for the residentially concentrated group.

This important link between residential and institutional development can be illustrated by the case of initial Italian development in Vancouver. On arrival in the city, the first Italians, mostly men, gravitated towards the east side of Vancouver which at the time housed working people from many different origins. Here, they founded residences and established an initial core of Italian settlement, which eventually attracted others. From this point, it was logical for the Italian pioneers to group together to ease problems of communications and to provide security. Within this area, Italian orientated institutions notably Italian shops and also a church, were founded. Such developments helped to attract further immigrants to locate in close proximity upon arrival in

---

the city. This in turn meant that a greater variety of institutions could develop due to an increased market threshold size. The logical progression of this sequence is a self-generating growth process, which indicates the larger the group, the more diverse the institutional framework. This point can be further illustrated by briefly examining the changing residential and institutional patterns in the Italian community.

Residential Patterns

The original core of Italian residential development was an area bounded by Main St., Atlantic St., Clark Drive and Burrard Inlet. (see Map One) This site is however, to the west of the present day residential core. Through the utilisation of census data, it is possible to trace the Eastward migration of the core.

This original area of importance remained the focus for Italian life in Vancouver until shortly after the Second World War, when the sharp increases in the numbers of Italian immigrants occurred. In fact, in 1951, the original core (if slightly extended eastward as far as Victoria Drive) was still the major residential focus containing 27 per cent of Vancouver's Italians. In stating this, note should also be made that the eastward migration had commenced.

By 1961, each census tract in Vancouver, east of Main St.
MAP 1
THE RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNITY

original core

present day core
(some areas 25% Italian)

KEY

[[ ] ] [ ]

shaded areas represent Census Tracks with relative Italian concentrated 5% or 0.25% of total population

0 1 2 3 4 5 Miles
and north of Broadway recorded over-representation of people of Italian ethnic origin. The largest concentration occurred in the area directly to the east of Victoria Drive where Italians accounted for more than 15 per cent of the total population of the neighbourhood. This trend continued and, by 1971, a core had clearly emerged where over 25 per cent of the population in certain districts of East Vancouver were Italian. Also, as Map One shows, further spread of Italian residences had occurred around the residential focus, most significantly across Boundary Road into North Burnaby. Here large numbers of Italian households located in the sixties and the seventies and continue to do so in the present day. Other municipalities also received greater numbers of Italians than in the past. For example, areas of New Westminster and North Vancouver had individual census tracts indicating small scale concentrations. Overall more than 10,000 Italians, approximately one third of the Italian population in the Metropolitan area reside outside of the East Vancouver core focus.

However, these overall patterns of the spatial developments of the community strongly indicate an Eastward progression. This has occurred in part, as Gale (1972) notes, because:

"Barriers of a physical, economic and social nature have tended to impede migration in other directions."\(^{15}\)

\(^{15}\)Gale, op cit, p.108.
This progression has also been facilitated by the availability of cheap housing and land on which Italians could use their distinctive skills in construction to build typical residences. Also, it reflected close proximity to the employment possibilities located on the waterfront of the Burrard Inlet.

Institutional Developments

Linked to the residential development in the process of congregation are institutional developments. In this context, "institutional" refers to a network of clubs, associations, commercial enterprises, media services, professional and religious services and other facilities available to and organized by the Italian community. Such an institutional framework is vitally important if any group is to maintain an ethnic identity within the wide of society. It also functions to lessen the problems faced by new immigrants for example in terms of communications. Further, it enables long time immigrants and their families to maintain links with their homeland.

Alternatively, it may be argued as is done by Jansen (1971) that the existence of an institutional framework can slow and hinder the assimilation process of an ethnic group. This can occur by lessening the need for an Italian immigrant to

---

come into contact with society outside of the ethnic group community area.

Whatever the viewpoint on the role of the institutions, there is no doubt that, as the numbers of Italians have increased in Vancouver, the quantity and diversity of Italian orientated institutions and services have multiplied.

The overall development of an institutional core naturally coincides with that of the residential area. In the original core area (previously defined), the first Italian institutions were founded. One of the most important was the Church of the Sacred Heart, located on Campbell Avenue, which was founded in 1905. Other important institutions included a series of shops and meeting places. An example is the Europe Hotel on Powell Street in present day Gastown, which was constructed in 1906 by Angelo Calori, a prominent Italian businessman of the time.

As the Italian community progressed eastwards, new institutions were founded and located along two major business thoroughfares, Commercial Drive and Hastings Street. This occurred particularly during the late fifties and the sixties and continued to the present. Map Two indicates these points of development and visually illustrates the spatial linkage between the residential and institutional cores.

The only major extension of this pattern in the seventies has been the emergence of Italian businesses in North Burnaby, established in response to the important residential movements.
into the area, facilitated by an increased local market size. More recently, a further extension has been created by the construction of the Italian Cultural Centre. This was completed in 1977 in an area to the south of the main core.

Today, a wide range of social, commercial, spiritual and service institutions exist. These encompass the varied needs of the community and range from food stores to religious organisations, cafes and restaurants to automobile services, language schools to Italian newspapers, forming a dense network. Undoubtedly, Italians can identify with a particular region in the city. Here they can socialise in Cappucino bars, read and converse in Italian, eat pasta dishes and generally function in a community within a community, a "Little Italy". This represents a highly organised, close knit group, at least to the average citizen. This image is further cultivated by the media. For example, the Vancouver Province in 1967 carried an article entitled:

"Italian Canadians - Proud of their New Land"\textsuperscript{17}

which indicated that the Italians were in the process of forming one of the closest knit, unified ethnic groups in British Columbia.

However, a study of the community which examines the institutions and the people themselves in more detail tends to present a vastly different viewpoint.

\textsuperscript{17}Vancouver Province, June 17, 1967, p.5
The Internal Variations within the Community

The terms "Italian" or "Italian ethnic group" in this context, refer to peoples who originate from Italy. Official definitions, used for the purposes of data collection in the census, define ethnic origin as being traced back through family origins on the father's side. It therefore refers to ancestry rather than nationality. Since this is the case, the term "Italian" covers a wide spectrum of people displaying widely varying characteristics, a point totally obscured by reliance on generalised data, such as the census. Some are recent immigrants, others are third or fourth generation Italian-Canadians whose ancestry may date back to the early pioneers in the country. They have achieved differing levels of education and occupation, and have differing language capabilities and institutional requirements.

Thus, on further examination, the idea of a closely knit ethnic group may be questioned and it is useful to examine, in more detail, this internal segmentation in the case of Vancouver.\(^{18}\)

As previously indicated, there are in excess of 30,000

---

Italians in Metropolitan Vancouver and although a typical stereotyped image may be suggested, significant variations exist. Hypothetically, this variation ranges from a non English speaker who relies upon the array of institutions in the core area, to a family of third or fourth generation "Italians" who do not participate in any ethnic institutions and are "Canadianised", but are still labelled Italian.

This particular example points towards internal variations due to changes through time as adjustments are made in response to the new environment, with differing degrees of assimilation being displayed throughout the community. This process of assimilation has been widely studied and much debate has taken place as to definitions. In general terms, it refers to changes and adjustments made by an immigrant in response to the host society, a process of Canadianisation involving the replacement or lessening of importance of ethnic social values and cultural practices in favour of those of the receiving society. From this definition, time, either in terms of length

---
19 This stereotyped image perhaps includes residence close to Commercial Drive, pasta eating, church going, speaking Italian in the home, hot tempered, male dominated, wine drinking, Mafioso types.
20 Much debate and differences in terminology exist in the literature. Terms such as cultural, structural, behavioral assimilation, adaptation, acculturation and integration have all been used, seemingly interchangeable in certain cases. To cite an example, Gordon (1964) saw assimilation as a seven step process, with each stage termed differently, in M.M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life. New York, Oxford U.P., 1964.
of residence or of generational differences, is of prime importance in a suggested positive relationship between time and degree of assimilation, i.e. the longer the time in Canada, the more assimilated a person will be.

However, as research, for example by Ziegler (1971), has shown, assimilation is not solely a function of time. Often other variables such as pre-migratory background in terms of education, occupation and region of origin must be taken into account. Ziegler in studing the Italians in Toronto found these pre-migratory factors to be particularly relevant in considering the assimilation of the immigrant generation, while further noting important differences between generations.21

In noting internal segmentation within the Italian community in Vancouver, a similar situation emerges. Differences do exist in the degree of assimilation and these are particularly noticeable in differences between generations. Boissevain (1965) noted in relation to an Italian community in Montreal,

"There is always in every society and in every community a certain degree of tension between generations."22

Certainly, the Vancouver Italians are no exception. In fact, such tensions are perhaps more noticeable than in society in

21 Ziegler, op cit, chapter 3. See also S.G. Ziegler, Characteristics of Italian Households in Metropolitan Toronto. York University, Institute of Behavioral Research, 1972.
22 Boissevain, op cit, p.29
general because they are accentuated by differences in birth place, education and outlook. Those Italians who arrived in Vancouver in the 50's and 60's may have brought young children with them or have produced first generation Italian-Canadians, who are brought up in a dual cultural atmosphere. The children may speak Italian with their parents (and grandparents) in the home, but in school and elsewhere speak English. They are likely to have both Italian and non-Italian friends and generally consider themselves to be more a part of Canada than of Italy.\textsuperscript{23}

As a progression occurs through subsequent generations, it is likely that further assimilation will occur and in these subsequent generations links with Italy and their origins will decrease. How quickly and comprehensively this actually occurs depends on the internal structure of the present Italian community, particularly the family unit. If the post immigrant generations are encouraged to speak Italian at home, learn about their ancestral homeland and participate in the social and cultural institutions available in the community, a certain ethnic identity can be maintained while the individual is still able to function as a member of the larger society. In fact, in Canada this has been encouraged under multiculturalism and has been termed "integration". However, a pilot survey of Italians

\textsuperscript{23}This statement is based on personal interviews.
in Vancouver indicates that this process is not occurring and Canadian born Italians have significantly lower participation rates within the institutional structure of the community. This, in fact, agrees with a point made by Germano (1977) who stated:

"The young people, however, do not seem to be drawn into the social life of these Italian clubs."  

Thus there is some indication that the importance of the Italian congregated area, particularly in relation to institutions, is lessening as a process of assimilation occurs.

Differences within the Italian community, however, are not limited to those manifested as a result of assimilation. Even in the relatively unassimilated core area where many of the immigrant generation reside, where high language retention rates exist and where strong links with Italy are maintained, there is little unity. An important reason for this is regional differentiation. Regional ties are particularly strong for Italians, a fact which can be examined on various scales.

The broadest division can be drawn between Northern Italy and Southern Italy, the Mezzogiorno. The North is traditionally far more prosperous, containing much of the industrial development of the nation and a higher percentage of urban population. People from the North tend to have higher levels of education and often possess a skilled trade. The Mezzogiorno is a less prosperous area and an immigrant from there is likely to...

---

24 This refers to part of the authors ongoing research.
have comparatively lower levels of education and in general poor, rural origins. Attitudes also vary; the Southern way of life is often thought to be more conservative and traditional, while the Northerner is more adaptable to change. This is an important difference when considered in relation to the previously mentioned process of assimilation, where immigrant backgrounds were noted as of importance.

In briefly outlining the differences between North and South, it follows that the propensity to migrate from the less prosperous Mezzogiorno would be greater than from the North. This is reflected by the flow of immigration to Canada. Studies in the two major magnets of attraction for Italians, Montreal and Toronto, indicate high proportions of Southern Italians, although all regions are represented in these communities. In Vancouver, no in depth studies of region of origin have been carried out. Walhouse (1961) suggested that in the late 50's, 60 per cent of Vancouver's Italians where from the North. In the present day, this proportion is thought to have lessened and the majority now originate from the South.

This broad dichotomy is not, however, the most important division in the Italian community. A further division into the various regions of origin is perhaps more significant in Italian self identification, with peoples considering themselves to be, for example, Calabresi, Abruzzesi, Alpini, Friulani or

\[26\] Walhouse, op cit, p.223.
Siciliani. This self identification often recognises sub-regional divisions with strong ties to the towns or villages where the families once resided. In fact, on a small scale, this is represented by examples in the residential distribution of Italians in Vancouver, with groupings of residences along particular streets being of people from the same town or village. However, it is the regional tie that is particularly important. This is formalised and institutionalised within the community. Each region has its own social club in Vancouver, meeting on a regular basis, where regional dialects are spoken and regional traditions and customs are carried on, thus strengthening regionally orientated ties. This use of regional dialects is not confined to the clubs, but is an important aspect of the day to day life of the Italian household. Even in such institutions as the restaurants and cappucino bars in East Vancouver, outwardly symbolic of the Italian community as a whole, there are regional biases, particularly in the bars which cater largely to the Italian men.

Combining regional differences with segmentation as result of varying length of residence, intergenerational pressures and different degrees of assimilation, a disaggregation of the Italian community is apparent. This certainly disagrees with the idea of a close knit ethnic group although in saying this, it should be noted that attempts have taken place to unite the Italians. A weekly newspaper, 'L'Eco d'Italia' serves the
community with a circulation of over 5,000. Other communications media are also utilized such as bi-weekly T.V. shows and radio shows on a regular basis on CJVB and CJJC.

