IN SEARCH OF A LAND FLOWING WITH MILK AND HONEY: THE ADAPTATION EXPERIENCES OF UPROOTED CHINESE AND BLACK IMMIGRANT STUDENTS IN A MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY

by

Henry P.H. Chow

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Department of Sociology and Equity Studies in Education
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the
University of Toronto

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to
my dearest parents, Wai-ling and Yiu-joe Chow,
and to the memory of my beloved
paternal grandmother Mei Wong (1902-1990)
and maternal grandmother Sau-mui Sum (1914-1997).

ABSTRACT

In Search of a Land Flowing with Milk and Honey: The Adaptation Experiences of Uprooted Chinese and Black Immigrant Students in a Multicultural Society

Doctor of Philosophy, 1997

Henry P.H. Chow
Department of Sociology and Equity Studies in Education
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the
University of Toronto

This dissertation examined the adaptation experiences of Hong Kong and Caribbean immigrant students attending public high schools in Metro Toronto during 1993 and 1994 using a multivariate approach. The present sample comprised of 368 Chinese immigrant students from Hong Kong attending 26 different public high schools under the jurisdiction of six school boards. The three selection criteria included (i) last permanent country of residence being Hong Kong; (ii) legal status in Canada being landed immigrant or citizen; and (iii) length of residence in Canada being 5 years or less. The same criteria applied to the comparison group, except the last permanent place of residence being the Caribbean, rather than Hong Kong. The comparison group included 63 Black students from 10 schools under the jurisdiction of three school boards.

Multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted on the various scales measuring the adaptation experiences of these immigrant students. It has been found that Hong Kong immigrant students adapted better academically than the Caribbean counterparts. On the other hand, Caribbean students were found to be adapting better culturally, socially, and linguistically. Racial discrimination was a problem encountered by these immigrant students. More specifically, about 25% of the Hong Kong group and 17%

of the Caribbean group reported discrimination experience. To assess their overall adaptation experiences, students were asked to indicate whether they would prefer to stay in Canada or to return to homeland if they were given a choice. More than one-third of the Hong Kong students (34.1%) expressed that they would return to Hong Kong. Slightly less than one-third (31.3%) indicated that they would stay, and 30.8 per cent said they had no particular preference. With respect to the Caribbean students, about half of them (51.6%) would choose to stay in Canada. Multiple regression and logistic regression analyses revealed various socio-demographic and background variables as strong determinants of adaptation. Additional qualitative data obtained from personal interviews conducted with 30 Hong Kong and 10 Caribbean students provided greater depth of understanding of these minority students' adaptation experiences.

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"Of making many books there is no end, and much study wearies the body"
(Ecclesiastes 12:12b, NIV).

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Henry P.H. Chow
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

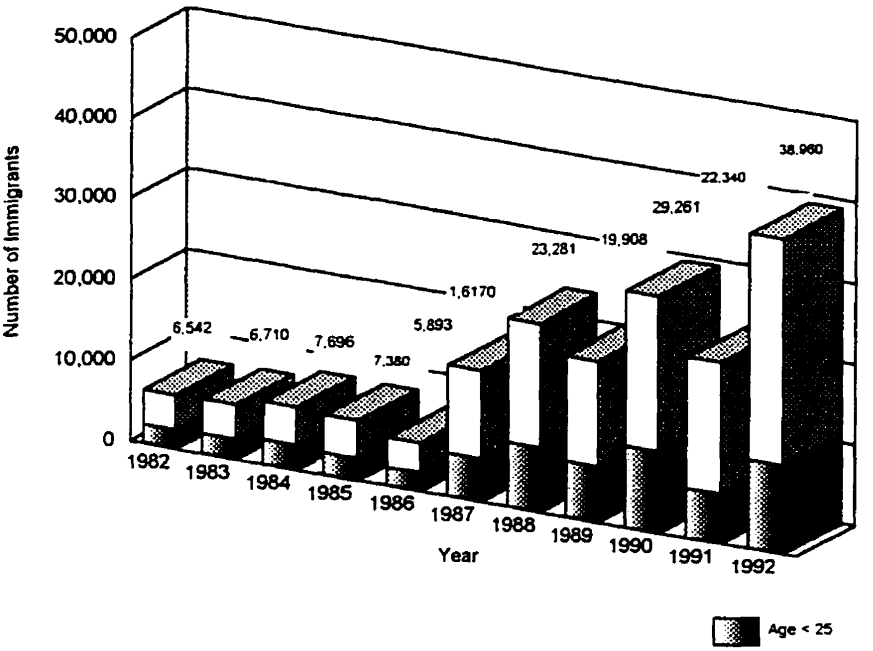
1.1. BACKGROUND

Migratory movements across national boundaries have been an enduring feature of human history. Indeed, human migrations, like all social phenomena, are social processes which are historically conditioned. The first wave of Chinese immigration to Canada began in 1858, when gold was discovered in the Fraser Valley in British Columbia. In response to the gold rush in Canada, the Chinese initially migrated from the west coast of the United States. Subsequently, a significant number of Chinese came directly from China, especially during 1881 and 1885, when the Canadian Pacific railway was constructed (Bolaria and Li, 1989:102).

Throughout the late 1980s and early 1990s, a new wave of Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong has gained much publicity. According to Employment and Immigration Canada, the arrival number of Hong Kong immigrants increased from 6,542 in 1982 to 38,910 in 1992 (see Figure 1-1). Since 1990, Hong Kong has become the single largest source of all the immigrants to Canada. In fact, Goodspeed (1990) further postulates that another 150,000 would come to Canada before this decade is out. Unlike their predecessors, a majority of these Hong Kong Chinese come to Canada mainly because of their attempt to flee the threat of 1997 - the year in which Communist China will resume the exercise of sovereignty over Hong Kong.

Of all the Hong Kong Chinese who immigrate to Canada each year, about one-third of them are under the age of 25 (see Figure 1-1). In other words, these immigrants are prospective participants in the Canadian educational system. The problem of ensuring the successful adaptation of immigrant students to a country whose language, culture, climate, geography, history, and form of government are contrast markedly with those of their native land presents a significant number of challenges.

Figure 1-1: Hong Kong Immigrants Admitted to Canada, 1982-1992



(Source: Figures obtained from the Employment and Immigration Canada's annual reports on Immigrant Statistics from 1982 to 1992)

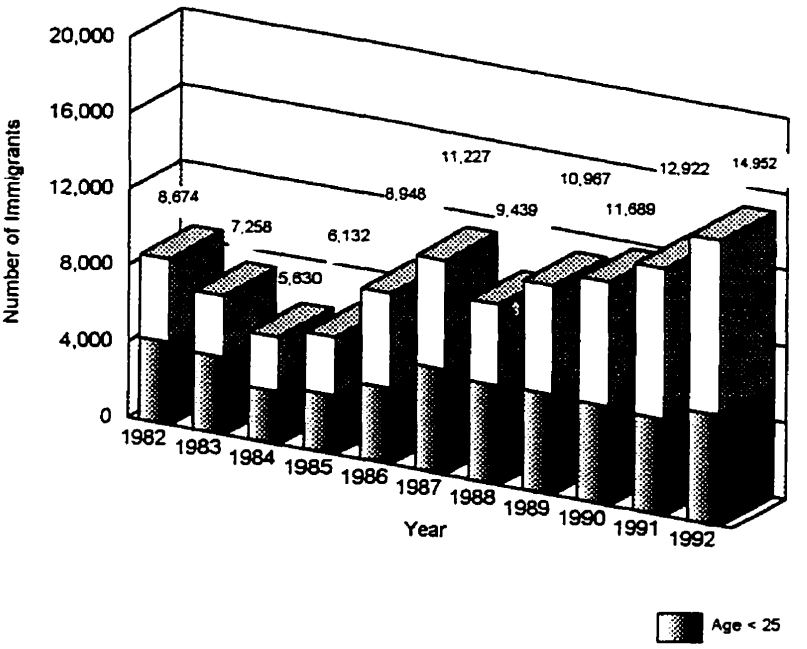
1.2. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This dissertation attempts to investigate the adaptation experiences of the recent Hong Kong immigrant students in Metro Toronto, particularly those at the high school level. The cultural, social, and educational aspects of the adaptation of these Chinese immigrant students will be the primary concerns of the present study.

In order to better understand the uniqueness of the adaptation experiences of these immigrant students, a small group of Black immigrant students from the Caribbean would be included for the purpose of comparison. Indeed, immigrant students from Hong Kong and the Caribbean share some similarities and dissimilarities. These students are similar in the sense that the countries from which they come have different historical experiences of

colonization. Besides, the distinct physical characteristics of these two groups of students set them apart from members of the mainstream society in Canada. As demonstrated in Figure 1-2, a significant proportion of all the Caribbean immigrants who immigrated to Canada from 1982 to 1992 were also under 25 years of age (ranged from 38% to 55%). They would also be prospective participants in the educational system in Canada. On the other hand, there are significant differences between the Hong Kong Chinese and Caribbean immigrants in terms of their cultural and language backgrounds.