Another major attempt to unite the community has been the founding of the Italian Cultural Centre and the creation of the Italian Folk Society. These bodies act as coordinating agencies for the various clubs and societies but without seeming to be able to provide a unifying focus. The use of the cultural centre has not been by all Italians but by particular groups. As a recently produced paper suggests:

"Rather than cater to the middle class Italians (who make up the majority of Italians here in Vancouver) it caters to the professional people." 27

This quote introduces a further element of differentiation, that associated with social status. This point may be re-linked with the consideration of the process of assimilation, with the professional people providing indication of changes made in response to the host society while still maintaining an ethnic identity.

Overall, there is no doubt that as the Italian group in Vancouver have increased in numbers and developed, significant internal segmentation has occurred, a fact evident in many aspects of "Italian" life in the city.

27 A counsellor working for M.O.S.A.I.C. in Vancouver prepared the paper as a handout in 1980.
Conclusions and Perspectives for the Future

This examination of the development and character of the Italian community in Vancouver has outlined various approaches that can be taken in the study of ethnic groups. Particularly, it has shown how the use of official data and a generalised approach in defining a wide group of people as "ethnic" can mask the substantial variations within the group as a result of a complex of factors. In this example, although it is possible to define a region characteristically "Italian" and to generalise various trends of development, it should not be assumed that this accurately represents the community itself. The Italians are not a unified group, this point being reflected in a recent report, prepared for Statistics Canada, which stated:

"Italian-Vancouverites are too divided to allow any one social organisation to be overly representative." 28

A combination of research on the generalised level and on an individual or household level might provide a useful approach and level of explanation in studies of ethnic groups in particular environments.

Finally, having sketched the development of the group in Vancouver and noted the internal differences at this time, what of the future? It seems that the changes that are currently

occurring such as those associated with inter-generational
differences must continue and subsequent generations will be
less "Italianised" and more "Canadianised". Combining this with
the slowdown of Italian immigration noted, perhaps the continued
importance and even existence of the core Italian area will be
in doubt. People having fewer ties with Italian culture will not
depend on the community's institutional framework, which could
indicate the latter's decline. Germano (1977) notes just this,
particularly in relation to the social organisations. He states:

"The associations, while they are a genuine expression
of Italian Community life, do not usually succeed in
reaching beyond a circle of interests which ends with
the lives of the founding members."

A further implication of the lessening of the ties with the
core area is that a dispersal of Italian households will occur
around the region. Here the major locational determinant is
economic rather than ethnic in nature. In fact, this process may
be occurring at present with a greater dispersal of Italian
households than in the past.

Whatever the future may bring, there is no doubt that as
the city of Vancouver has developed and many different peoples
have come in, the Italians have formed a distinct part of the
"Cultural Mosaic" and that the development of the community,
with loose institutional and residential ties has performed an

29 Germano, op cit, p.35.
30 This point has been inferred by reference to one of the most
recent sources of information concerning Italian residential
important function in aiding the transitions that an immigrant community has to go through.
Acculturation, Assimilation and Mobility of the
German Ethnic Group in Vancouver.
Is there a time - space - relationship?

by

Peter Dörrrenbäecher
In this paper I want to examine the spatial behavior of the German ethnic group in Vancouver. The major task is to examine whether there is a relationship between length of time of living in a host-society and the spatial and social mobility within this ethnic group.

1. **General Considerations**

   First of all we have to clarify whether there is a general connection between assimilation of any ethnic group in a host society and its mobility. If so, we can ask whether the behaviour of the German ethnic group is similar to others in showing this general connection.

1.1 **Assimilation and Acculturation**

   To find a connection between assimilation, acculturation, and mobility, we first have to define the notions of assimilation and acculturation.

   Acculturation means in this case an adaptation of ethnic minorities to the cultural standards of their host-societies. The word "acculturation" implies an ongoing process of interaction. The process is one of adjustment wherein an ethnic group moves from physical or social isolation, or both, to gradual imitation of the host culture through the diffusion of ideas, values, and artifacts... According to Alfred Kroeser and Talcot Parsons, culture is language, religion, law, symbols, beliefs, and associations among individuals and groups as in church, family, club or informal group membership. Assimilation then means the development of both the cultural and social system of the host society.*

---

*Reitz, K. Themes in the Cultural Geography of European Ethnic Groups in the U.S.A. Geographical Review Vol. 69, No. 1 01/79 pp. 79-94
1.2 Mobility

First of all it is necessary to make a distinction between horizontal or spatial mobility and vertical or class mobility. Horizontal mobility means the movement from one place to another, from one city to another city, from rural areas to urban areas or from one specific metropolitan area to another. In many cases a change in profession or in class participation is connected with spatial mobility, eg. a descent by moving from a better to a worse residential area. So spatial mobility often is an indicator for class mobility.

1.3 Segregation

Segregation means the spatial separation of a social group within a society. This group can be distinguished by cultural characteristics such as religion, language, or values or by social factors like status or stratification. Segregated groups live separated from the whole society and are strongly limited in their interaction within their own group. Ethnic groups which often have a different cultural background and behavior or different functions within the society, whose status and class participation is different from that of the average members of society often are segregated.

1.4 Segregation, Assimilation and Mobility of Ethnic Groups

Ethnic immigrant groups usually have a different cultural and social background. Problems caused by these differences like language, religion, and education, encourage people to live together segregated from the host-society. The Italian, Greek, and Chinese are such examples in
the major North American cities.

Usually with time, from generation to generation, these differences in culture decrease. Children learn the host society's language, get the common education and become integrated; we can say they are acculturated and at the end they are assimilated. The need to stay together with other people of the same origin decreases and this in turn leads to higher spatial mobility.

This process takes place in different ways:

First: Acculturation and assimilation enable people to move up within the society by getting better jobs and gaining a better status and prestige. They can move from their former residential area to a wealthier area. Another circumstance enforces this process: an arriving immigrant group usually moves into the less desirable areas to live. There is often a social succession with a former immigrant group leaving and making way for another group which moves in to take their place. In the United States such cases are known for different metropolitan areas: English, then Germans, later Italians settled, and now Puerto Ricans and Mexicans live in poorer districts.

Second: There is a need for new space in an immigrant group's second generation. Children getting married need houses or apartments and are often compelled to move out.

The resulting processes and those discussed above can strengthen each other.

1.5 Hypothesis

We can formulate the regularity that there is a connection between time and space insofar as ethnic groups which first are segregated more
in time: i.e. there is both a social and a spatial mobility. This mobility is induced by acculturation and assimilation.

In my investigation I sought to determine whether this regularity also holds true for the German ethnic group in Vancouver. This question will be treated in part 2 of this essay.

2. Assimilation and Mobility of the German Ethnic Group in Vancouver

This part will test the hypothesis that the German Ethnic Group's social and spatial behaviour is similar to the common behaviour of other ethnic groups quoted in 1. Therefore I made use of different tools. First: I studied the census material from 1961 and 1971 in order to find the areas with a decrease and an increase of German ethnic population. Secondly: I carried out some informal interviews with pastors of German parishes; the publisher of the German newspaper "Pazifuche Rundshau", Mr. Ackermann; the president of the German Alpen-Club in Vancouver, Mr. Brauer; and others. Third: I undertook some interviews with a questionnaire concerning acculturation and assimilation as quoted above and spatial mobility.

2.1. Descriptive Part (Census Material)

In order to find out in which census tracts the number of German population increased/decreased between 1961-1971, I compared the numbers of both years per census tract. First of all I had to make the census tracts comparable because the borders were changed in 1971 to smaller units. Then I calculated the differences between 1961 and 1971 whereby I defined the absolute number of Germans per census tract of 1961 as 100% and calculated the percentage of this number for 1971.
(eg. 200 people of German origin in 1961 census tract #1 = 100%, 600 people in census tract in 1971 = 300%; percentage figures show the numbers of Germans compared to the absolute numbers of 1961).

The result of this calculation was an increase of German population in almost every census tract between 1961 and 1971. Declining census tracts were near downtown Vancouver, SE of Burrard St. (70-94.9% of 1961), south of Broadway, between Cambie and Nanaimo St., South Burnaby at the Fraser River, around Victoria Drive at Terminal Avenue (all 45.0 - 69.9% of 1961). All other census tracts showed an increase in population of German origin with the exception of a few with only slight changes. In most census tracts the 1971 percentage of 1961 values was between 105% and 204.9%.

Higher gains could be recognized in Eastern Burnaby 205 - 254.9%.
Higher gains could be recognized in Western Surrey
Higher gains could be recognized in Richmond-city
and in Port Moody, Coquitlam and parts of North Vancouver the percentages were even higher (255 - 404.9%). The highest percentages were in West Vancouver (423.8%), eastern Delta (439.8%), southwestern West Burnaby (Boundary Road Imperial Avenue) (468%) and Delta (612.2%).

But these dates could only give limited information because the increase of the German population could have coincided with the general development of population, eg. where new residential areas were developed or population in general decreased because of commercial development.

Therefore I compared the development of the German population with the population as a whole in a second map.
I calculated the change of the whole population between 1961 - 1971 in the same way as for the German population in map 1. The difference between the total population development and that of persons of German origin gave me a more precise picture of the development of the German population. I only took care of those census tracts where the difference between the percentage of map 1 and map 2 per census tract were higher than +50% for the German ethnic group, i.e. where it increased significantly faster than the total population. The census tracts where the German population decreased while the total population increased and the tracts where the German population decreased in the same way as the other population were also examined.

Result: Between Broadway and King Edward Street, Cambie Street and Victoria Drive, the German population decreased while the total population increased. Except for the census tract in South Burnaby at the Fraser River and the census tracts north of Broadway, the decrease of the German population in the remaining census tracts was less than for the total population.

A significant increase of the German population (more than +50% difference to the total population development) could be seen in Port Coquitlam, Coquitlam, North Vancouver (census tract 150) with 50 - 99.9% difference, Port Moody, Eastern Delta, North Vancouver (census tract 153) with 125 - 149.9%, in South Burnaby (Boundary, Imperial Avenue) 175 - 199.9% and Delta and North Vancouver (census tract 140) 200 - 399.9%.

Those areas with a significant increase of German population are most interesting for further examination. It is true of course that these census dates only give limited information because there are still some unsolved questions. For example, a high percentage growth in a
specific census tract does not automatically mean a high absolute increase of population growth. These data however can show a general trend of development and it is possible to give an explanation as to why in these areas the population of German origin increased more markedly.

In the next part, I want to illustrate the information from the interviews and compare this with the result from the census data.

2.2 Result From Interviews

In order to explain the result I obtained from census material, I undertook some interviews. Two types of interviews were used: informal and formal.

2.2.1 Informal Interviews

The informal interviews were undertaken with representatives of the German Alpen Club and pastors of two German Lutheran parishes in Vancouver and the publishers of the German newspaper "Parifische Rundschau". In these interviews I obtained general information about the German ethnic group in Vancouver, its history, its integration into Canadian society, etc.

First, I wish to stress that the notion "German population" that I have used before and will use later on does not actually mean people of German citizenship or immigrants from Germany. Rather it signifies the group which share a common cultural background which is expressed by the use of the German language.

Most of the so-called German population did not come from Germany but from the Baltic region in eastern Europe and from southeastern Europe. Some of them were descendants of earlier emigrants from Germany proper.
Examples are the Hutterites and the groups of Mennonites who came from Russia to Paraguay and Canada at the beginning of this century. Some other Mennonites later came from Paraguay, Uruguay, Brazil, and Argentina to Canada. Most of them first settled in rural areas. After World War I, there was only a rather small German community in Vancouver, whose shopping facilities were located around Robson Street. The major settlement area of German speaking population was for a long time around Fraser Street in South Vancouver. This community consisted mostly of people from Poland and had a lower educational level. They had more language problems than other Germans and therefore lived closer together. Fraser Street was the core of the German community up to the last decades but has declined relatively rapidly since then.

There were two major reasons for this:

1. The community lived in the second generation in Vancouver, and the children getting married and having children needed new residential space. Hence there was a fairly strong out-migration to more rural areas around Vancouver. The above figures which show a large increase of German population in rural areas like Port Moody, Coquitlam, Delta, and Surrey illustrate this. I often heard that people with children had a lot of difficulties in getting apartments or houses in Vancouver. One major reason to move was a desire for better conditions for children. A second reason was the high housing costs in Vancouver whereas the land prices outside the actual city were relatively low and young families could not pay the higher prices.

2. Another fact was that in the last decade and a half there was a heavy influx of East-Indian population in the area around Fraser Street and Southeast Marine Drive, around the Sikh temple. This development had a
further push effect on the German population. It is interesting that
the Fraser Street area obviously is a typical transitional area. Before
the German population lived there, this area was settled by British
people. The succession brought the German population coming above all
from Eastern Europe (Poland), and since they left the area, it is now
settled by East-Indians.