Figure 1-2: Caribbean Immigrants Admitted to Canada, 1982-1992



(Source: Figures obtained from the Employment and Immigration Canada's annual reports on Immigrant Statistics from 1982 to 1992)

1.3. MAJOR RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The present study is guided by the following major research questions:

(a) How do the Hong Kong immigrant and Caribbean students adapt to new life in Canada socially, culturally, and educationally?

(b) How satisfied are these immigrant students with life, including both academic and non-academic aspects, in Canada?

(c) Are there significant differences between the Hong Kong and Caribbean immigrants students in terms of their adaptation experiences?

(d) What are the future plans of these immigrant students?

(e) What are the key determinants (i.e., socio-demographic and background variables) of the adaptation experiences of these minority immigrant students?

1.4. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

First of all, although the recent influx of Chinese immigrant students from Hong Kong has attracted much media attention, research on the adaptation experiences of Chinese immigrant students has been surprisingly sparse in view of its complexity and importance. In fact, previous studies tended to focus only on students attending post-secondary institutions (Chan, 1987; Wong, 1977). However, it should be emphasized that the experiences of high school immigrant students, who are relatively younger and less mature, are likely to be different from those attending colleges or universities. It is hoped that this study will fill a lacuna in the present literature on the Chinese immigrant students in Canada.

Secondly, the results of this study will be beneficial not merely to the various Boards of Education and high schools, but to all other educational institutions where a body of Chinese immigrant students are found. Its findings can be used as basic information for developing academic and cultural programs (e.g., orientation programs, ESL programs) and support services (e.g., cross-cultural counselling) to cater to the specific needs of these newly-arrived immigrants.

Thirdly, the findings of this study can provide the prospective immigrant students with valuable information concerning the different adaptation problems that they may expect to encounter when they immigrate to Canada. As a result, they may be better and more quickly able to adapt during the transition into a new culture.

Last, but not least, governmental departments which are responsible for formulating immigration policies may also find the results useful. It should be borne in mind that well-adjusted immigrant students can be an asset to their "adopted" country, for they are able to extract the best from both their original culture and the host culture to their own benefits, as well as making Canada a more colourful and interesting country to live in.

1.5. DEFINITION OF IMPORTANT TERMS

a. Immigrant Student. An immigrant student is defined as one who meets the following three criteria: (i) country of birth: outside Canada (i.e., Hong Kong in the case of the Chinese students and the various Caribbean countries in the case of Black students); (ii) current status in Canada: landed immigrant or citizen; and (iii) length of residence in Canada being five years or less.

b. Place of Origin. The last place of permanent residence of respondents was referred to as "country of origin" or "home country" in the original research instrument. In view of the fact that Hong Kong is a colony or territory rather than a country, the term "homeland" would be used in this manuscript.

1.6. A NOTE ON ROMANIZATION

Wades-Giles and Pinyin are two different methods of achieving a similar objective - to represent the sounds of the Chinese language alphabetically in Roman letters. Wades-Giles was a system created by foreigners, to enable foreigners to pronounce Chinese, and to be able to refer to names in common use. Pinyin is a system introduced by the Chinese in

1958. Pinyin is considered to be the system of the present and the future. For example, Peking is Wades-Giles for Beijing.

In Hong Kong, the romanization for Chinese names and terms is based primarily on the Cantonese pronunciation. To use the national language for all names in Hong Kong will result in the loss of the whole feel of the territory and its people, as well as the delicate flavour and nuance of a distinctive local culture. In this manuscript, therefore, names and terms pertaining to Hong Kong are spelt in the conventional way, which is usually on the Wade-Giles system. By contrast, names and terms pertaining to Mainland China are spelt in the pinyin system.

1.7. OUTLINE OF THE DISSERTATION

This dissertation consists of seven chapters. This introductory chapter has framed the purpose, significance, and research questions of the study. Chapter 2 contains a detailed examination of the socio-economic and political context within which emigration from Hong Kong and the Caribbean was triggered. In Chapter 3, the theory of assimilation and the major theoretical models which have been developed for the study of the adaptation and development of immigrant groups are discussed. A review of empirical studies focusing on the adaptation of Chinese immigrants in North America (Canada and the United States) and an examination of the methodological approaches used in the study of adaptation of immigrants are included. Chapter 4 contains details of the research design and methods. It also discusses the instruments used to measure the concepts under investigation.

The next two chapters report the research findings. Chapter 5 presents the quantitative findings based on the questionnaire survey. Chapter 6 deals with the thematic analysis of interviews conducted with a small sample of the participants. A few case summaries are also presented. The final chapter summarizes the major findings, draws conclusions, outlines the limitations, and makes recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER 2: EMIGRATION TO CANADA: THE MAJOR DETERMINANTS

This chapter examines the social, political, and economic context within which emigration from Hong Kong and the Caribbean was triggered, as well as why Canada appears to be the "land flowing with milk and honey" to the aspiring emigrants.

2.1. MOTIVATIONS FOR IMMIGRATION

Humanity has exhibited nomadic characteristics throughout history. Migratory tendency cannot be adequately explained by a single factor. This persistent characteristic of human beings is indeed attributed to a complex assortment of circumstances and motives. People have moved from place to place, over long and short distances, because of dissatisfaction with prevailing circumstances, together with a somewhat inexplicable sense of optimism that a move elsewhere would find more favourable conditions and better opportunities. In other words, human migration takes place because of a variety of "push" and "pull" factors. In particular, Furnham and Bochner (1986:45) have identified the major "pull" factors (destination's culture and values, high standard of living, benefits of the welfare state, and improved quality of life) and "push" factors (economic and political reasons).

Noticeably, such a conceptualization is rather incomplete. For instance, all motives can reflect both a "push" and "pull" factor. As well, according to Taylor (1969:99), this approach subsumes all motives under the assumption of the maximization of want-satisfactions, reducing the complex decision to migrate to a type of mechanical balance of external and impersonal forces. Nevertheless, as suggested by Dirks (1995:3), it identifies the two broad categories of causes and motives. Since the present study focuses on the adaptation experiences of immigrants, it will suffice to examine the circumstances under which people in Hong Kong and the Caribbean immigrate to Canada.

2.2. THE EXODUS OF HONG KONG CHINESE

2.2.1. Hong Kong: Borrowed Time, Borrowed Place[1]

Hong Kong (meaning fragrant harbour) is a British Crown colony. The fact that Hong Kong's separation from Mainland China was basically the consequence of three Anglo-Chinese agreements of the nineteenth century: The Treaty of Nanking, signed in 1842 and ratified in 1843 under which Hong Kong Island was ceded in perpetuity; the Convention of Peking in 1860 under which the southern part of Kowloon peninsula and Stonecutters Island were ceded in perpetuity; the Convention of 1898 under which the New Territories (comprising 92 per cent of the total land area of the territory) were leased to Britain land-free for 99 years from July 1, 1898.[2] According to Cottrell (1993), at the time of signing the 1898 Convention, the British authorities appeared to have seen the leasing arrangement as a temporary expedient, to be superseded in due course by a further instrument effecting a permanent transfer of the New Territories to Britain. This, however, never materialized.

2.2.2. The Negotiation on the Future of Hong Kong

It was the fact that the New Territories are subject to a lease with a fixed expiry date which lay behind the decision by the British government to seek to enter negotiations with the government of the People's Republic of China (referred to hereafter as the PRC government or the Chinese government) on the future of Hong Kong. Theoretically, the British government can choose to return to China only the New Territories and continue its rule over Hong Kong and Kowloon after June 30, 1997 when the lease expires. In practice, however, this is simply not quite possible. As explained by Chiu (1987:7):

> Without the leased territories, Hong Kong would have virtually no agriculture or industry. It would lose its container port at Kwai Chung and thus its shipping industry. Although the runway of the airport is within the ceded territory, the incoming and outgoing aircraft have to fly over the leased territories.

That is to say, the leased territories are of vital importance to the existence of the other parts of Hong Kong. This fact prompted the British government to initiate discussions with the PRC government on the future of Hong Kong.

The first round of diplomatic talks on the future of Hong Kong was held in Beijing in October 1982. Although the British government felt that Hong Kong people should have their representatives in the talks, the PRC government sternly rejected this proposal.[3] Talks continued throughout 1983 and 1984 against the backdrop of China's warning that it would impose a unilateral solution unless a negotiated agreement was reached by September 1984. After two years of strenuous negotiations, without participation from Hong Kong, a Joint Declaration was initialed on September 26, 1984 and subsequently signed on December 19, 1984 by the British and PRC governments. Under the terms of the Joint Declaration, British administration and jurisdiction over Hong Kong will continue to June 30, 1997, and Hong Kong (including Hong Kong island, Kowloon, and the New Territories) will from July 1, 1997, become a Special Administrative Region (SAR) of the People's Republic of China under the concept "one country, two systems".[4] The Joint Declaration provides that for 50 years after 1997, Hong Kong's life-style will remain unchanged, and that China's socialist system and policies will not be practised in the SAR. The Chinese government also stated that all Chinese policies towards Hong Kong contained in the declaration would be stipulated, in the form of the Basic Law of the Hong Kong SAR, by the National People's Congress (NPC), China's legislature.

This Joint Declaration contains certain ambiguities and uncertainties. As pointed out by Domes (1983:3-4):

> Even if the government of the PRC decides to abide by the contents of the Joint Declaration - a decision that is entirely up to that government after July 1, 1997, without any viable international guarantees or instruments of supervision - it can still interpret the text as it pleases. The government of the PRC has promised that the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region "will enjoy a high degree of autonomy," but what does "high" mean to the Chinese Communist party's ruling elite? "The laws currently in force in Hong Kong will remain basically unchanged," but what does "basically" mean? ... These and other

> similarly ambiguous phrases in the agreement leave considerable room for doubt about the future of Hong Kong between 1997 and 2047, not to mention the period after 2047, when all pledges given by the PRC in the Joint Declaration become formally invalid.

Various independent opinion surveys have indicated the general acceptance of the agreement. For instance, a survey conducted by the Survey Research Hong Kong Limited in the period between October 16 and November 2, 1984 found that a majority (71%) of the respondents believed that the draft agreement was "quite good". When faced with the choice between the draft agreement or no agreement, 90 per cent opted for the draft agreement (Cheng, 1986:11).

Particularly, Scott (1989:213) offered four reasons as to why the people of Hong Kong still found the agreement generally acceptable despite the British government's failure to provide for Hong Kong representation in the making of the agreement and the ambiguities of some of the terms containing in the Joint Declaration. First of all, although some substantive concerns such as the nature of the future constitution and the means of interpreting it were not addressed, it was rather difficult to criticize an accord which promised so many rights and privileges and which seemed to maintain the status quo. Besides, the British government stated quite explicitly that there was no alternative to the agreement and that it could not be amended. In addition, the agreement has the support of well-organized groups and institutions, such as important commercial and business organizations. Finally, it was due to the promise that there would be "high degree of autonomy" and "Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong" after the takeover. Particularly, in the second half of 1984, there seemed a possibility, carefully cultivated by the British and Hong Kong governments, that Hong Kong would be able to develop its own representative form of government.[5]

It should be mentioned that a statement issued by the unofficial members of the Hong Kong Executive and Legislative Councils in November 1984 also indicated that while the agreement was acceptable as a whole to the majority of the Hong Kong community, some specific areas of concern were raised, including:

> ... anxiety about interference from the Chinese Government; worry about conscription in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region; uncertainty about the acceptability to third countries of the new form of British passport; doubt about the preservation of existing human rights and personal freedoms; fear about the stationing of PLA troops in Hong Kong; resentment about the termination of the transmissibility of British nationality for Hong Kong BDTCs in 1997; reservations about possible incompatibility between the constitution of the People's Republic of China and the future Basic Law of Hong Kong; and concern about the faithful implementation of the Agreement and the policies of future Chinese leaders (cited in Chiu et al., 1987:221).

2.2.3. Transition to Chinese Rule in 1997

It is quite logical to think that the Chinese government will not "kill the goose that lays the golden eggs" and to make the Hong Kong model of peaceful settlement through negotiation and economic co-operation attractive for Taiwan. This view, however, may be rather simplistic. The following section outlines some of the major events which have triggered the massive exodus of Hong Kong residents during the transitional period.

a. The Right of Abode in Britain

Successive changes in immigration laws beginning in 1962 had stripped the British subjects in Hong Kong of the right of abode in Britain. According to the British Nationality Act 1981 (hereafter BNA 1981), a new category of British Dependent Territory Citizens (BDTC) was created. This change of name made no tangible difference to the rights of Hong Kong residents since BDTCs would still be entitled to call on the assistance of British consular staff when traveling overseas and had, as before, no right of abode in Britain. Miners (1991:24) noted that this new type of passport was widely seen in Hong Kong as creating an inferior category of British citizenship and as a sign of Britain's attempt to distance itself from any obligations in Hong Kong, especially when the inhabitants of Gibraltar and the Falkland Islands were given full British citizenship with the right of abode in Britain under the same act of Parliament which made people born or naturalized in Hong Kong merely BDTCs.[6]

In fact, the position of the PRC government during the Sino-British negotiations was that all Hong Kong Chinese without the right of abode in Britain are Chinese nationals and that the British passport that they held were simply travel documents. As pointed out by McGurn (1992:54), Britain found that approach, for quite different reasons, as convenient as China did, and consequently the Joint Declaration stipulated that the carriers of these second-class British passports would not be entitled to British consular protection in the future Hong Kong SAR.

In addition, a strong sense of betrayal was keenly felt by the people of Hong Kong as Macau residents received very different treatment from their colonial rulers on the issue of nationality. Macau is scheduled to be returned to China in December, 1999. As in Hong Kong, 98 per cent of the territory's 450,000 inhabitants are Chinese. The approximately 100,000 Portuguese nationals in Macau are full Portuguese citizens with the right to live in Portugal. Since January 1, 1993, under the Treaty of Rome, these Macau Chinese even enjoy the rights of free movement in any other EC country including Britain (Shah, 1995:103).

b. The Daya Bay Nuclear Power Plant Controversy

A critical issue which captured much of the attention of the Hong Kong people after the Sino-British negotiations was the decision by the PRC government to build its first commercial nuclear power plant just 50 km from the centre of Hong Kong. In fact, it has been known since 1980 that the PRC government wanted to build a nuclear plant at Daya Bay, but it was only after the Chernobyl accident in April 1986 that public pressure mounted. Safety of the plant,[7] China's ability to manage the plant, close proximity of the plant to Hong Kong, and impossibility of evacuation in case of accident due to Hong Kong's unique geographical and demographic situation were among the major concerns of the people of Hong Kong.

In addition to the numerous anti-nuclear rallies which took place in the colony, about one million Hong Kong residents (approximately one-fifth of the total population at that time) signed a petition objecting to the building of the plant in 1986 (Scott, 1989:29). An opinion poll conducted by Survey Research Hong Kong Limited demonstrated that 72 per cent of the

respondents were against the project (cited in Scott, 1989:309). The Chinese government, however, was not swayed. This has demonstrated that the PRC government would not respond to public pressure. As well, it has shown Britain's insistence of putting its own commercial interests first because it was widely known that China would purchase the power generator for Daya Bay from Britain provided that Hong Kong bought electricity. Otherwise China would buy all the equipment for the US $4 billion plant from France. At the same time, this also indicated the local legislators' reluctance to stand up to Beijing as a majority of the Legislative Council refused to allow a debate on the issue (Rafferty, 1989:462-463).

c. The Tiananmen Massacre

During May and June 1989, a few months short of the 40th Anniversary of the PRC, a desperate cry for democracy and less corrupt government rang out in Tiananmen Square in Beijing. Subsequently, the machine guns and tanks of the People's Liberation Army brutally suppressed the demonstrators in the square. According to Rafferty (1989:5), western sources estimated that about 7,000 people were killed, whereas Amnesty International expressed that at least 1,300 civilians were killed in the immediate crackdown.

This tragic incident has put the people of Hong Kong into a state of deep shock and fear for their future under Chinese sovereignty. Its effect on Hong Kong was immediate and devastating. An opinion poll published by the *South China Morning Post* on October 31, 1989, as pointed out by Cheng (1990:33), demonstrated that 69 per cent of the respondents were not very confident nor even fairly confident that the Basic Law would ensure that the "one country, two systems" promise would be kept.

The struggle for democratic reform in China had dramatically transformed the political landscape in Hong Kong. The people of Hong Kong were galvanized into full-scale collective action. As observed by Chan (1996:23):

> They [The Hong Kong people] were transformed almost overnight from apolitical and apathetic residents of a colony to citizens of a threatened community committed to preserve their freedom and fight for their rights. It was this fully awakened and mobilized Hong Kong citizenry that filled the ranks of the May 21 one million and May 28 one and one-half million mass protest marches on the island. These were so unprecedented in size, scale, magnitude, and intensity that they were powerful signs for the PRC and the rest of the world to appreciate.