Apart from this German ethnic community around Fraser Street, there
are other Germans who came later. Most of the people of German origin
living today in Vancouver came in the 1950s (most of them between 1952 and
1955). Theirs was a very heterogenous group. Some of them came actually
from West Germany and were mostly young people who had the desire to begin
a new career in some foreign country. The reasons for coming to Canada
were political because most countries were closed for Germans after the
war. Another group came from Eastern Europe from regions which were lost
in the war to Poland and Russia (Silesia and East Prussia). This popula-
tion did not feel at home in West Germany and therefore came to Canada partly
in fear of another war in Europe. Most of them were craftsmen or members
of the former nobility who lost their titles and land. These people were
well-educated or skilled and had only slight problems to move up in
Canadian society. Of course especially people from Eastern Europe, and
the nobility particularly, conserved their old German traditions which
had roots in their former minority status in Eastern Europe.

The Poland-Germans, Baltic-Germans, and the former nobility in
particular, identify themselves as Germans and are determined to pre-
serve their old German traditions. But all of them in common have reached
a good living standard in Canada, and the new society acknowledges their
craft-skills (even in the case of formerly unskilled immigrants, at least
in their second generation in Vancouver).
In recent years, there was a new trend of German immigration, although the figures were much smaller than in the 1950s. The arriving population consisted of Germans from West Germany who were well educated and often well off. They came in order to save this financial capital in anticipation of an unstable political situation in Europe. Apart from these people, immigrants of German origin recently came from Latin America, in particular from Mexico, also because of economical and political reasons in their home country. They were members of the upper class. A priest of a German church reported to me that in the last year alone, five well-off families from Mexico have moved to North Vancouver. These immigrants mostly speak English well and became quickly integrated in the host society. It appears that they do not identify themselves anymore with the German ethnic group. They invest in the Canadian economy, own land and can hardly be recognized as Germans. This group and other former immigrants who had quickly established good economic careers, live in or move to the more expensive residential areas, particularly in North Vancouver (see Census Data).

The following trends are apparent:

In the 1950s, lots of Germans from Germany or from the Eastern European regions (Silesia, East Prussia) came to Canada. They mostly got well-paid professions and after a couple of years, they purchased their own residences which were located often in the rural communities around Vancouver with lower land prices. These areas are consistent with the fastest gaining census tracts, which I noted in 2.1. The highest increases of German population in Delta are connected with efforts made by Dutch people to reclaim the Fraser Delta and to make this region feasible for settlement. At the time of these improvements also the total population
in Delta increased faster than in any other group of census tracts. When a Dutch research co-operative found out that the Fraser Delta could be settled, the area was subdivided and cheap lots became available. Hence the heavy migration of Germans to Delta is only partly caused by their ethnic origin. The German population itself always settled in private bungalow-like residences and this trend continued in Delta. The strong migration to Delta, Port Moody or elsewhere did not have anything to do with segregation. This population arriving in the 1950s never was segregated or concentrated. The high increase rates in those census tracts were a result of many young families partly of the second immigrant generation seeking residences.

Another direction at that time (1961-71) which continues up until now is the migration to high prestige areas in West and North Vancouver. Two groups are engaged in this direction: 1) those Germans who came in the 1950s and later moved up within the Canadian class hierarchy. Most of them are craftsmen who run an expanding company or are business-men. They often are second generation Vancouverites, less inclined to identify themselves as of German origin.

Another group are those German-speaking people coming from Latin America who immediately moved to these expensive areas. These two mobility trends are consistent with the intention of the parish of the German Lutheran Church at 18th Avenue to subdivide the parish into a Vancouver parish for the rapidly increasing population in North and West Vancouver and another parish for the population in Surrey, Langley, Delta and Maple Ridge which is growing very fast too.
2.2.2 Interviews by Questionnaire

Apart from these few informal interviews, I carried out some interviews by using a questionnaire (Appendix); but the information is only of limited value because of the following reasons:

It was very difficult to find people of German origin who agreed to answer a questionnaire. The problem was that I only got addresses from German institutions like the Alpen Club, Vancouver and German churches. So this population is hardly representative for the German ethnic group in Vancouver, because these people obviously have chosen contact with other Germans and identify themselves more as Germans than other people of German origin. On the other hand, there is the question whether people no longer participating in any German institutions can still be regarded as ethnic in a more limited sense. Another problem is that the number of interviews was very small and the question is, how representative is this?

One part of these interviews was undertaken in the restaurant of the German Alpen Club, the other part was by phone interviews with members of a German church.

The results from these interviews were very similar to the descriptions by competent people of the German ethnic behaviour that I obtained by informal interviews. Most of the people came in the 1950s. About half of them came directly to Vancouver, the others from Central Canada or the Prairies to Vancouver. The reasons for coming to Vancouver were employment opportunities or personal considerations. Almost all of them moved only within the first years of living in Vancouver and acquired their own residence after this time. This mobility corresponds to the figures of the census data. A move out from the German ethnic area
around Fraser Street took place to the surrounding communities in Delta, Surrey, Langley, and Port Moody, or a direct migration occurred from other regions in Canada to those suburbs of Vancouver because of available land and lower prices. The German population seems to be less spatially mobile than the Canadian average. Everyone with only one exception lived in his own residence, has not moved, and does not intend to move again. There was one case of moving out of a residence after children had left the family. But in general, there was a very homogenous spatial behaviour. Changing the living place had little to do with a social change or with acculturation and assimilation because the indicators concerning participation in German ethnic institutions, custom, etc. changed from person to person while the spatial behaviour was almost the same for everyone. The main objective always was to obtain his own residence as fast as possible. In order to obtain this information I asked after such indicators as nationality of friends, participation in institutions, and reading of German newspapers. The answers were different with the exception that almost everyone had a mixture between English and German as the language at home and spoke English at work. A small difference could be seen between professionals and other people. Professionals used more English than the others and had more institutional contacts, but the sample size was so small, that it could be difficult to draw any definite conclusion. All people interviewed gave similar evaluations of this area and were satisfied with their housing conditions while having only a loose contact with their neighbours.

All in all, the differences concerning acculturation and mobility within the German ethnic group seemed to be very small according to these interviews, although there are large differences in the financial
and actual social situation within the group. Most of the people asked still to identify themselves as Germans by having a closer contact with other Germans, by buying in German Delicatessen stores and reading German newspapers, while appearing well integrated in their jobs and having other friends in addition to those of German origin.

3. Review

In my study, I found that the hypothesis that I gave in part 1 of this essay is only partly true for the German ethnic group.

There was no real German concentration after World War II in Vancouver as they exist for other ethnic groups. The German population quickly acquired their own residences in Vancouver and in the 1960s in the suburbs of Vancouver.

The acculturation and assimilation into the Canadian society took place very quickly, but lasted as long as or even longer than the period of moving, with the only exception being for the people from Poland who were concentrated around Fraser Street. This community disintegrated after a considerable time of living in Vancouver with the rise of the second generation. It is just this group which also today takes care of their old traditions and whose spatial and social behaviour conforms to the hypothesis given above.

The actual migration of German population to the better residential areas within Vancouver however, is comparable to the normal class mobility within the Canadian society and not really ethnically controlled, because the people involved are already acculturated as well as assimilated.

The direct migration from outside to the wealthier areas is another reason why the hypothesis is not really true for the German ethnic group in its entirety.
Intra-urban mobility of the German ethnic group in Vancouver and its integration in the Canadian society

1. How long are you living in Canada?

2. Where are you from in Europe?

3. Which reasons did you have to emigrate and to immigrate especially to Canada?

4. Where did you move to (in Canada)?

5. How often did you move within Canada?

6. Where did you live before (in Canada)?

7. Why did you move in this area?

8. How long are you living in this area?

9. Do you intend to move again?

10. Is this your own residence?

11. To which age-group do you belong? 21-30 31-40 41-50 51-60 61 & over

12. How many persons are living in your household/family?

13. Did your children yet finish their education?

14. Are you self-employed?

15. To which professional/occupational group do you belong?
   - worker
   - employee
   - craftsman
   - professional
   - public (administ staff)
   - others
   - don't know
   - no answer

16. Did you change your profession
   (a) when you came to Canada
   (b) while living in Canada?

17. Which size (how many employees) does your company have?

18. Which language do you use at work?

19. Which language do you use (mostly) at home?

20. Do you have any connections to German institutions?
   - if yes, to which?
   - are you member?

21. Which German institutions do you know in the Vancouver area?
(22) Do you read German newspapers? if yes, which? and how often? seldom sometimes often weekly

(23) Do you read (periodically) any Vancouverite newspaper?

(24) Do you use to buy in German stores (e.g. groceries, delicatessen stores)?

(25) Do you (still) have a deep contact to other Germans in Vancouver?

(26) Do most of your friends have an origin other than German? if yes, which?

(27) Do you have a close contact to your neighbors?

(28) How would you characterize them?

(29) How would you characterize this residential area?

(30) How do you like this residential area?

    Grade 5 (best) 4 3 2 1 ?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH!

(Spring 1981)
COMPARATIVE CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY

A European German View of the
Germans in Vancouver.

by

Michael Geib
INTRODUCTION

I shall try to deal with the Germans in the recent Vancouver. Three questions should be kept in mind:
- Is there a German image in Vancouver?
- What is the German contribution to the general society and culture?
- Is there a future for this ethnic group?

In order to answer these questions, I used four methods: statistics, maps, interviews, and photographs.

In ethnic studies, it is necessary to look at the whole life of man - his social relations, his habits, and his physical creations in the landscape.

In the case of the Germans, this is especially difficult because of the 'confusing' background of their immigration. So I want to have a look at different aspects of human life:
- Language, and its expression in press, radio, TV, etc.
- social organizations and clubs.
- business.
- food habits.
- the appearance in the landscape (housing and gardening).

But first, there should be a short look at the distribution of Germans in Vancouver:

Distribution:

At the last census of 1971, there were 89,675 Germans in the Metropolitan Area of Vancouver. This is 8.29% of the total population. Most live in Vancouver with 32,515 which is 7.63% of the total population.

A look at the percentage of total population helps to determine concentration. The more 'rural' areas have a higher percentage: Langley (14.61%), Surrey (10.68%), Delta (10.45%), Port Coquitlam (10.43%), Richmond (10.21%), etc. The highest percentage has the area between Oak Street and Victoria Drive, with over 20% centering around the classical centre of the Germans along the Fraser Street. However, in general it can be said that the concentration is not as marked as in the case of other

---

1 What is a "German"?
2 see map: 'Total Germans 1971'
3 see map: 'Percent Germans 1971'
GREATER VANCOUVER
(Percent Germans Speaking Mother Tongue 1971)
ethnic groups like the Italians.

The status of language depends on the concentration of German population. Areas with a higher concentration of Germans also maintain the German language longer. 13.8% of the Germans kept German as main language in 1971.

A problem the German Community faces today is the fact that the number of immigrants is very rapidly decreasing. The small group of new German immigrants mainly settles in the Western parts of the town and in North Vancouver, not in traditionally 'German' areas.

To what extent have these two factors of the recent almost stop to German immigration, and the relatively widespread distribution of new settlement influenced the development of the German community? How far is the language influenced?

Language and its expression in press, radio, tv, etc.

It is a fact - and statistics prove this - that the Germans do not maintain their language as well as other ethnic groups. There are different causes for this. First, the Canadian-English culture is rather similar to the German. It makes it easy to assimilate fast. It is not necessary for Germans to live in communities together that are developed in order to maintain the old customs, as for example Italians or Chinese do. If there is no such tight community, this means that the assimilation process even accelerates. The rather low readership of German newspapers proves this.

Another significant fact is that Germans who came here often had, historically, to leave their country because of emergencies: poverty, wars, political pressure, or unemployment. This continued to be true for the post war period which brought the main wave of immigrants to Vancouver. For a large number of these people their own nationality had a terrible taste because of the perverted nationalism of the 'Third Reich'. In order to find a new start, they had to speak English.

There is a third factor that accelerates the assimilation of the German: the family. A couple without children remains German longer than a

---

4 see map: 'Percent Germans Speaking Mother tongue 1971'.
family where children grow up in the English speaking environment and especially in English speaking schools. To maintain German at home is sometimes really hard, for people may be living in two worlds, the English-language environment and the German 'island', simultaneously.

There are Saturday-schools, but, it is hard especially for children to spend extra time learning a language. About 850 students go to these schools in the Greater Vancouver area. This is a low number in comparison to the high number of Germans in this area.

I know a case where the first born speaks a very good German, the younger sister a worse, and the youngest brother doesn't know any German at all. In another case, a young first generation German Canadian, who speaks German fluently, went to Germany for a longer period. When he came home, he spoke only English and refused to speak German in his family. That is the question of identity. In Canada, he lived in a 'double identity'. In Germany, he found that there is no further relation to the recent German culture. He feels himself a Canadian now and speaks the language of his country.

The language itself changes also - but, not in the way it would in a German environment. It remains fixed at the standard of the year of immigration, in the case of Vancouver mainly the 1950's and 60's. But not only the language, also the customs, the social behaviour, and the political thinking stay still. The language mixes English expressions into the German, or even takes phrases without translation and only adds German articles. English becomes more and more part of the language.