The British government subsequently initiated a series of measures attempting to bolster public confidence in Hong Kong's future. In particular, the British government promised to encourage the international community to take a greater interest in Hong Kong, to embark on a new international airport project, to introduce a bill of rights, and to ask China to make changes in the Basic Law which would allow the pace of democratic development before 1997 to be accelerated (Miners, 1991:11). To encourage the Hong Kong people to stay in the territory and to provide greater confidence and stability in the community, on December 20, 1989, six months after the Tiananmen incident, the British government announced a scheme under which the right of abode in Britain would be granted to 50,000 families (about 225,000 people altogether) without their having to leave Hong Kong.

Beijing objected to the British policy of the right of abode in Britain, asserting that London violated its promise in the Sino-British Declaration. Wang (1995: 116) pointed out that Beijing's formal response to the British program involved several points: (1) China would not recognize Britain's transfer of Chinese citizenship into British citizenship under the program of right of abode in Britain; (2) those who received British passports would not have British consular protection in the SAR and other parts of the PRC; and (3) Hong Kong Chinese citizens accepted as British citizens would not be allowed to use their British citizenship to enter and depart from Hong Kong and other parts of the PRC.

The Chinese government, instead of making concessions, made clear its determination to tighten control over Hong Kong. As observed by Miners (1991:11-12):

> The draft Basic Law was changed to widen the scope of the legislation against treason and subversion, and to prohibit foreign political organizations from conducting political activities in the SAR and local organizations from establishing ties with foreign political bodies. The list of senior civil servants who must be Chinese nationals without any foreign right of abode was lengthened, and the same restriction was placed on 80 per cent of the membership of the Legislative Council. The power of the central government to declare a state of emergency in the SAR was not modified, and China insisted that it would exercise its right to station units of the People's Liberation Army in Hong Kong.

d. The Basic Law

The Basic Law provides the constitutional basis for the establishment of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region in 1997 for 50 years and the legal principles and policies for the administration of Hong Kong after 1997 in accordance with the Joint Declaration. After a five-year drafting process, the Basic Law was finally completed on April 4, 1990. The early promulgation of the Basic Law apparently signifies a renewed pressure for convergence and a greater presence of China in the political process in Hong Kong before the transfer of sovereignty. However, the Basic Law proved more controversial than the Joint Declaration. It will be sufficient to highlight a few of the articles that have been found to be particularly controversial.

First of all, the future head of the Hong Kong SAR government, the Chief Executive, will possess many of the extra-ordinary powers enjoyed by previous British governors. According to Article 48, the powers of the Chief Executive include: leading the Hong Kong SAR government; being responsible for signing bills into law and for implementing them; signing budgets; deciding on government policies and issuing directives; appointing and removing senior officials (subject to the endorsement of the Central Government); appointing and removing judges; and approving the introduction of motions regarding revenues or expenditure to the legislature (Yahuda, 1996: 88). This Chief Executive will, of course, be appointed by China.

The third paragraph of Article 18 limits the jurisdiction of the courts of the Hong Kong SAR, and it also excludes cases relating to the "executive acts of the Central People's Government". Article 169 takes away the power of the courts of the Hong Kong SAR in their interpretation of certain provisions of the Basic Law. While the judiciary is independent of the executive, China has introduced a distinction between adjudication and interpretation, unknown to Hong Kong's existing common law legal system. Thus while the Hong Kong Final Court of Appeal may have the power of final adjudication, the final power of interpreting the Basic Law lies with the Standing Committee of the NPC in Beijing. In addition, the Standing Committee is given the power to revoke laws enacted by the SAR that the Standing Committee considers are not in conformity with the Basic Law. The Standing Committee also has the power to revoke laws enacted before 1997 on the same grounds.

Moreover, the Basic Law establishes that a state of emergency in the SAR will be declared by the NPC on one of the following conditions: (1) the country is in a state of war with a foreign state; and (2) a turmoil has occurred within the SAR, and that turmoil endangers the national unity or security and is beyond the control of the Hong Kong SAR government. Hong Kong people worried that this regulation meant that the central government could at any moment abandon the Basic Law and replace it with other national laws. According to Chan (1996:33), the same law in force on June 4, 1989, in Beijing could be implemented in the Hong Kong SAR.

The Hong Kong SAR will have no power to amend the Basic Law (Article 159). The NPC retains this constitutional authority. The SAR, nevertheless, may propose amendments of the law. Even this would also require the consent of two-thirds of the deputies of the SAR to the NPC, two-thirds of all the members of the Legislative Council of the SAR, and the Chief Executive.

e. Direct Elections

As pointed out earlier, the Hong Kong government had issued a Green Paper entitled "The Future Development of Representative Government in Hong Kong" in July 1984, two months before the Joint Declaration was initialed. The Green Paper addressed the most controversial aspect of democracy - the direct elections to the Legislative Council. In short, the people of Hong Kong were led to believe that the Green Paper had mapped out the path to a directly elected legislature. In November 1984, a subsequent White Paper entitled "The Further Development of Representative Government in Hong Kong" ostensibly confirmed the need to institute democracy right away.

According to the Basic Law, however, only 24 of the 60 members in the first term of the legislature of the Hong Kong SAR (1997-99) would be returned by geographical constituencies through direct election. Ten members will be returned by an election committee and 30 by functional constituencies. In the second term (1999-2003) and the third term (2003-2007), the directly elected members will be increased to 24 and 30 respectively. It should be noted that although the elected element will steadily increase until it reaches 50 per cent in 2007, a fully directly elected legislature requires the endorsement of two-thirds of the members and the approval of the Chief Executive. There is, in short, no guarantee that the legislature will ever be fully elected by direct universal suffrage (Chan, 1996:33).

A recent attempt by the last British Governor of Hong Kong, Chris Patten, to widen the bases of democratic participation[8] was viewed by Beijing as a violation of the Basic Law and the previous agreements between the two sovereign powers. Consequently, the PRC government pledged to replace all three tiers of representative bodies elected under the proposals of this last Governor, including the District Boards, the Regional and Urban Councils, as well as the Legislative Council, in 1997. The people of Hong Kong are particularly concerned with Beijing's proposal to replace the legislature with a provisional one. The establishment of a provisional legislature will doubtlessly throttle the democratic election

of the Legislative Council, thereby enabling the Chinese government to gain full control of the legislature.

2.2.4. The Uncertain Future of Hong Kong

The emergence of the 1997 problem in Hong Kong, as pointed out by Lau (1990:18), has "caught the Hong Kong Chinese off balance and created psychological disarray among them". The preservation of the capitalist system and the provision for a high degree of self-government, as enshrined in both the Joint Declaration and the Basic Law should theoretically have settled for good the future of the territory. Unfortunately, the deep-seated mistrust of the intentions and capabilities of China, as well as the unpredictability of China's future, make Hong Kong's future exceedingly uncertain in the mind of the Hong Kong people.

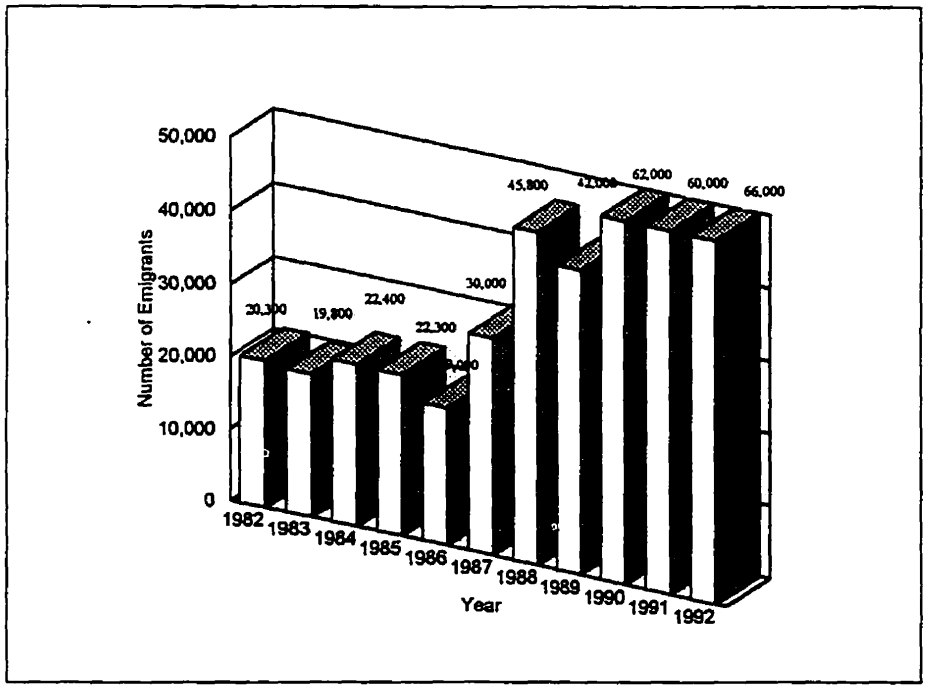
It is without doubt that the future of Hong Kong ultimately depends on developments in China, particularly the continuation of its open-door policy, progress in its economic reforms, achievement in its economic development, and smooth leadership succession. During the transitional period, Beijing's paramount concern in Hong Kong, as argued by Luk (1994:10), is absolute control in order to secure the economic prize, to prevent the natives from getting restive, and to forestall the Hong Kong experience with human dignity and civil society infecting the Mainland provinces.

China has apparently not been very successful in bolstering the confidence of the people of Hong Kong. As noted by Chan (1996:35), various surveys have demonstrated that the political expectations and confidence of Hong Kong people has been declining since the signing of the Joint Declaration. In a more recent territory-wide poll conducted by the Chinese University of Hong Kong in the summer and autumn of 1991, only 11.2 per cent of the respondents trusted the Chinese government, compared with 42.6 per cent who revealed a trust for the Hong Kong government, and 20.2 per cent who trusted the British government (cited in Cheng, 1992: xxiii). As well, the Hong Kong Baptist College's "Hong Kong Transitions Project" poll of 1,109 Hong Kong households demonstrated that 78 per cent believed that the SAR

government would be plagued by corruption and 63 per cent had no trust or slight trust in China's adherence to the terms of the Basic Law (cited in McMillen and Man, 1994).

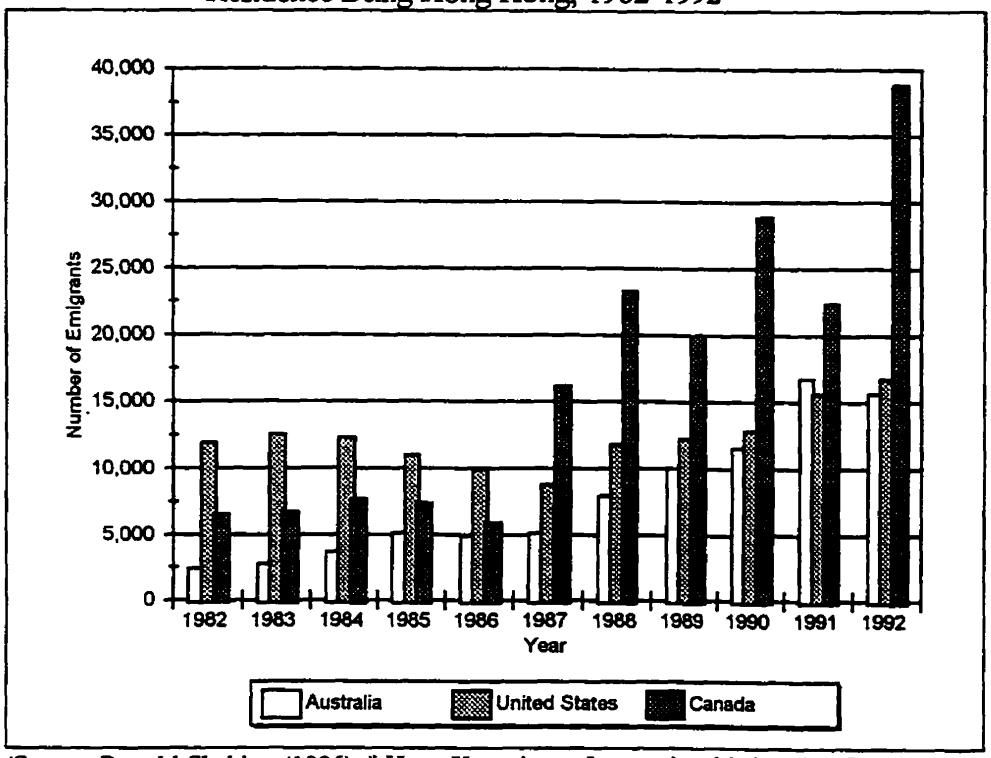
The lingering insecurity over the future of Hong Kong has led to the mass exodus of the people in Hong Kong. According to official statistics published in the annual Hong Kong report by the Hong Kong government, the number of persons leaving the territory increased from an average of 20,000 a year in the early 1980s to 30,000 in 1987, and reached 66,000 in 1992 (see Figure 2-1). The Hong Kong government acknowledged that this was due to a combination of factors, including concern about Hong Kong's future after the change of sovereignty in 1997 and immigration opportunities in the more popular destination countries (Daryanani, 1994:412). Quite noticeably, official statistics has also demonstrated that Canada has been the most favoured country of destination (see Figure 2-2).

Figure 2-1: Official Hong Kong Government Estimates of Emigration, 1982-1992



(Source: Ronald Skeldon (1996). " Hong Kong in an International Migration System" in M.K. Chan and G.A. Postiglione (eds.), The Hong Kong Reader: Passage to Chinese Sovereignty. London: M.E. Sharpe, Table 7.2)

Figure 2-2: Immigrants to Major Destinations Whose Last Place of Permanent Residence Being Hong Kong, 1982-1992



(Source: Ronald Skeldon (1996). " Hong Kong in an International Migration System" in M.K.Chan and G.A. Postiglione (eds.), The Hong Kong Reader: Passage to Chinese Sovereignty. London: M.E. Sharpe, Table 7.1)

2.3. THE CARIBBEAN DIASPORA IN CANADA

Emigration has long been customary in the Caribbean.[9] As suggested by Lowenthal (1975), although Caribbeans are rather insignificant in the international migration stream, those who have gone overseas, to Europe and to North America, comprise a significant proportion of the islands' total populations. Some go away for good, others only briefly, still others move back and forth many times; but emigrants of all types consider North America and Europe as arenas of opportunity they hope will compensate for the felt inadequacies of life in the Caribbean archipelago. In fact, the local drawbacks that impel people to leave stem from an insular geography and a history of slavery and colonialism. Natural resources in the Caribbean region are very restricted; diseconomies of scale and limited local markets place them at an increasing disadvantage for the production and distribution of goods and social services. Local labour can find few employment opportunities, and those who need jobs must search for them elsewhere.

Gmelch (1992:57) summarizes well the patterns of Caribbean migration since emancipation:

> ... over time the migrants moved further and further afield, first off the plantations but within the British colonies, followed by wider movements to the non-British Caribbean and Central America, and then in this century to Britain, the United States, and Canada. Second, the movements have been in the direction of available jobs. And, not infrequently, the migration was actively encouraged by foreign governments and companies .... The destinations of the migrants have also been determined by the immigration policies of the foreign governments ... In short, West Indian migration, like migration from most Third World countries, has generally been a consequence of the dependent and underdeveloped position of the Caribbean economies vis-à-vis the wealthy metropolitan societies. Finally, the West Indian migrations generally have been of a temporary nature. Although many workers did remain behind in the host countries, nearly all left their homelands expecting to return, and many of those who remain abroad today hang onto the notion that someday they will go home.

According to Walker (1984:12), several surveys have been conducted to define the primary motivation for Caribbean migration to Canada, and it is apparent that economic and social mobility is a goal shared by most Caribbeans who arrive with the expectation that they will enjoy certain benefits in reasonably shorter order. Many aspire to accumulate sufficient wealth to enable them to return to the Caribbean with their savings and establish a better life at home. Only a small proportion are committed at the time of their arrival to remain permanently in Canada.

Richmond (1989:2-3) observes that there are immigrants in Canada from almost everywhere in the Caribbean; however, the leading countries of last permanent residence reported by Caribbean immigrants have been Jamaica, Guyana, Haiti, and Trinidad. According to the 1991 census, there are 269,705 persons of Caribbean birth living in Canada. They are from the former British and present French and Dutch Caribbean. There are also 39,880 persons born in Haiti, most of whom live in Quebec. As well, there are 4,780 persons from the Spanish Caribbean, including Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico (Henry, 1994:28).

2.4. CANADA: THE PROMISED LAND?

This section focuses on why Canada appears to many aspiring immigrants as a favoured country of destination. Four specific "pull" factors, including immigration policy, multiculturalism policy, degree of institutional completeness, and educational opportunities, will be discussed.

Speaking generally, Canada is a desirable place to live, work, and raise families because of its political stability, high standard of living, relative lack of racial tension, as well as the openness of its educational system. The fact that Canada accepts a large number of immigrants every year is due to its low fertility rate, relatively high out-migration rate, aging population problem, and economic needs. With regard to issues of out-migration and low birth rate in Canada, Statistics Canada concluded in 1985 that with an annual emigration level of approximately 50,000 persons and a total fertility rate stabilizing at the level of 1.7 births per woman, Canada would need 175,000 immigrants to stabilize its population each year (*Globe and Mail*, January 4, 1988).

Besides, immigration is the easiest way to maintain a vibrant society and to reverse the dwindling birth rate in view of Canada's aging population. As explained by Weinfeld (1988): assuming that Canada's current total fertility rate of 1.67, and annual net migration of about 75,000 remain constant into the next century, Canada's population would be 31 million, with approximately 18.5 per cent over 65 by 2021. By the middle of the next century, the population would decline to 29 million, with roughly 23.3 per cent over 65. In other words, there will be a decrease in total population but an increase in the number of old people.