It is also interesting to see that relations among people are expressed by the use of the language: one may speak German to near friends, and to other Germans English.

All these facts can be assessed in the press and other German media. There is one 'big' regional newspaper: The 'Pazifische Rundschau'. It is published by Baldwin Ackermann. The paper appears every 2 weeks and is put together by Mr. Ackermann, his wife and a secretary in the cellar of his house. He deals mainly with events in the German community in Greater Vancouver. He also gives a overview about events in Europe. There are
advertisements from German retail shops, lawyers, craftsmen. Here the interested German also finds the programs of the German speaking clubs, or information about the club life, churches with German services, etc. Mr. Ackermann declares that it is his policy to deal mainly with events in the German community, or commentaries on provincial events. News which go further afield, people read in the English daily papers. Mr. Ackermann estimates his total distribution at 10,125.

Beside the 'Pazifische Rundschau', there exists another paper, which appears weekly and is called 'Kanada Kurier'. It is a national paper with regional sections. They deal with international and also German news. There is a regional section for B.C.

The style is what in Europe would be called that of a 'Boulevard Zeitung'. The Kurier's circulation is about 8000.

Both papers can be recognized as conservative in their political statements. The language may also be regarded as 'old fashioned' or 'English influenced'.

Beside these two 'big' papers, there exist small ones in the form of 'information letters' like the 'Edelweiss Echo' from the 'Edelweiss Credit Union'.

German books are also rarely read. There is one German bookstore in Fraser Street, which also has English religious literature. One French bookstore has a small German section. There are two 'International News' stores on Hastings and Robson, selling German newspapers and journals from German speaking countries. They have also a small selection of German books. The Robson Street shop has a selection of 70 to 80 German books.

Until half a year ago, Baldwin Ackermann had his own broadcasting station in the U.S. from where he sent his program to Vancouver. He had to quit it because the rent became too high. Therefore there is only one radio station at the moment which broadcasts in German: 'CJVB' in Vancouver, an ethnic radio station, founded by a Dutchman. There is a one hour German

So he has a special section called 'Dies Und Das' where he only deals with the 'gossip' in the town. (Appendix I)
program a day: from 11:00 - 12:00 a.m. and news at 11:15 a.m. This ethnic station has somewhat reduced its ethnic programming and there are sometimes changes in priorities. So the Chinese section is growing, and other smaller ethnic groups lose their place. The problem is that the station must succeed economically. Also laws control the percentage of foreign music being broadcast.

The German program takes care of the listeners: entertaining music of the 1950's and 60's, operetta music. No young people will listen to such a program. It is music for the elder generation. The language used proves the same. Terms are used which no longer exist in the European German language.

Beside this station, there is a religious broadcast every weekday at 7:00 p.m. This peculiarity of 'standing still in a time', the time of immigration, is expressed also in other kinds of entertainments. There is a cinema which shows German films out of the 1950's and early 1960's, the so-called 'Heimatfilme' (old country movies). There is no modern German film shown except by the German Departments of the Universities.

The same holds true in the field of music: 'flat' entertaining artists perform here like Heino, Tony Marshall - artists who nevertheless attract the mass consumer in Germany.

A TV program also exists. A cable-program requiring a converter, it is on Channel 19 and started in December 1979.

All in all, it may be said that peoples' life expresses the cultural conditions in the Germany they left. The language changes into English, or the German spoken develops in the same direction. The young generation finds its identification with the English-Canadian society. Younger immigrants from Germany have normally learned English already in school. They find their way faster in the main Canadian society. They find no place in the older German community still anchored in the 1950's and 1960's. The behaviour, the language, the political feeling is different.

6 'Hollywood', on Broadway.
The earlier Germans have created a 'German' style which they think is German, but which is far away from the reality. We can see this in the existing German organization.

Social Organizations and Clubs

The biggest club is the 'Vancouver Alpenclub' founded in 1935. Its German image is a Bavarian, south-German style, as the clubhouse immediately reveals. It has its own restaurant where German dishes are served. The program is more or less entertaining: dance evenings, playing games like chess, 'Kegeln', 'Skat', or activities like 'Schuhplatteln'. The club is also the meeting place for smaller organizations like choirs etc. The club can help elder Germans find a place in their free time among other Germans - a main task because these people still have problems with the effort to integrate.

But there are other facts which they may not see or refuse to see. Around the bar, younger people rather few in number discuss in English. The same trend shows in the dance events. Mainly one generation is there: that of the 1950's and 60's. Young people are rare. The music is the same - dance music of the time, waltzes and foxtrots.

Beside the 'Alpenclub', there are only two other clubs with their own premises, the 'Club Berlin' (founded in 1963) and the 'Austria Vancouver Club'.

There are many other German speaking clubs and societies:
- 'Club Erika'
- the 'German Canadian Cultural Society'
- the 'German Soccer Club'
- the 'Kolping Society'

7 'MGW Lyra'; 'Concordia'
8 Curious is the relation of the Germans in Vancouver to these clubs. In my interviews, I found that the number of Germans with a 'middle' position towards the clubs is rather low. Either they neglect it totally or they are total members and defend their 'German' style: A typical example for the diversity in the German character? the struggle between individualism and collectivism?
- the 'German Canadian Benevolent Society'
- the 'Swiss Society'
- the 'German Canadian Businessmen's Association of B.C.'
- the 'Austro Canadian Businessmen's Association of B.C.'
- the 'Edelweiss Credit Union'

etc.

A German institution for the aged has been established. There are also German speaking Christian churches:
- different 'Mennonite Churches'
- the 'EV. Lutherische Kreuzgemeinde Christuskirche'
- the 'Katholische Heilige Familie Gemeinde'
- the 'Emmanuel Baptisten Gemeinde'
- the 'Bethel Pfingstgemeinde'
- the 'EV. Lutherische St. Markusgemeinde'

They offer German worship services, but also so called 'Sonntagsschulen' (Sunday schools). But they face the same problems as the clubs. Some of them already offer English services. The slow change starts with the singing of English Christian hymns.

The Mennonites are only slightly related to the recent German community. Their background is different. They have a long tradition in Canada and came mainly from Ukrainian areas. Nowadays, their new members come from South America and nobody from Europe. Today, their services are nearly totally changed to English.

We can see in the organizations the same thing we saw in the development of the language: the stagnation in time, the generation problem, and slow change. A business organization where the same facts may have deep consequences is the 'Edelweiss Credit Union'.

Business

The 'Edelweiss Credit Union' was founded in 1943 in order to support Germans in the town, or help German immigrants. Credit Unions are owned and controlled by the people who use their services. B.C. laws says that members of a Credit Union must be qualified through a 'common bond'.
Accordingly, the 'Edelweiss Credit Union' defines its members as 'people of German extraction or linguistic ability and their immediate relatives residing in British Columbia'.

Assets grew from $58.50 in 1943 to $65,276,499.0 in 1980 and the number of members from 14 in 1943 to more than 9000 in 1980.

Beside economic questions such as high interest rates, the 'Edelweiss Credit Union' faces another problem: the high average age of the members - for average age is higher than in other Credit Unions. Younger German-Canadians see no reason to go to a German branch. On the other hand, new immigrants from German speaking countries speak English and have but few links with any German organization in the town.

In view of these facts, the 'Edelweiss Credit Union' has only two possibilities of survival: - to expand and build new branches in order to attract other Germans or to change its rules of membership.

The first proposal is not realistic for the cost of new branches is too high. It would also only delay the problems for some years. Therefore, the only way out would be a change of the rules, which will perhaps not happen in the next five, but will certainly within the next twenty years.

Other Economical Aspects

Most of the Germans have been rather successful economically. Many have also changed their occupation, which had been nearly impossible at home in Germany. The majority came in the 1950's from a destroyed country and went to the country of a former enemy. They took any job they could get. After the war disaster, work became the only sense of their lives. Most of them worked as craftsmen, and often they founded their own business.

So, today medium sized businesses, many of them in construction, predominate. Big enterprises are not common. Some of the immigrants are also engaged in retailing and wholesaling. Fraser Street was once a center of small German shops, and Robson Street as well. This is less true now. Along Fraser Street, some delicatessens and one bookstore remain, and on Robson, there are some butchers, cafes, and a restaurant. These food related activities are the only markedly 'German' aspect of these shopping areas.
Food Habits

There are delicatessens with goods from Europe, butcher shops with their great variety of German sausages and bakeries with a large selection of German bread and pastry. Delicatessens are rather widespread, whereas the other two types of enterprises are more clustered and infrequent. In these shops, I see one clear influence of the German culture on the Canadian; the influence on the rest of the local cuisine may not be as deep. There are only a few German restaurants: the 'Heidelberg', 'Schnitzelkeller', 'Heidi Restaurant', 'Edelweiss Inn', 'Black Forest Steak & Schnitzel House', 'The Bavarian Room', etc.

The German food is very tough and heavy. Potatoes are the main vegetables not sauerkraut. The following sequence is normal: potatoes in different ways - mostly boiled; another vegetable, and one piece of meat. Nevertheless, the restaurants have to respect the different taste of the Canadian customer. German and Canadian food habits become mixed.

The Landscape

But are there any obvious 'German' appearances in the landscape?

In the area of retail trade only the delicatessens, butcher shops and bakeries are obvious. They have display windows that show off their goods. In other domains, there are no obvious difference visible. What about houses? Is there a typical 'German' architecture?

The agricultural Germany of earlier centuries created different house styles, mainly depending on climate, economical conditions, and available materials. Industrialism made styles more uniform. Houses may be built of stones; the roof is steep and mostly covered with slates. But there is no single 'typical' German style. In Vancouver, some 'Bavarian' style houses are seen, and are the only evidence of 'German' architecture.

In Vancouver, the material is different than in Germany. Wood is mainly used. Shingles replace slates, and the roof is not as steep.

What is more obvious is the attitude of people to their property. Everything must be clean and presentable. Normally there is a fence around the house and property. Curtains in the windows are considered necessary to
The relation to the garden is interesting. Germans appear to invest more in the 'creation' of a garden than do other groups. Mostly it is a 'wild' garden with hard leaf bushes, trees, and stones. The wilderness of nature becomes expressed in the garden. The bushes and trees create a kind of wall around the 'property'. The house becomes a castle insured of its privacy.

Conclusion

My first question at the beginning was: 'Is there a German image in Vancouver?' It can't be answered with a real 'yes'. It is only a vague image. German and English culture are too close to show a real difference. There is no German center, as in the case of other ethnic groups, and the so-called German areas along Fraser and Robson Streets have lost their former German character.

The same can be said in regard to social life. The group steadily becomes more and more integrated, assimilates and even becomes part of the dominant culture. This is proved by the rapid loss of the German language. The development is enforced by the fact that only a few new immigrants from Germany or other German speaking countries have been immigrating recently. The first and second Canadian-born generations are mostly integrated, while the elder generation remains in its time of the 1950's, and creates a curious relic-German style. It is only a question of time until the Germans in Vancouver will be integrated - perhaps keeping some few German traditions like 'Oktoberfest' and Christmas, etc. Their contribution to the town are difficult to describe. They are not obvious and not typically German.

They have just done their work in the way they have been taught for centuries.
Bibliography


Friedmann, W. "German Immigration into Canada", in: Contemporary Affairs, No. 23, Toronto, 1952.

German Contribution to B.C. Culture, "Seminar at UBC, March 14/15, 1981; private tape recordings".


Pelzer, K. "German Settlement in Canada", in: Geographical Review; 30, 1940, p. 487.

Ramsey, B. A History of the German-Canadian in British Columbia. The contribution of the Vancouver Alpen Club towards British Columbia's Centennial year. National Publisher, 1958, v. 69 pp. -


- Das Management vom Riverside Industrial Park bietet jetzt seine Säume für die in südlichen Richmond. Die Lage ist so gut und zentral für die großen Mercedes-Benz, Chrysler, Drugs und die Key Restaurants hierher gezogen sind, warum kommen Sie nicht auch? So fragen wir uns. Nun, unsere Redaktion ist nur noch. Statt Straßenzüge entfernt, aber der Brief ging an unsere Redaktion, da kann man das nicht ahnen. Wie viele Briefe sandten die bloß aus, daß sie diese mit nur 9 $ freizuschaffen brauchten?


- In der VEAL-OUTER SUNS und PROVINCE wurde letztes eine große Menge auf Kanada-Koch-Gebiet veröffentlicht, wenn Sie diese schlecht lesen konnten, brauchen Sie nur in unserer Zeitung die Ausgabe. Sie die von über fünf Millionen im südlichen Deutsch die Anzeige zu lesen. Unsere englischsprachigen Mitbürger haben das nachsehen dabei.

- Eine Firma in Deutschland, die sich mit dem Austausch von Briefen ihrer Abonnenten einigt (Penna-Preis sachlich), achtet kürzlich der hiesigen Franzosenobachtung und hat zum Anzeigenpreis. Die sich also eine neue kleine Anzeige handelt, für die der Herausgeber uns der Brief, denn es glaubt, daß der Aufstand seinerzeit bei solcher Kleinigkeit sich nicht zeigt. Ein etwaiger Verzeichnungsscheck (wie es in Deutschland üblich ist) würde ihm mehr Bankkonten verursachen als er einbringen kann. Es hatten das gleiche Problem schon mehrmals gehabt und deswegen ein Konto in Deutschland eingerichtet, auf dem solche Anzeigen und auch andere Ausgaben eingezahlt werden können.

- In der Rundschau des CCCM (Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism) ist u.a. ein Bild zu finden, auf dem Horst Koehler, der unseren Lesern gewiß kein Unbekannter ist, gerade die Medaille des "Ordre du Canada" vom Generalgouverneur Schreider anhängt bekam. Horst Koehler


- Übrigens wurde der mehrmalig angestrebte "Wiener Ball" nun doch abgebrochen. Dafür findet ein WIENER ABEND beim Austria-Vancouver Club in Richmond (27.2.) statt.

- Deutsche Weihnachtslieder erlangen kurz vor Weihnachten auch auf den Wellen eines Rundfunksenders in Edmonton. Pastor Horst Gutsche erklärte dem Zuhörer die Lieder und deren Herkunft.

- Die große Sonnenhut der WU wurde kürzlich teilweise in RNM freigelegt. Wollte man sie ganz freilassen, müßte man einen ganzen Stadtteil abreißen. Der 22 Meter hohe Zeiger (Turm) wurde etwa 200 Meter entfernt gefunden. Ein Artikel in der SKAFA, ein monatlich M. Jahr aus Deutschland, beschrieb die Entdeckung dieser Ur, die zu Kaiser Augustus Zeiten aufgestellt worden war.


1) Das schöne Château der Lower Canadian Mountain Range Association in Coquitlam, daß wohl über Suwanee gleichermaßen sein wird. Dann kommen nämlich die vielen Besucher von auf�en zum großen Sänger- und Jockeyfest de Schwaben in am Pazifik nach Vancouver.

2) In der "Prairie" wandern am Kanada-Fest nach der Stadt von Saskatchewan nach Ontario.
An in depth historical examination of the Polish Family Unit in Canada, as well as an analysis of an actual case study done in Toronto (1967), and the contrasting views which are brought out

by

Wayne Hinada

March 1981
"Among the several forms of association that constitutes the micro-
structure of a society, families are the most influential."

Jan Szczepanski

Up to now, a majority of my assignments have been based on the study
of the institutions that have played a major role in helping the Poles up-
hold their heritage in the Vancouver area as well as across Canada. Even
though I find the above very interesting and important, I feel there is
another aspect which I have not included yet that is related to the
institutional aspect of the Poles that is very instrumental in their well-
being. This is the institution of the Polish "family unit". In the fol-
lowing assignment I will examine this topic basing my data on interviews
I have done at the Polish Community Centre of different families, as well
as the use of various reference texts.

The Family in Poland

Some of the earliest literature on the family in Polish history, dating
to the early 15th century, suggests that stable patriarchal family relations
were characteristic of Polish society. Three generation families flourished
and survived well into the present century despite various political, economic
and ideological changes which have taken place in the past few hundred years.
Until 1945, Polish society was basically traditional. There were social
class differences in family life. The peasants' way of life was determined by the farm-
work cycle, the family life of a small entrepreneur was closely related with
the running of his enterprise, and among the upper and middle classes the
family was an institution for the maintenance of status and power. But
common to all classes were a strong patriarchal tradition, a strong influence
of religion and church on family life, and strong ties of family solidarity.
According to one husband and wife who came from the old country whom I inter-
viewed, they said "Almost all families were three generation families and
the influence of grandparents on the conduct of family affairs was strong,
even if the grandparents were living with their married children." An ideal
concept of the family was shared by all Poles. Popular values stressed the
feeling of belonging to a family group, which could include all relatives by
blood or marriage. The ideal advocated the integration of activities of
the family members to obtain common objectives, the ultimate utilization of
family resources for relatives who were in need, and the maintenance of
strong ties between the parental family and the new family units. I found
out that in the event of the death of parents, even distant relatives were
expected to help in raising the orphaned children. Another highly stressed
value was that the grown children should care for their old parents or
grandparents.

Among both the rural population and the urban working classes, the
wife was regarded more as "the mother of children than as companion or sex
mate". The man regarded himself as the wife's superior or master. One man
I talked to said one widely known and applied proverb was that a "woman had
to be constantly reminded that she was incapable of ever having any wise or
important thoughts and opinions". It was generally accepted that the duty
of the wife, at home or outside, was to make clear that her husband was the
head of the house, even if she shared in or exercised influence over family
decisions. The choice of marriage partners was strongly influenced, if not
dictated by parental choice or approval. The approval was based on the size
of the dowry of possessions, social status, and family background. Love was
not given much importance in the selection of marriage partners. The peasant
marriages were most often arranged according to strict customs, and Polish
weddings are famous for their traditions which are usually appreciated by
those who have attended such occasions in Canada.

I found that the family role structure adhered to the traditional
decision of labor into "man's and woman's work" for the peasant and working
class families in towns and cities. While everyone within the family per­
formed certain tasks, it was unacceptable for a married woman to perform
work for pay outside her home since this activity would certainly lower the
esteem and prestige of her husband in the eyes of relatives, friends, and the
community. When the wife worked, doubts were cast on the adequacy of her
husband as a provider, and thus a man. The wife's or mother's place was at
home with the children. Their families were, as a rule, large. The size
of the family played an important role in the prestige of the father; he was
considered a virile, manly person if he sired many children. The children
were the most visible demonstration of his health, strength, and ability to
provide. Many children especially sons, represented security for the future, potential power in the community decision-making, and reserves of manpower as well as strength in times of trouble. Traditionally, the husband and father was the head of the family in all social classes. The pattern of authority encompassed the whole family; sisters were expected to obey or defer to brothers; the seniority of the brothers was observed and emphasized. The authority of the fathers, especially among the nobility and peasants, frequently bordered on despotism. This authority generally included the final decision in purchasing or selling property and contracting marriages for the children. The traditional authority and position of the father was never questioned, but the balance of power was frequently open to negotiations and depended on the personality traits and resourcefulness of each individual. One elderly Pole I interviewed said a number of peasant wives over time, did achieve significant power or influence with the family through withdrawal of favours, and nagging and manipulation. He said they eventually became the "power behind the throne". Also, it was taken for granted that the sons of a farmer would follow their father's footsteps. The urban workers or craftsmen usually decided into what occupations or trades their sons should enter and when. The middle and upper class parents decided on the future occupations of their children, and only the most rebellious or independent youngsters could go against the father's wishes, usually on pain of disinheritance or banishment from the family.

The Effects of Migration

The bulk of the mature Polish immigrants who came to Canada in the 1950's arrived with their set values and beliefs, not knowing that different family relations were possible. As I continued to talk to the older Poles they added that very few prospective migrants had sufficient resources to pay the passage for the whole family at once even if all possessions were sold and additional monies were borrowed from relatives or money lenders. It was likely that the important decision to emigrate was not the final move, they had to have an outlet. Therefore, the wife and children as well as possessions were left behind as a form of security or insurance in case the "promised land" was not all it was thought to be. One elderly Pole I talked to said he was from Galicia and explained that a few organizations there before 1914 strongly discouraged
whole families leaving at once on a permanent basis. He said these organizations urged that the fathers go alone to Canada, work, earn and save their money, and come back and retrieve their families.

Before 1914, Polish immigrants were directed to the Prairie provinces. The rural settlers who were isolated from the dynamic and often disruptive influences of city life were able to maintain their traditional lifestyles for years. Separated from its old community, the family became "the basic unit of consumption and production, of socialization and recreation. In the absence of secondary groups it had to assume many functions that were performed by the community and institutions in their old country. The dependence of individuals intensified." A few of the older Poles I interviewed told me they came from a farming-type environment and said when they first came to Vancouver as youngsters, their traditional lifestyle changed only very slowly. They added that the reinforcement which could be provided by other Polish families and institutions like the church, was most often missing, but there were also few pressures for change. Other European immigrants, especially the Ukrainians among whom many Polish families settled, shared similar patterns of family relations and held similar values and attitudes. The youths were not exposed to modern ideas from the mass media. Family life, subject to the demands of compulsory public education and economic necessity resisted changes and innovations. On the other hand, the urban families were fully open to the influences of the receiving society but as long as the mother remained at home, she served as a guardian of customs, traditions, and values, warding off pressure from the outside society. By doing this, she aided the Polish churches which continued to stress the traditional patriarchal idea of family relations as the most desirable one.

Even though the above was kept alive to keep the Polish tradition thriving, a number of the elder Poles I talked said that due to migration and situations within the new environment, many factors began to affect the Polish family. Faced with strange customs, struggling to establish themselves in the new society, without supervision and guidance, the Polish immigrants had to interpret and cope with their problems by themselves. Their values, customs, and traditions served them well and there is little to suggest family disintegration, moral turpitude, juvenile delinquency, and prostitution. As an example, one referenced text had a study which found
that the rate of convictions for the Canadian born in 1951-54 was 86.56/10,000 males in the 15 to 49 age group, whereas the figure for Polish-born was 42.73. The absence of agencies supporting and reinforcing the traditional forms of family interaction left its members isolated at best, but more often open to the influences and pressures of the surrounding environment. While the adults were less open to such influences the effect on the youth was very great. There were other conditions which added to changes which took place in the established Polish family system. A need for funds to buy farm equipment, buy livestock, or to pay debts, forced the husbands to seek work away from their families for long periods of time. Therefore, the wife took over the husband's roles. The older males and females were encouraged to seek remunerative employment. New ideas and values were learned or heard about, strange notions of economic independence, influence in decision-making and decisions about their own future. The authority and power of the Polish father was now less secure, even threatened. There was no supporting environment to reinforce his supremacy. There were no relatives or neighbours to watch over and criticize any infractions of customs or traditions. In this new environment, he no longer could exercise the many prerogatives available to him in Poland.

Because of the great number of males, Polish girls of marriageable age were in short supply. Many of the couples I talked to said that the men could travel back to the old country to choose a wife, or else send for their girlfriends to join them in Canada. The young people were increasingly exercising their wishes in the selection of marriage partners, and the concept of romantic love as a prerequisite to marriage was beginning to be stressed. The parents could still influence, approve or disapprove of the selection, but were no longer the main instigators of new marital unions.

Although the factors stated previously affected the Polish family to a great extent, I feel the most powerful one was the Canadian education which both the child and parent had to contend with. Education in public schools has been and remains one of the most important factors of change in the traditional patriarchal Polish families. In public schools, the children learned of new values and customs which were defined as the most civilized. Their own cultures and histories were usually ignored or derided. In informal relationships with their peers, they came to realize that other types of families practised different values. Most importantly, the children acquired
in public schools the means of communication with the outside society, which their parents lacked to a degree. On many occasions, the parents had to rely on their children's new skills when faced with the necessity of translation. This type of dependence was bound to undermine the father's authority and power. Public school education created a communication gap and a lack of understanding between parents and children. Partial exposure to Polish values and traditions within the family, only partly reinforced by churches and part-time schools when they existed, didn't produce the results the parents desired. For the youngsters the old customs and traditions became more and more incomprehensible and meaningless. Many traditional patterns of family interactions had to be modified; despotism was no longer possible since children could leave home and find other opportunities. Discipline had to be adjusted to meet Canadian standards. Because of this, although the immigrant parents tried to maintain the traditional patterns of relations as practised in Poland, each succeeding generation born and raised in Canada, adopted more and more the family lifestyles of the host society.

Issues of Socialization

The elderly Poles I interviewed who were mostly immigrants themselves said the children of immigrants, especially those from traditional Polish societies, faced many problem-filled situations. The child of an immigrant in the first few years of residence in the new society was under continuous pressure from two different and often conflicting sets of values, attitudes, and perceptions. I talked to various other individuals about this and all of them agreed totally. The child was not yet completely permeated by the values, cultural patterns, literature, customs, and history of his own ethnic group. This made it easier to shift to the norms, values and roles of the receiving society which he had to adopt to be able to function in certain contexts, especially in school. On the other hand, many of the elderly parents I talked to said they attempted to socialize their children into the culture of their forefathers through encouragement, entreaties, directives, and any other means available. The Pole I talked to added that his allegiance would only be won if the family and the ethnic group as a whole provided a meaningful frame of reference or comparison for self-appraisal. By the very fact that the immigrant children usually have a simultaneous membership in two groups, many of them developed incongruous self-images.
They were not certain if they were Canadian first and also "ethnic", or if they were ethnic and also Canadian, some felt completely Canadian and a few defined themselves as exclusively "ethnic". The immigrant child was exposed to conditions which are seldom faced by his Canadian peers: two different reference groups impinging simultaneously with diverse sets of values on the uniformed character of a child, which if about equal in strength, may have resulted in two sets of loyalties. From my interviews and other source material I obtained the feeling that the vast majority opted for acceptance of the Canadian norms and values and identity with the Canadian reference group and abandonment of the Polish language, customs and traditions.