As producers and consumers, immigrants are considered to be important stimuli for stimulating economic growth. Not only do they ease labour shortages caused by capitalist expansion, they also take jobs that many Canadians are unwilling to do. With the relatively young age of most immigrants, they are quite likely to underwrite the future costs of servicing

an increasingly aging and shrinking population (Elliott and Fleras, 1990:61). In 1984 alone, for instance, 2,094 immigrant entrepreneurs were admitted to Canada, investing $817 million and creating 8,271 jobs (Malarek, 1987).

2.4.1. Immigration Policy

Prior to 1962, Canada's immigration policy was discriminatory with respect to the social, ethnic, and racial backgrounds of prospective immigrants. In 1962, Canada made major alternations in its immigration policy and regulations to introduce the universal point system governing eligibility. In other words, applicants for permanent residence needed to attain a certain number of points, which were awarded for language skills, education, age, and relatives already residing in Canada.

Canada's immigration laws and regulations exist in a combined domestic and global environment that is constantly changing. For instance, in the early 1980s, Canada had to close its door to immigrants because the unemployment rate had increased to more than 10 per cent, and immigrants were perceived to be taking jobs from Canadians. Immigration levels were subsequently reduced from between 130,000 and 140,000 for 1982 to a record low of 85,000 and 90,000 for 1985. According to Statistics Canada, however, the birth rate in Canada had dropped to an average of only 1.66 children for every woman of childbearing age, down from 3.85 three decades ago. The population decline in Canada eventually would affect the country's economy unless more immigrants were admitted. The Minister of State for Immigration announced in 1985 that the immigration door, which had been virtually closed since 1982, would be open again in 1986. In order to prevent a decline in Canadian population by the turn of the century, between 105,000 and 115,000 immigrants were to be accepted in 1986 (Lai, 1988: 110).

As well, immigration policy will determine the characteristics of the immigrants. In January 1986, for example, the Canadian government established a new category within business immigration[10], the investor class. This category was intended for people who had considerable

capital to invest in a Canadian enterprise but were not interested in the hands-on management of it. As with the entrepreneurial class, the goal remained to create or maintain jobs. Investors were not required to participate actively in the operation or management of the enterprise. This investor scheme was built on the belief that this approach would help to fulfil the overall objectives of business immigration policy; that is, to promote, encourage, and facilitate the immigration to Canada of experienced business people with risk capital (Dirks, 1995:106). More specifically, the investors and their families would be admitted as immigrants if the investors had a successful track record in business in their native land and a net worth of at least half a million dollars and invested $250,000 in an approved business for three years in Canada. Apparently, this program has attracted many wealthy Hong Kong entrepreneurs and investors to Canada.

On the other hand, Henry (1994:29-30) pointed out that a noteworthy feature of Caribbean migration has been the pattern of women immigrating alone. This differs significantly from most migratory movements in which more men than women migrate to a new country. In 1981, the ratio of men to women was 0.83, but if only those from Jamaica are counted, the sex ratio was 0.71 (i.e., 0.71 men to every woman migrated). This imbalance, particularly in the early years of the Caribbean migration to Canada, reflected in part the government's domestic labour schemes in which women were allowed entry into the country if they agreed to work as domestics for one year[11]. On the whole, based on a detailed analysis of the socio-demographic profile of Caribbean immigrants in Canada, Anderson (1993:62) concluded that:

> ... it would be a fair and accurate assessment that the volume of Caribbean immigration into Canada over the period 1967-1989 and its proportion of the national total both indicate that the Caribbean area has attained and continues to maintain a preferred area status for supplying the priority manpower and skill needs of Canada.

2.4.2. Multiculturalism

Immigration over the decades has drastically changed the ethnic make-up of Canada. As pointed out by Samuel (1990:3), ethnic groups other than British or French represented only

10 per cent of the total population in 1881. In 1991, the same groups were 42 per cent of the population. According to cautious estimates based on conservative assumptions, the visible minority population increased from 6.3 per cent of the population in 1986 to 9.1 per cent in 1991 (Samuel, 1992:17).

A major feature of contemporary Canada is its espousal of multiculturalism as a basic tenet of its policies for immigrant settlement and for ethnic/racial relations. In the sense that members of ethnic minority groups are allowed, even encouraged, to preserve their own cultural heritage, children may be raised in a manner that diverges sharply, in terms of value orientations and achievement motivation, from socialization practices of the two charter groups.

Multiculturalism as a government policy can be said to have been at least symbolically beneficial in that Canada now officially celebrates its ethnic diversity and encourages the expression of unique ethnic cultures. Various minority ethnic groups have established themselves as part of the Canadian identity and are now recognized in the school curriculum and in national patriotic events. One major feature of this change for newly arrived immigrants is that government services and programs (e.g. ESL programs) are generally more accessible.

2.4.3. Institutional Completeness

The concept of institutional completeness, which will be elaborated further in the third chapter, refers to the extent to which an ethnic group in a particular locale possess organizations developed by or for members of that ethnoculture (Breton, 1964). The degree of institutional completeness of an ethnic group reinforces their ethnic identity and interpersonal ties. The more institutions an ethnic group is able to develop, the more organized it is, and the greater its possibility of maintaining ethnic identity (Henry, 1994:232). As well, Richmond (1967:16) remarked that institutional completeness depends on the presence of church, cultural and recreational clubs, own schools, doctors, lawyers, social welfare, radio programs, newspapers, and youth groups. Relatedly, the concept of "community closure" refers to the process by which community members, once they have formed communal relationships, tend to

monopolize economic, political, and social advantages. Closure may be attained by communities located at various positions along the stratification continuum. When applied to ethnic communities, ethnic community closure attains or maintains a positively esteemed form of ethnic identity (Henry, 1994:232).

Quite noticeably, new Chinese immigrants are most likely to prefer to go to Toronto, Vancouver, Montreal, and Calgary (Cannon, 1989: 230). It is obvious that these are places where Chinese communities are already well-established. As pointed out by Lai (1988:157), unlike old Chinatowns, these new Chinatowns are not merely Chinese residential areas and rarely have Chinese institutions. Recent Chinese immigrants can readily gain access to a wide range of official information printed in Chinese, and can gain advice from well-established community organizations and local Chinese-Canadian professionals. As noted by Lary, Inglis, and Wu (1994:421), there are also a range of Chinese social institutions including newspapers, retailers, and Chinese religious organizations to which the new immigrants have access.

Using the Chinese media network in Toronto as an example, four daily newspapers (*Sing Pao, Ming Pao, World Journal, and Sing Dao Daily*) are being published, television programs are being broadcast through CFMT channel 47 and Fairchild Television-Canada's National Chinese T.V. Network, and radio programs are being broadcast on three stations (AM 1430, AM 1540, FM 88.9). A Yellow Pages telephone directory is also available in the Chinese community. Of course, Hong Kong Chinese would find Canada attractive as not only can they enjoy a wide range of economic and social services catering to their needs, they can regard the Chinese communities as an identity and a root of Chinese heritage in Canada.

Focusing on the Caribbean community in Toronto, Henry (1994:233) suggested that the process of institutional completeness has proceeded to a considerable extent. Observation of the services available in the community indicate that the range of services available is extensive. It ranges from simple services, such as shops, to advanced professional services in medicine, accountancy, and financial services. Furthermore, Henry (1994:233-234) provided an analysis

of the advertisements placed in *SHARE*, the main newspaper serving the community and concluded that:

> ... over 500 services and products were being advertised. The most represented institutions are community services and organizations funded by the government. Air travel services take up most of the advertising space in SHARE ... A few educational and cultural institutions, as well as legal and health services, are featured. Although there are in all likelihood more churches in the community than groceries, few churches would choose to advertise for worship. Other business advertised included restaurants, real estate, meat market, tropical foods, and clothing. While medical, legal, and dental facilities are available to the community, these advanced professional services are still in limited supply .

2.4.4. Educational Opportunities

The educational system in Canada is well-established. This is attested by the significant number of international students who come to study every year. Indeed, previous studies (Chow, 1990; Mickle, 1984) on foreign students from Hong Kong, many of whom were prospective immigrants, demonstrated that the frequently mentioned reasons for coming to Canada to further their studies included "a wider choice of fields in Canada" and "more colleges and universities in Canada".

According to Tan and Roy (1985:18), the Chinese "firmly believe that education is the means to upward mobility and success". Similarly, Caribbean parents are said to place an inordinately high value on education as well. As stated by Henry[12] (1994:126):

> Even poor single mothers will do their utmost to ensure that their children receive as much schooling as possible their efforts to make sure that their children have at least one clean uniform and one pair of shoes are legion. Descriptions of such efforts are highlighted in much of the fictional work produced by Caribbean writers. Classic writers such as George Lamming discuss the emphasis on the importance of the school in the poorest home. More recently, S.B. Jones-Hendrikson's description of growing up poor in St. Kitts pointedly stresses the significance of school in the lives of students and parents.

Emphasis on education by both the Chinese and Caribbeans may also be related to their colonial experiences. As Calliste (1980:214-215) remarked:

> Colonialism had both demonstrated the ingredients of "the good life" and denied or limited the opportunity for their achievement. It had provided, through education, in particular, the channel for upward social mobility, Even if only a few benefitted from moving along this channel, the large majority knew of its existence and were prepared to undergo many sacrifices in order to benefit from it. Thus education has been presented to students as a way of their achieving a social status different from their parents.

Notes:

[1] In 1968, Richard Hughes published a book entitled Hong Kong: Borrowed Time-Borrowed Place. His chosen title emphasizes that Hong Kong is a borrowed place living on borrowed time. He was uncertain at the time of writing as to whether the Hong Kong miracle would survive until 1997.

[2] In 1898, Britain took advantage of China's defeat by Japan in the war of 1894-95 to demand the lease of the area north of Kowloon for 99 years. As pointed out by Miners (1991:3), the British government would have preferred the outright cession of these New Territories. However, since Russia, Germany, and France were also demanding the grant of territorial concessions from China at this time, were content to accept 99-year leaseholds or less, Britain reluctantly agreed to similar terms.

[3] Beijing criticized it as a "three-legged stool" concept , which was considered to infringe on the sacred right on the PRC government.

[4] It should be noted that the Beijing authorities' thinking about China's reunification the Hong Kong and Taiwan issues are closely related. Chinese officials expect that the "one country, two systems" formula will be applied to Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the territory of Macau, which, although predominantly populated with Chinese, has had a capitalist system since 1887, established by the Portuguese who settled there in 1557 (Wang, 1995:41). This "one country, two systems" policy has been criticized by Weng (1988:89) as conceptually bold and creative, but ultimately contradictory, overbearing, and transitional in nature. More specifically, such a policy is contradictory because it proposes to have a capitalist local system operating under the administration of a communist central government. It is overbearing as the two systems are unequal in status and size, so that one side is likely to be overwhelmed by the other in the normal course of development. Finally, it is transitional because the lifetime for the survival of the capitalist system is limited and its future adaptation to socialism more or less predestined.

[5] The Hong Kong government published a Green Paper entitled "The Further Development of Representative Government" in Hong Kong on July 18, 1984 and invited public comment on the proposals put forward in it. The Green Paper proposed "to develop progressively a system of government the authority for which is firmly rooted in Hong Kong, which is able to represent authoritatively the views of the people of Hong Kong, and which is more directly accountable to the people of Hong Kong" (cited in Tang and Ching, 1994:161).

[6] When the Chinese and the British began official negotiations in September 1982 about the future of Hong Kong, the British Nationality Act (BNA) 1981 had already been passed. It came into force only on January 1, 1983 (Shah, 1995:91). According to this Act, British nationality into several categories. The status of BDTC carries with it no right of abode as such anywhere in the Empire. A Hong Kong BDTC can only obtain the right of abode in Britain after having gained admission to Britain in accordance with the criteria of the Immigration Rules, and after having satisfied the various registration criteria. Understandably,

Hong Kong people were disappointed that Gibraltarian BDTCs could acquire British citizenship by exercising a right to register under section 5 of the BNA 1981. Further, by the British Nationality (Falkland Islands) Act of 1983, BDTCs from the Falkland Islands automatically became full BCs with effect from January 1, 1983, the date when the BNA 1981 came into force. Dummett and Nicol (1990: 250-251) have observed that racial line drawn in British nationality law was thus sharpened, since Gibraltar and the Falklands were the only dependencies with white populations. Although there had been support from Parliament during the enactment of the BNA 1981 to include Hong Kong subjects as full BCs, the government easily resisted it. The numbers involved, as argued by Bevan (1986:127), were the significant determining factor (Bevan, 1986:127). Specifically, it was assumed that the 2.6 million British Chinese in Hong Kong would all be anxious and able to move to Britain before 1997 (Dummett and Nicol, 1990:242). Bevan (1986:136) further noted that the Falklands and Gibraltar concessions "indicate the inherently political nature of nationality laws and the sort of narrow 'kith and kin' citizenship laws which the UK, like all other states, is ultimately willing to accept".

[7] During the construction about a year after the protest, it was discovered that about one-third of the steel bars which should have been included in the foundation of the building to house the reactor had been left out inadvertently (Luk, 1994:14)

[8] Under Governor Chris Patten's formula for the 1995 elections, thirty members would come from functional constituencies, each representing an economic, social, professional, or other sector of the community; 20 would be returned by direct elections in geographical constituencies covering the entire territory (up from 18 in 1991); and 10 would be elected by the Election Committee Constituency comprising members of the district boards. This plan, as pointed out by Shipp (1995:103), would raise voter participation for functional constituencies from 110,000 in 1992 to approximately 2.7 million voters without increasing the number of legislative seats to be decided by direct election. The Governor also called for lowering the voting age from 21 to 18 and proposed direct voting for all candidates of district and municipal boards in Hong Kong, positions which had previously been filled by appointment

[9] According to Anderson (1993:26), the Caribbean proper, from a geographical viewpoint, is that archipelago of island territories stretching from Florida on the southern tip of North America to Venezuela and the Guyanas on the northern coast of South America. The islands of the Greater Antilles and those of the Windward and Leeward parts of the Lesser Antilles are included. This chain of islands separates the Atlantic Ocean from the Caribbean Sea. Technically speaking, the Caribbean excludes the mainland territories of Central America, but frequently Guyana on the south American mainland and Belize (formerly British Honduras) are included when reference is made to the English-speaking Caribbean.

[10] Under the business immigration program, business immigrants fall into three major categories: self-employed business people (those who have the ability to establish a business which will make a significant contribution to the economy or to cultural and artistic life of

Canada); investors (those who have a proven track record in business and have accumulated the required networth of 500,000 or $700,000 and are prepared to commit their funds as required in any one of the three investment tiers); and entrepreneurs (those who have the ability to establish or buy a substantial interest in the ownership of a business or commercial venture) (Statistics Canada, 1990:27).

[11] In the late 1970s, a new scheme for domestics was instituted whereby women were allowed to enter Canada on work permits for a period of two years. They were to work only as household domestics and their tenure in Canada did not allow them to apply for Canadian citizenship. This scheme was changed in 1984. Women recruited as domestic workers were henceforth eligible to apply for Canadian citizenship once they have been in this country for three years (Henry, 1987:216).

[12] The sixth chapter "The Educational Experiences of Caribbean Youth" in Frances Henry's book was written Daniel Yon.

CHAPTER 3: IMMIGRANT ADAPTATION: THEORY & LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section provides a critical examination of the theory of assimilation and the major theoretical models which have been developed for the study of the adaptation and development of immigrant groups. The inter-ethnic relations, particularly the dilemmas and contradictions of ethnic pluralism in Canada, will be discussed. The second section reviews the various empirical studies, including their theoretical approaches, on the adaptation experiences of Chinese immigrants in both Canada and the United States. The final section focuses on the methodological approach in the study of the adaptation of immigrants.

3.1. THE THEORY OF ASSIMILATION

The dominant conceptual framework in the study of immigrant groups in North America has been represented by the assimilation model. One of the earliest and perhaps most influential statements of the assimilation model was embodied in the classic race relations cycle advanced by sociologist Robert Park (1964:150):

> In the relations of race there is a cycle of events which tends everywhere to repeat itself ... The race relations cycle, which takes the form ... of contacts, competition, accommodation, and eventual assimilation, is apparently progressive and irreversible. Customs regulations, immigration restrictions, and racial barriers may slacken the tempo of the movement; may perhaps halt it altogether for a time, but cannot change its direction; cannot, at any rate, reverse it.

Park explained that groups of people first come into contact through either exploration or migration. A competition between the groups is subsequently set into motion for land, scarce resources, as well as goods and services, a competition in which conflict frequently erupts. Overt conflict will gradually become less frequent as one of the two groups establishes dominance over the other. The groups develop some fairly regular or customary ways of living together. This is the point at which they are considered to have accommodated to one another.

The stages of this cycle are "the processes by which the integration of peoples and cultures have always and everywhere taken place" (Park, 1964: 104). In other words, this four-stage cycle pertained to race relations everywhere, not just the United States.

Beginning with the first contacts, various individuals within the two groups learn some of the language, customs, sentiments, and attitudes of those in the other group. This process, initiated in the contact phase of the group's relations with one another, gains momentum after the more or less stable period of accommodation has been reached. As the groups continue to live together, a "progressive merging" of the smaller group into the larger would take place. The members of the smaller group increasingly adopt the language, manners, and public customs of the larger group. Except in the case of physical differences, this process has "erased the external signs which formerly distinguished the members of one from those of another" (Park, 1964:205). Park saw the sequences as "apparently progressive and irreversible".