The thinking and behavior of the immigrant Pole has changed throughout the years due to their exposure to the Western way of life. A research study was conducted among Polish post-war immigrant families in the Toronto area. This examined the attitudes and values of these people towards familism, the authority structure within the family, and the religiosity of its members. I used the Toronto area study because at the time the study was conducted, the Polish population there was the largest. I will try to show the contrasts in thinking and behavior of the immigrant Poles who first came and the Poles of the present day.

The study found that the Polish families in Toronto were much smaller than the norm in Poland only two or three decades back. Of those interviewed, over 60% came from families where there were 5 or more children, while only about 10% of the families examined here had 5 or more children. An important thought to take note of is that the majority of the parents had decided the number of children they would like to have and their attitudes towards artificial birth control methods corresponded closely to those of the other Canadian Roman Catholics. About 25% of those who considered themselves good Catholics said that they approve of artificial birth control and over \( \frac{1}{2} \) approved of divorce under "certain circumstances", or else no longer believed that people, if married in church should "stick together no matter what".

Traditional familism was not very evident among the post-war immigrants. The great majority had meals together only on weekends or special holidays. Family activities in leisure hours were enjoyed only on special occasions.
Polish teenagers tended to develop and pursue interests which didn't necessarily include other family members. The majority of fathers noted that their children did not come to them for help or advice. Nearly ½ of the fathers considered their children disrespectful on many occasions and often rebellious, and about 35% had problems of communication and mutual misunderstanding.

**Working Wives**

Of the group studied, only 31.6% of the wives did not work at all while 32.3% had regular full-time jobs. The husbands of the working wives provided many explanations and justifications for this development. Many of them said it was the norm of Canadian society. Others said that as immigrants they had come to Canada with few material possessions, and in order to secure the best possible chances for their children, both parents had to work. Others said this predicament was only temporary and that the husbands re-affirmed the belief that the wife's place was in the home.

On the other hand, the wives did not have these views. Some were satisfied with their work, which offered them challenge and a change from housework. Others liked the partial independence with which the financial rewards now provided them. Only a few mothers considered that it was the duty of the father alone to provide for the family, even those who did not work would take jobs if the family needed financial support.

The study also found new family relationships and new structures of decision-making and authority. The authority of the father in pre-war Poland was seldom disputed, and ranged over all of the important issues and decisions. The study found that even of those fathers whose wives didn't work, 72.2% shared final decision-making with their wives in matters concerning larger purchases, while 27.8% of the fathers shared such decisions with the whole family. None said they decided alone.

**The Aged**

Most important is the utilization by the Polish community in Canada of homes for the aged, senior citizen's residences, and nursing homes. The study revealed that the Polish community no longer considering it wrong to have people other than the members of the family look after the aged. The grandparent's wishes are seldom considered since it is held that the
Canadian residences are usually inadequate for the family as well as for the grandparents, or that since the wife works there's no one to look after them, or that the children can't get along with them. Most families felt that the elderly would get the best care and attention in institutions and are lucky to be able to live in them, even though the elderly disagree. Due to imperfect command of the English language, different customs, traditions, and values which they were brought up on, living the Western lifestyle has not agreed with the aged.

Other Findings

The study also suggests that the Polish fathers had little direct influence on the choice of marriage partners for their children. One factor of importance was religion. Over 1/2 of the Polish fathers said that they would want their children to marry within their own religion, but many of the same people later changed their feelings by saying that any marriage is happier if there's no differences or conflicts over religion, facilitating child upbringing, easing family relations, and generally reducing misunderstandings which mixed couples are bound to encounter. The young people themselves stressed such values as compatibility, personality, kindness, and love as important in the choosing of a mate. Only rarely was ethnic background or religion considered as all important.

Conclusions

New patterns of family interaction and new attitudes and beliefs are plainly discernible not only among the post-war immigrants but also among the whole Polish groups in Canada. There is generally a greater permissiveness and very little authoritarianism on the part of the father; equally noticeable is the abandonment of previously rigidly held attitudes and values. From my point of view, the Polish family in Canada is fast becoming indistinguishable from the Anglo-Saxon urban Canadian family, sharing many of its values and attitudes in parent-child and husband-wife relationships. The changes have taken place here while much traditionalism still seems to remain in the old country. All this does not suggest that the Polish family is facing exceptional problems or difficulties or is on the verge of fragmentation and dissolution. To me, the Polish family has successfully adjusted to the new situations, conditions, and demands following migration, and will
be able to face other situations and problematic conditions in future without too many problems.

References Cited


Note: Along with the above references, I used other materials which I obtained by way of interviews done at the Polish Community Centre.
THE VANCOUVER JAPANESE COMMUNITY

by

Knud Lilholt

March 31, 1981
INTRODUCTION

In the study of community, most authors agree that common needs, shared institutions and a sense of group consciousness are essential elements. It is not uncommon in much of the literature to find these elements defined territorially. This is particularly the trend established for many ethnic communities.

The JAPANESE COMMUNITY existing in Vancouver prior to World War II was not only defined territorially as a group, but to some extent, the social organizations were articulated in terms of the territorial space of an individual's specific place of origin in Japan. According to Young (1938), the 19,281 Japanese people living in Vancouver were located in two census areas: Division 4 - around Powell and Main Street; and Division 5 - around the Fairview Slopes area. Seven prefectural associations existed which to some extent defined the Japanese population in terms of different provinces in Japan.

The preceding suggests to even the casual observer a strong sense of solidarity among pre-war Japanese in Vancouver. This is in strong contrast to a study conducted by Victor K. Usimoto in 1974 in the post-war Japanese. In 1971 the total Japanese population in British Columbia numbered 13,590, and 5,045 of these resided in Vancouver. There were only 2941 Japanese households in British Columbia. 1755 of these were in Vancouver, North Vancouver and West Vancouver, 512 were in Richmond, 232 in Burnaby, and 121 in Surrey. This suggests that the territorially defined sense of community of the pre-war Japanese has disintegrated. According to Usimoto, none of the pre-war prefectural associations is still in existence.

Several reasons are given for the foregoing fact. The most prominent are the actions carried out by the Canadian Federal and B.C. Provincial government during World War II. After the Allied declaration of war against Japan, Japanese residents of Canada were viewed as aliens and literally relocated from their original settlement areas in B.C. and randomly dispersed throughout the province. Hence, all prior ethnic community affiliation ceased.
In addition, Usimoto lists several factors which were unique to pre-war Japanese:

(1) most were sponsored or group migrants;
(2) all were victims of a hostile political climate;
(3) all were first generation;
(4) most were employed in somewhat similar trades.

None of these factors apply to a significant degree to post-war Japanese. Although sponsored immigrants are still recognized by the Canadian Department of Immigration, there is a tendency for the individual or family migrants of sufficient economic status to be self-sponsored. The current political climate is hardly what might be termed hostile. Aside from recent immigrants, there also exists a significant number of second generation Japanese and returned Japanese who had previously resided in Canada before the war. And last, most post-war Japanese consist of both professional and technical people able to converse in English. These are in a much more favourable position to assimilate into Canadian society than their pre-war predecessors.

The present Japanese population in Vancouver is estimated to number some 10 - 15,000. Since no census data are available on the Japanese since 1971, this is only a rough approximation. It was provided by Radio Station CJVB, an ethnic radio station, and agrees with figures provided by the Japanese Immigrant Association. Also provided by the Japanese Immigration Association is a handbook entitled "Information Directory for Greater Vancouver". This includes a listing of various Japanese religious organizations, associations, arts and sports clubs. In total these number some 80 groups altogether. This would seem to suggest that perhaps the Vancouver Japanese community is in the process of reaffirming its presence. The rest of this paper will attempt to gauge the extent to which this might be the case.

**APPROACH**

It would be naive to assume that if the Japanese community were in the process of reaffirmation, it would do so along similar lines as existed before the war. A safer approach would be to assume total ignorance and choose a range of variables which could form the basis for group interaction, then focussing attention on two group activities to see if some form of pattern emerged.
Six variables were chosen: (1) membership size
(2) membership origin
(3) identical characteristics
(4) age characteristics
(5) occupational characteristics
(6) ethnic status.

Two categories were chosen from the list of organizations mentioned in the introduction: 1. Japanese religious organization - traditional and Christian.
   2. Arts clubs.

**METHODOLOGY**

Five religious and five arts clubs were chosen for investigation. A total of 13 Japanese religious groups were listed. Of these, 8 were Christian. The remainder were traditional. In an effort to give proper representation, 3 Christian and 2 traditional groups were chosen for focus. The arts clubs numbered 20. Five of these were poetry groups. Other art forms had smaller representation. Hence, two poetry groups and three other randomly selected clubs were chosen. These are listed below:

**Religious Groups**
1. Japanese United Church
2. Japanese Pentecostal Church
3. Vancouver Japanese Christian Church
4. Konkokyo - (non-christian sect)
5. Tenrikyo - (non-christian sect)

**Arts Clubs**
1. Kusamura Haiku
2. Mutsuki - poetry groups
3. Tatsumi - Japanese dance
4. Vancouver Ikebana Society - flower
5. The Sakura Singers - chorus

Interviews were conducted with individuals responsible for overseeing group activities. It was felt that they would be most aware of similarities and differences among various group members. Interview questions focussed on the six variables mentioned in the approach section. They are listed again below in greater detail.
1. Membership size
2. Membership origin - dispersed
   - same area
3. identical characteristics - dispersed origin
   - same origin
4. age characteristics < 30 years
   - 30-45 years
   > 45 years
5. occupational characteristics - skilled trade
   - technical
   - professional
6. ethnic status - 1st generation
   - 2nd generation
   - 3rd generation

The result from the interviews appear in figure 1.

OBSERVATIONS

Membership size - the largest membership was among the Christian church groups. Membership in traditional religious groups and arts clubs was small. Membership origin - origin from Japan was dispersed for all ten groups.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Same Area</td>
<td>Disp.</td>
<td>Same Area</td>
<td>Disp.</td>
<td>&lt;30-45</td>
<td>&gt;45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Japanese United Church</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Japanese Pentecostal Church</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Vancouver Christian Church</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Konkokyo</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Tenrikyo</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARTS CLUBS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Kusamura Haiku</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Mutsuki Kuikai Haiku</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Tatsumi Ryu</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Vancouver Ikebana Society</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. The Sakura Singers</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Membership Residential Characteristics

Residential pattern for all ten groups tended to be dispersed.

Age Characteristics

There seems to be a tendency for group membership to be dominated by individuals over the age of 45.

Occupational Characteristics

There is a tendency for groups to be dominated by skilled trades occupation.

Ethnic Status

Mostly 1st generation.

CONCLUSION

From the preceding observations it would seem that there is little evidence to support the hypothesis that the Japanese community is in the process of reaffirming its presence in Vancouver. This would require representation of incoming migrants. Most of the individual group members surveyed could be characterized as 1st generation, Christian, above middle age, and involved in some skilled trade or perhaps retired. Most of the post-war immigrants as mentioned in the introduction were from technical and professional backgrounds. These were given little representation.

POSSIBLE EXPLANATIONS

A number of possible explanations could account for the above conclusions:

1. A significant proportion of the Japanese involved in the groups investigated could be from the pre-war era. These may have returned from outlying areas of B.C. or re-entered from Japan. These would all be older, 1st generation skilled Japanese.

2. Due to the ease marketability of professionally and technically skilled occupations, new immigrant association with Vancouver Japanese groups was of short duration.

3. There has been a significant decline in the rate of Japanese immigration since 1973 according to Stats. Can.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>785</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>684</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>1020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>635</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This would significantly influence the technical and professional membership in Japanese Canadian groups.

4. According to an official from the Department of Immigration, a large proportion of Japanese now residing in Vancouver are of non-immigrant status. These are individuals residing in Canada while employed with Japanese firms located in Vancouver. After the terms of their work contract expire, it is characteristic for them to return to Japan.

Although new immigrant association with Vancouver Japanese might be of short duration, it would be reasonable to assume that this would still act as a stimulus for sustaining older membership. Also, it might be suggested that non-immigrant status Japanese, having no commitment to Canadian culture, might find some special comfort in association with older Japanese residents with a stronger sense of heritage. This would also be of a short and intermittent nature. Both of the above hypotheses would require further study which is beyond the scope of the present one.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


Information obtained from Canadian Department of Immigration. D.W.J. Hardinge, Immigration Officer - telephone interview.

Information also provided by Statistics Canada via telephone.

Information Directory for Greater Vancouver; Japanese Immigrants Association; P.O. Box 69012 Station 'K', Vancouver, B.C.; 1979/80.
An Outlook on the Italians in Vancouver

by

Frank Roberto

April 2, 1981
Introduction

This paper is concerned with the Italian ethnic group in Vancouver. It is divided into two sections, historical and contemporary. The historical portion will discuss the early immigrants in Vancouver and their construction of the landscape within the city. The second portion of this paper will illustrate the contemporary Italians with their diffusion into the Canadian Society.

I will further examine the role of Italian business and the Italian Sports Federation in Vancouver.

"La vita dei Italiani", the life of the Italians, is what this paper will try to illustrate. It will show the arrival of the Italian immigrants into Vancouver, their settlement patterns and their endeavours to become successful in the community. Also, it provides a look at the cultural landmarks that exist in Vancouver representing the Italian way of life.

Development of the Italian Community

Italians were among the early pioneers of British Columbia, coming in the 1880's and 1890's to the then prosperous coal towns on Vancouver Island and following the railway to Interior centres such as Kamloops and Revelstoke.

One of the major factors that caused the Italians to migrate was the poor economic conditions at home. In 1883 the first Italians began to arrive in Vancouver as construction workers on the Canadian Pacific Railway. The tide of immigrants rose and reached a peak between 1900 and 1913, but it was virtually brought to a halt by the First World War.

Just prior to the Second World War there were an estimated 3,600 Italians in Vancouver, the majority of whom had come via the eastern provinces of Canada. During the War, the opportunity for good employment attracted many more Italians from the east to Vancouver. When immigration recommenced in the post-war years it consisted of two kinds. Some formed part of the annual quota of up to 5,000 Italians allowed into Canada, but few of these came to Vancouver, while the rest of them went to Toronto and Montreal. The majority came directly from Italy to join relatives already established in the respective cities. On the next page the table shows the immigration of Italians into Vancouver during the period 1901 to 1971.
In terms of residential patterns there is a very marked concentration of Italians in the city, which has emerged in the period from 1921 to 1961. Since the early arrivals of the Italians, the original densest concentration was in the area roughly bounded by Main Street, Pender Street, Atlantic Street and Clark Drive. This formed the first area for Italian settlement and a large percentage of the people were older pre-war immigrants, including many second and third generation Canadians. This is an area of older and deteriorating residential property. In the area extending east to about Nanaimo Street and south to First Avenue, the highest density of Italian immigrant can be found today. This is mostly made up of post 1945 immigrants, and even further east, towards Renfrew Street, the Italians are almost all recent post-war immigrants.

### Characteristics of Italians in Vancouver

There is a marked difference in employment between Italians from the north of Italy and those from the south. It is estimated that up to 90% of those coming from the northern provinces are skilled workers, many of them being employed as welders, lathe workers, engineers, mason, carpenters and finishers. From the south, people were generally much poorer and seldom were skilled workers when they arrived in Canada. Nearly all desired to be self-employed and would strive to obtain some sort of small business where they could be independent of employers. Hence, in Vancouver many can be found as shoemakers, operators of shoe shine stands, vending ice-cream, operating truck haulage on small scale, or trucking for street paving.

### Development of Business and other Types of Organizations

As mentioned, the Italians have tended to concentrate in certain districts
of Vancouver. A trace of their settlement shows the following associated landmarks:

1) The Europe Hotel, built in 1908-1909 by Angelo Calori, a leader of the Venetian Society. The hotel is believed to be one of the earliest gathering places of the Italians in Vancouver.

2) The Italian Roman Catholic Church of the Sacred Heart, built in 1908.

3) "The Societa Veneta De Mutuo Soccorse", its headquarters situated at Hastings and Campbell since 1933.

4) The Silver Slipper Dance Hall built by the Venetian Society in the 1920's.

Today there is wide range of businesses and clubs, but the most notable one is the Italian Canadian Sports Federation, of which the Italian community is very proud. It is a pioneers-organized sport body whose primary objective is to foster sports of all kinds and for all ages. The Italians are renowned primarily for their love for soccer which is the most practised (approximately 3,000 practised this sport at all ages), and the Italian Canadian Sports Federation is endeavouring to provide coaching training, referee training, and technical training, and organizing and assisting with sports needs for all ages. They have undertaken programmes such as swimming for the handicapped and blind, mountain climbing, skiing, bicycle, hockey, etc.

As Italians live in relatively close proximity to one another within the city, their native language continues to be spoken by as many as (approximately) fifty percent of the second generation and about ten percent of the third generation Canadians, still using the Italian language in their homes.

Summary

When the Italians arrived in the community they brought with them not only their Old World associations but their inherited culture. Like that of many other immigrants who have made Canada their home, this Old World culture has been severely modified by the New World experience. At the same time it is modified to reflect the community into which it came.

Today, the flourishing little community in the East End is home to
approximately 70,000 Italians, some of them Vancouver born who continue the traditions of their homeland, but most of them immigrants who brought the culture and traditions with them from across the sea. Mention the Italian community to the average Vancouverite and he or she is apt to think of backyard bocce games, red wine, spaghetti, and singing and arguing.

Part of this picture is true and part of it is a myth; but the truth has as much colour as a fiction. This city of Italians has about 30,000 of them, and most of them are generally content being here. They love to sing, argue, drink wine, and get together for some type of festivities.

The Italians have left the old family feud stories behind, however, and they are in the midst of forming one of the most closely knit ethnic groups in British Columbia. They have none of the identity problems that seem to afflict so many Canadians. Through many of the old country ways are preserved, all are Canadians first and Italians second.

The idea of homeownership accounts largely for the fact that the Italian community enjoys a high standard of living. Even low-income families usually own well furnished homes. The Italian houses for the most part are very similar in construction. For example, each house has a long sliding door window frame with an entrance to their iron railed balcony. A white California stucco appearance of the top half of the house is common, with a variety of bricks, assorted glass, stucco, or siding on the bottom half. A rich green lawn with variations of flowerbeds are planted alongside of the houses. These characteristics along with the others I have discussed are cultural distinctions within the Italian community.

The bulk of the early immigrants and settlers were labourers, often with poor education and little knowledge of the English language. An unfortunate image has long persisted, of an Italian working as a member of an organized crime gang or as a peddler speaking broken English. This image should remain no longer. The British Columbia Italians have climbed in one generation from a status close to slave labour to a major role in the business and professional life of the province.

In the case of status ranking in British Columbia on employment categories, the table on the following page indicates significant changes occurring in four employment categories. Sales, services, recreation and transportation,
and communication categories shows drops of two to four percent. Meanwhile, the skilled workers class, craftsmen, producers and processors have risen to exceed 8%. It is believed that this increase is the number of skilled workers, and the concurrent drop in the sales and service, transportation and communication workers signify an increase in the average earning of Italians in Vancouver.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification</th>
<th>% 1951</th>
<th>% 1961</th>
<th>Relative Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Managerial</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>+ 0.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional &amp; Technical</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>+ 0.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>+ 0.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service &amp; Recreation</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>- 3.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation &amp; Communications</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>- 1.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>+ 0.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsmen Products &amp; Process</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>34.8</td>
<td>+ 8.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourers</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>+ 0.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The resulting changes in the cityscape that is becoming more symbolic of ethnicity is due to the increase in the number of businesses and other types of functional groups.

Vancouver Italians are scattered throughout the city, but in an area roughly bounded by Campbell Avenue, Victoria Drive, Hastings Street and Kingsway Street. On Commercial Avenue there is an Italian community with many small businesses and other varieties of Italian shops.

In conclusion, the Italians are one of the few groups that have progressed steadily through time.

Bibliography


The 12 regions of Italy are well represented in the Vancouver East area within the four square miles bordering Grandview, Powell and Main Streets where majority live.
DIVERSITY OF THE ETHNIC CHINESE POPULATION IN
VANCOUVER, British Columbia

by

Amy Yau Yuk-Yee

March 31, 1981
# Table of Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(I) Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(II) Methodology</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(III) History of Chinese Immigrants in Canada</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(IV) Analysis of Inter-Group Comparison</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Old Immigrants</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Teenage Students</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Businessmen</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) Professionals</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) Female Workers</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(V) Analysis of Intra-Group Comparison</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) General Aspect</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Economic Aspect</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Cultural Aspect</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(VI) Conclusion</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Maps

Tables

Bibliography
INTRODUCTION

The Chinese population is one of the most significant ethnic groups in Vancouver, B.C. This paper examines the diversity within the Vancouver Chinese community, presently over 100,000 in population. Two hypotheses are offered. First, diversity exists among the Chinese in Vancouver with respect to cultural, social and economic background. More specifically, there are differences in points of origin (locality) in China, reasons for migration, residential patterns, socio-economic status, education, occupation and participation in social organizations. Secondly, various groups of the Chinese show different degrees of assimilation (or adaptation) to the dominant Canadian society. Date of migration is believed to be an important factor in contributing to the diversity within the Chinese community.

METHODOLOGY

This paper interprets empirical analyses of the information obtained from scheduled personal interviews (February - March, 1981) and questionnaires submitted to 17 Chinese informants. The informants have been classified into 5 different groups:

(i) the old immigrants (2 males and 2 females);
(ii) teenage students (2 local-born, 2 immigrants, and each group consists of one male and one female);
(iii) businessmen (2 older who are over 45 years old and 2 younger who are about 30 years old);
(iv) professionals (2 males who are about 30 years old); and
(v) workers with poor English skill (3 females who are between 30 and 45 years old).

The questionnaires were organized into 3 major segments. First, the 'general' aspect concerns origins, reasons for migration and place of residence. Secondly, the 'economic' aspect examines the nature of occupation and financial obligations (including remittances to kinsmen in Hong Kong and China). Thirdly, the 'cultural' aspect examines life-style such as food, language (dialect), religion, festivals, membership in associations, shopping and
daily activities, difficulties in the process of adaptation to Vancouver. Comparisons are made on the characteristics, similarities and differences within and between the five groups according to the general, economic and cultural aspects. The comparisons have been summarized in Table 1.
### TABLE 1

Summary of Inter- and Intra-Group Comparisons

#### A. General Aspect:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GROUP</th>
<th>ORIGIN (Native Place)</th>
<th>REASON FOR MIGRATION</th>
<th>RESIDENCE</th>
<th>Willing to Live in Chinatown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kwang Tung</td>
<td>Family Sponsorship</td>
<td>In Chinatown</td>
<td>Outside Chinatown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessmen</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teenage Students</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Workers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Immigrants</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### B. Economic Aspect:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GROUP</th>
<th>EDUCATION</th>
<th>COMMAND OF ENGLISH</th>
<th>JOB OPPORTUNITY</th>
<th>SEND MONEY BACK TO HOME COUNTRY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>With Help</td>
<td>Without Help</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessmen</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teenage Students</td>
<td>Average</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Parttime job</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Workers</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Immigrants</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### C. Cultural Aspect:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GROUP</th>
<th>FOOD</th>
<th>LANGUAGE</th>
<th>FRIENDS</th>
<th>FESTIVALS</th>
<th>MEDIA</th>
<th>TRAVEL</th>
<th>SHOPPING</th>
<th>MEMBERSHIP</th>
<th>CHIN. ASSOC.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mainly</td>
<td>Mainly</td>
<td>Native</td>
<td>Mainly</td>
<td>Native</td>
<td>Mainly</td>
<td>Mainly</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessmen</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teenage students</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female workers</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old immigrants</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### C. Cultural Aspect (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GROUP</th>
<th>DIFFICULTIES WHEN FIRST CAME</th>
<th>IMPRESSION</th>
<th>VISIT (OR ASPIRATION FOR VISITS) TO HOME COUNTRY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Custom</td>
<td>Finance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessmen</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teenage students</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female workers</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old immigrants</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The history of Chinese immigrants in Canada is essential for the examination of diversity within the Vancouver Chinese community. In general, there are three stages of the Chinese immigration and settlement. The first stage began in the late 19th century (1885) when the earliest Chinese immigrants came because of attractive economic opportunities during the gold rush period along the Fraser River Valley, depletion of gold rush in California which turned the direction of the Chinese migration toward western Canada, political instability in the home country (China), and an urgent demand of labor for the construction of Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR). The concentration of Chinese settlement gradually moved from Victoria to Vancouver when the CPR was completed. Most of the Chinese immigrants came as single men, or leaving their family members at their home country. They were restricted to live within the Chinatown area. They rapidly grew in population because they were welcomed by Canadian society as a cheap labor force for economic development.

The second stage began in 1900 and there was a tremendous change in Chinese migration to Canada. The Immigration Act (1923) was set up by putting a head tax on the individual Chinese immigrant. Also, family members were forbidden to come so that a family structure hardly existed in Chinatown, which became a 'bachelor' community. The number of Chinese immigrants was successfully cut down to a minimum resulting from the discriminative and prejudicial policies on immigration.

The third stage began in 1947 when restrictive policy on Chinese immigrants was abolished. The Chinese population increased again especially after 1967 when all the restrictions had been completely removed. The natural increase in birth, the increase in family formation when family members came and the single men got married; and the encouragement to immigration put forward by the Canadian government have led to the result of a large population of Chinese in Vancouver nowadays (see Table 2).
### TABLE 2

Number of Chinese Immigrants to Canada (1885-1975)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>2,108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>2,722</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1,338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>4,657</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>1,329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>1,746</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>2,602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>1,370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>5,234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>5,377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>13,166</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Modified from
Ma, Ching, Chinese Pioneers, Vancouver, B.C. Versatile Publishing Co. Ltd., 1979, p. 92, Table 8.
(IV) ANALYSIS OF INTER-GROUP COMPARISON

(a) Old Immigrant Informants

Although they came from South China and Hong Kong, the old immigrant informants are different in their origins. They came from different counties within Kwangtung province (i.e. Tai-shan, Chung-shan, and En-ping). The male informants can speak different dialects (including Cantonese, Mandarin and their native dialects), but the female informants can speak only their native dialects, not Cantonese. Two informants have no religion, but the others are Buddhist and Christian respectively. Two informants do not participate in any associations. One informant is a member of a locality association, and the other a member of a church. Such a difference in religions and in participation suggests the co-existence of two contrasting Chinese and western cultures.

(b) Teenage Student Informants

All the student informants came from the counties of Hoi-ping or En-ping in Kwangtung province. The immigrant informants have come only within the past year. The local-born informants can speak fluent English. They have Canadian friends, and they are active in clubs or associations particularly in school. In contrast, the immigrant informants speak only a little English. They have few or no Canadian friends, and they are not involved in any activity (even in school). Such a difference is largely caused by the language barrier. The immigrant informants have a comparatively poor command of English. They have language problems especially in writing and in oral English. They spend more time in studying English by themselves instead of going to extra English classes. The local-born informants, on the other hand, cannot write or read Chinese. They cannot afford time to go to the Chinese class though they have been encouraged by their parents to go. Lastly, the immigrant informants have great difficulties (i.e. language, custom) in adapting to the new environment which is, however, completely familiar to the local-born informants.
(c) Businessman Informants

The businessman informants originally came either from different provinces (i.e. Kwangtung, Shanghai, and Chekiang) in South China and East China or from different counties within Kwangtung province (i.e. Wai-yeung, Swantow). The older businessmen came to Canada mainly for a stable environment and the hope that future prospects for family members, especially children, would be brighter when compared to the prospects in Hong Kong. The younger businessmen came mainly through a personal interest in exploring a new environment. The older businessmen live with their families, and their residences are stable. The younger businessmen are single, they live alone though they have relatives in Vancouver, and they have moved their residences several times across Canada and even in the United States.

All the businessman informants have a relatively high level of education which has reached the university level. The least educated informant, who graduated from primary school (Grade 6), has been professionally trained. The older businessmen tried different kinds of low-status jobs until they could run their own businesses (i.e. travel agencies), but the younger businessmen have started their own businesses (i.e. travel agency and a fish store) right from the very beginning. This may be caused by differences in financial situation. Usually, the older businessmen speak less English than the younger businessmen. Also, the language barrier encourages the older businessmen to make friends mostly with the Chinese, but the younger businessmen have more Canadian friends. It is easier for the younger businessmen to assimilate into western culture (e.g. celebration of Canadian festivals), but the older businessmen are rather passive toward joining Canadian social and cultural activities.

(d) Professional Informants

The two professional informants have different origins. The orthodontist, who is 33 years old, was born in Macau. The accountant, who is 30 years old, was born in Poon-yu county of Kwangtung province. The accountant sends money 'home' (China) but the orthodontist doesn't. The orthodontist can understand
his native dialect but he cannot speak it, and the accountant has no idea about his native dialect at all. The orthodontist is a Christian, and he joins in the church activities. The accountant has no religion, and he does not participate in any associations. Lastly, the orthodontist had language and custom problems when he first came to Canada, but the accountant has had no difficulties in adapting the new environment, except that he finds the transportation system in Vancouver very inconvenient since he does not have a car.

(e) Female Worker Informants

The female worker informants came from the counties of Swatow and Hoi-ping in Kwangtung province. One informant owns her home but the other two rent their residences in the Chinatown area. All the informants are poor in English, and they work either in the jean factory or in a restaurant in Chinatown. They got their jobs through different forms of assistance (ie. governmental training programs and friends' help) or by their own application. Two informants have many relatives and friends but one has only a few. They are rather active (except one) in joining different types of associations (ie. the Chinese Cultural Centre and the Wong's Benevolent Association). They are pretty restricted within the local environment (ie. Chinatown) for work and for daily activities (eg. grocery shopping) because of their language and financial problems.

(V) ANALYSIS OF INTRA-GROUP COMPARISON

In general, the diversity among different groups of the Chinese in Vancouver depends on how each individual group distinguishes itself from the other groups. Also, each group can be characterized by a different level of assimilation (or adaptation) in the new environment. The intra-group comparison is shown as follows:

(a) General Aspect

The origin (or native place) is an important factor of diversity among the Chinese groups. Each individual has a strong sentiment of identifying with his/her locality. The Chinese mainly came from different counties within Kwangtung province in South China with only a few exceptions (see Map 1 and Map 2). Also, the
MAP 1: MAP OF CHINA AND THE MAJOR SOURCE
OF CANADIAN CHINESE IMMIGRANTS (INFORMANTS)

LEGEND

▌▌ Chekiang Province
▌▌ Kwangtung Province
- Hong Kong
- Macau
▌▌ Shanghai Shi (capital: Shanghai)
MAP 2: LOCATIONS OF DIFFERENT COUNTIES OF THE INFORMANTS IN KWANGTUNG PROVINCE
source of Chinese immigrants has been changing over time. Other Asian places (ie. Hong Kong, Taiwan) have replaced China as the dominant source of migration (see Table 3). The change of migrants' source has contributed to the complexity of background among the Chinese immigrants.

The reasons for migration are different among the five Chinese groups. The students, female workers and old immigrants came under family sponsorship. Such a strong kinship system is a significant 'pull' factor in the historical migration of the Chinese to Canada. The recent Canadian immigration policy, however, is widely open to independent applicants who have a high level of education or skill. The policy aims at economic benefit for Canadian society. As a result, the professionals and businessmen came to Canada as independent migrants. The combination of 'push' factors (eg. political and social instability in home countries) and 'pull' factors (eg. strong kinship system, better education and opportunities) has drawn in different types of Chinese immigrants to Canada.

The residential pattern reflects a diversity among the Chinese groups. Map 3 shows the concentration of Chinese population (1961) in Vancouver's Chinatown area, and Map 4 shows that by 1971 the pattern of Chinese residence had dispersed over Vancouver. Such a change of residential pattern still continues. The change implies the overall improvement of socio-economic status among the Chinese who are no longer forced to live in the historical 'ghetto' area (ie. Chinatown), as well as legal changes which allow them to live anywhere in the city. Only the two groups of old immigrants and female workers presently rent their residences and live in the Strathcona area. Old age and poor English skill are the two major factors which limit their socio-economic activities (i.e. grocery shopping, work) within the Chinatown area. Despite the expansion of commercial and economic activities, Chinatown remains significant in providing residences especially to the old Chinese who have language problems.

Separate residence from families and relatives among the groups of businessmen, professionals and old immigrants indicates
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>3,191</td>
<td>13,626</td>
<td>1,958</td>
<td>701</td>
<td>2,774</td>
<td>22,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>2,829</td>
<td>6,052</td>
<td>17,130</td>
<td>79,938</td>
<td>106,342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>885</td>
<td>8,778</td>
<td>9,663</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Department of Manpower and Immigration.
MAP 3

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CHINESE POPULATION IN VANCOUVER 1961

*Source: The Computer Information from The Data Library, U.B.C.*

By Census Tract

REPRESENTS 50 CHINESE

Chinatown

REPRESENTS 60 CHINESE IN HOUSES NO. 6 AND 56.
a decline of the traditional Chinese kinship system. Also, high education and skill have replaced the role of relatives and friends in job opportunities. Nevertheless, the bonds of the kinship system are still significant among the overseas Chinese. For example, the groups of students and female workers have strong family structures. Also, a comparatively high proportion of the informants still send money back to their home countries for their relatives.

(b) 'Economic' Aspect

The structural assimilation of the Chinese is well achieved by the groups of businessmen and professionals who obtain high education and special skills. Table 4 shows a relatively high education (which is above elementary level) among the Vancouver Chinese in 1974, and Table 5 shows the occupational profile (1974) which has a high proportion of the Chinese who are professionals (10.7%), businessmen (16.3%) and in service occupations (18.0%). These two tables imply a positive correlation between education and occupation. In addition to the improvement of economic status, the ownership of property (i.e. houses) among the majority of the Chinese also indicates the success of structural assimilation to a large extent. Only the poorly educated and unskilled Chinese (i.e. the groups of old Chinese and female workers) are strongly impeded in structural assimilation mainly because of language problems.

(c) 'Cultural' Aspect

Participation in various types of associations indicates a diversity among the Chinese. In general, the Chinese associations have been classified into political, traditional, professional, social and cultural associations but they share the same function of helping their members. Each individual Chinese can assert his/her identity by joining a particular association. Memberships in traditional associations (i.e. clan or locality associations) are found among the groups of female workers and old immigrants. The businessman informants are least active compared to the other groups. Such a contrast in participation suggests that the Chinese who has
### TABLE 4

**Chinese Population of Vancouver: Educational Achievement of Household Heads, 1974**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None/Illiterate</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional-Literate</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary</td>
<td>19.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some High School</td>
<td>27.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School Graduate</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>24.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


### TABLE 5

**Chinese Population of Vancouver: Occupational Profile, 1974**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessman</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manager</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsman</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operative</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>19.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Vancouver Chinese Community Study, 1974
a high socio-economic status is less concerned about personal identification than the one who has a low socio-economic status. In addition, a comparatively poor participation of the Chinese (except the local-born informants) in non-Chinese organizations implies a resistance to cultural assimilation. The characteristics of Chinese culture have been maintained and preserved particularly by the traditional Chinese associations which, for example, play an active role in celebrating Chinese festivals (e.g. the Chinese New Year).

Having Chinese food, speaking Chinese language (dialects) and making friends mostly with the Chinese are the common characteristics among all the informants from different groups. This implies the failure of cultural assimilation in terms of food, language and friendship, which serve as important symbols of Chinese culture. These symbols have hardly changed over time regardless of different background of the Chinese. Celebration of major important Chinese festivals (i.e. the Chinese New Year and the Moon Festival), also implies the maintenance of traditional Chinese customs against cultural assimilation. It is, however, essential for the Chinese immigrants to 'cope' with the new Canadian settlement environment. The fact of people's having no Chinese religion, using western medicine, celebrating Canadian festivals (e.g. Christmas) and participating in the Canadian way of living (e.g. making use of English mass media such as newspaper, radio, television and movies) have indicated the partial adaptation of the Chinese to the dominant Canadian society in some extent.

Finally, all the informants faced different problems when they first came to Canada. Most of them had language, custom and financial difficulties. Adaptation and improved socio-economic status over time have solved some of the problems, but language still remains as a significant barrier to both structural and cultural assimilations especially for the Chinese who have poor English background. All the informants prefer to stay in Canada, mainly for its political, social and economic environments. This implies a change from the traditional attitude, the 'sojourner mentality', which no longer exists among the present Chinese immigrants who commit
themselves to Canada, not to their home countries. Occasional visits (or an aspiration for a visit) to their home countries, however, indicate the sentiment of overseas Chinese toward their source of migration.

VI. CONCLUSION

The analyses and interpretations of personal interviews from five different Chinese groups and the comparisons within and between the groups have shown the existence of a diversity within the large Chinese community in Vancouver, B.C. Diversity has been measured both by individual identification within the ethnic Chinese population and by assimilation (including structural and cultural assimilations) to Canadian society.

Differences among the Chinese groups are most significantly shown in the informants' origins, reasons and time for migration, residential pattern, occupation, education and participation in association. The common origin of Chinese immigrants has been further classified into different counties within Kwangtung province in South China. The Chinese immigrants either came under the sponsorship of families and relatives or came independently with the support of relatively high education and skill. The residential pattern, which is classified within or outside the Chinatown area, helps to distinguish different groups of the Chinese.

Being a member of any Chinese association indicates the identity of individual migrants. For example, the traditional associations select their Chinese members according to family surname or locality, and the professional associations reflect individuals' occupations, skills and educations.

Different levels of education create differences within the Chinese population because this reflects their command of English. Language barriers directly affect the levels of structural and cultural assimilation among different groups of Chinese. Successful structural assimilation has been achieved only by the professionals and businessmen; but those who are poor in education and
skills remain comparatively low in their socio-economic status. The strong inheritance of Chinese culture is most significantly shown in terms of food, language (dialects) and friends among all different groups of Chinese regardless of how long they have been in Canada. Other Chinese cultural characteristics (e.g., religion, medicine) become less significant over time, resulting from the assimilation to the dominant Canadian society.

This paper has given a general picture of the diversity within the ethnic Chinese population in Vancouver, B.C. the comparatively small number of informants in each of the five chosen groups, however, cannot represent the overall population in each group. A larger sample, therefore, is essential for a quantitative analysis from which promising results may be drawn. It is also important to look into additional variables and further subdivision in social classes in order to obtain more detailed information about the diversity within the large Chinese community not only in Vancouver but also in other parts of Canada.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Lai, David Cheun-Yan, "Home County and Clan Origins of Overseas Chinese in Canada in the Early 1880s" B.C. Studies, 1975, No. 27.


Multiculturalism Directorate, Department of the Secretary of State, The Canadian Family Tree: Canada's Peoples, Ontario, Corpus, 1979.