Park's model has been subject to much criticism. First of all, Park's fundamental assumption, as pointed out by Blauner (1972), is that assimilation and integration are in the long run the most probable and even desirable outcomes of racial and ethnic heterogeneity. This argument fails to take into consideration the aspirations of the minority groups in developing their own culture and institutions. Implicit in this view is also the assumption that the cultural traditions of minority groups are either non-existent or inferior to those of the dominant society.

Lieberson (1961) contended that Park's race relations cycle is inadequate as it fails to recognize that differences in power relations in the original contact situations may produce different stratification outcomes. In particular, Lieberson distinguished between two different situations of ethnic stratification, namely migrant superordination (i.e., one in which the migrating group is the dominant ethnic group) and indigenous superordination (i.e., one in which the group residing in the region at the time of contact is dominant).

In migrant superordination, the economic, political, and cultural institutions of the subjugated indigenous population are undermined. However, conflict with the dominant group can persist over long periods of time as the subordinate indigenous group seeks to maintain its traditional institutions. This situation, exemplified by the Indian-white relations in the United States, is classic colonialism, in which the subordinate group strenuously resist assimilation. On the other hand, when the migrant group is subordinate, its decision to enter another society is more likely to be voluntary. As well, it is more likely to accept assimilation into the dominant society. This is exemplified by the experience of most European immigrants to America.

Hune (1991) further suggested that some of the underlying assumptions in Park's model were being overlooked. In advocating integration, American social scientists assumed that the homogeneous culture and society would be primarily Anglo-Saxon. As well, they assumed that the "outsiders" shared these values and ideals, and that they concurred with this view of the U.S. society. The assimilation process was not to be a two-way process as some immigrants had hoped, for immigrant cultures were still considered inferior. Another fundamental assumption was the belief that consensus was good for America and diversity, because of its potential for conflict, was bad.

Another crucial weakness of the assimilation perspective is that cultural differences have been emphasized at the cost of entirely structural concerns. Li and Bolaria (1979) advocated the need for a deeper analysis of the structural conditions which have a lasting impact on ethnic groups, especially those from a visible minority. They argued that the distinctiveness of cultural origin has been over-emphasized, and that these differences have been used by academics and policymakers in explaining ethnic differences. For example, differences of economic inequality between ethnic groups have been attributed to differential degrees of assimilation or non-assimilation, depending on one's stance within the assimilation school.

Furthermore, this model has been applied as a descriptive and explanatory tool of the same ethnic phenomenon. Li and Bolaria (1979:102) clarified this point well:

> The persistence of certain cultural traits (Fong, 1973) or cultural institutions (Breton, 1964) are sometimes used as indicators of the particular stage the ethnic group is in, along a continuum of integration or assimilation. Other times, cultural traits are interpreted as resultants of certain stages of assimilation in that certain groups maintain a certain cultural heritage because they are not as yet assimilated to the dominant culture.

In other words, they argued that it is a conceptual tautology to apply the terms as simultaneous causes and consequences. In the study of intergroup relations, the conditions which are caused by specific ethnic culture need to be isolated from those which are not the result of a given ethnic origin.

Despite the criticisms outlined above, Park's race relations cycle has undeniably been well received in American society. Hune (1991:270) pointed out that his model was well received, in part, because it represented what so many people wanted. Americans were generally relieved that the diverse members of its society could be integrated with a minimum of disruption. Similarly, minority group members eager to accept the American Dream were anxious to believe that in due time racial prejudice and xenophobia would be overcome. Bash (1979:113) also stressed that the tenacious preoccupation with assimilation in sociology is not because assimilation represents a scientifically provocative instance of social process, but because it constitutes a programmatically attractive option for social policy. It is informed, not through a logical connection with an impelling theoretical system, but by an ideological extension from a compelling socio-political commitment.

3.2. ANALYSIS OF IMMIGRANT ADAPTATION: MAJOR THEORETICAL MODELS

Park's model, despite its shortcomings, stands as a precursor to subsequent, more sophisticated theories of the assimilation process. In the course of criticism, many significant contributions have been made to our knowledge of this subject.

a. Milton Gordon. In his book, Assimilation in American Life, Gordon (1964) advocated that it is useful to view assimilation as a collection of sub-processes rather than as a single process. The major contribution of Gordon is his complex multi-linear, multi-dimensional view of the assimilation process. His 7-stage theory focuses on the immigrants' withdrawal from the ethnic group or community and entrance into the dominant group, including (1) cultural or behavioural assimilation (acculturation), involving a change of behavioural and cultural patterns to those of the host society; (2) structural or social assimilation, large-scale entrance into cliques, clubs and institutions of the host society; (3) marital assimilation (amalgamation), large-scale intermarriage; (4) identificational assimilation, the development of a sense of peoplehood based primarily on the host society; (5) attitude receptional assimilation, the absence of prejudice; (6) behavioural receptional assimilation, the absence of discrimination; and (7) civic assimilation, the absence of value and power conflict.

Gordon regarded structural assimilation as the most crucial stage in the assimilation process. It is only once structural assimilation has occurred that the subsequent stages, that is, exogamy, development of a national identity, reduction of prejudice and discrimination, and changes in attitudes, beliefs, and values, are rendered more likely. Failure to achieve structural assimilation nullifies the other stages, consequently halting the assimilation process. His major distinction of cultural and structural assimilation has had widespread application. In fact, a review of empirical studies on immigrant adaptation in Canada indicates that Gordon's theoretical approach has been widely adopted (e.g., Baker, 1989; Hazuda, Stern, and Haffner, 1988; Iadicola, 1981; Lai, 1971).

Doubtlessly, Gordon's model is useful to the analysis of inter-ethnic relations as it spells out the intricacies of the assimilation process and the various forms and degrees it manifests. One serious shortcoming of Gordon's assimilation model, according to Marger (1994), lies in its understanding of structural assimilation as entailing interaction with the dominant group merely at the primary level. Intergroup relations, however, occur at the secondary level as well and indeed are antecedent to primary relations in any significant degree. Gordon failed to consider issues such as the extent to which members of a minority ethnic group enter into positions of power in the society's economic, political, and other key institutions, and the extent to which they are afforded opportunities in employment and education equal to those of the dominant group. These are significant measures of structural assimilation - at the secondary level.

Marger (1994:125) further stated that Blacks in the United States appear to have entered into rather substantial interaction with the dominant group in recent years in the areas of work, government, and to a lesser extent, residence. They have, in other words, experienced increasing secondary structural assimilation. That they have not accomplished an equivalent level of interaction with whites at the primary level would, in Gordon's view, imply that little structural assimilation had occurred.

Moreover, Gordon seemed to suggest that if minorities do not enter into primary relations with the dominant group, it is because the dominant group has held them out. Social segregation, however, may be largely voluntary. In addition, Gordon's model has, like Park's, been criticized by some as implying a unidirectional movement whereby groups, though perhaps delayed indefinitely at one stage, do not return to earlier stages. The assimilation process is, in this view, invariably progressive in direction. Finally, Yinger (1994) insisted that three of these varieties - absence of prejudice, absence of discrimination, and absence of value and power conflict can actually be seen as causes and then as consequences of the extent assimilation, rather than as types of assimilation.

b. Ronald Taft. Taft (1957) conceptualized assimilation as a process of resocialization. Assimilation includes a combination of psychological and behavioural factors such as changes in attitudes, values, and identification; acquisition of new social skills and behavioural norms; and changes in reference and group affiliations and emotional adjustment to a changed environment. Consideration is also given to certain societal factors within the host group which might affect the level of assimilation of the immigrant. The level of receptivity of the host society or the absence or presence of educational and employment opportunities afforded by the host society to the immigrant can hinder or accelerate the assimilation process.

Assimilation, as perceived by Taft, is composed of five stages. The first stage involves acquiring knowledge of the host group culture on a variety of levels (such as historical, political, social, etc.) and learning the new language. The second stage involves the social interaction with the host group (i.e., the attempt of the immigrants to be accepted and to make friends). The third stage involves the identification of the immigrants as a member of the host group through participation in clubs, associations, and organizations. The fourth stage involves social and emotional identification of the immigrants to the host group where they designate it as their own reference group. The final stage involves conforming to group norms. It is at this stage that the immigrants adopt the values, attitudes, and expectations about people's behaviour that are held by the host society.

c. Ruth Johnston. Johnston (1963) indicated that assimilation has been traditionally conceived in terms of the diminution of external differences between immigrants and members of the host society. She defined assimilation both in terms of external and subjective assimilation. External assimilation implies the immigrant's lesser distinguishability from members of the host group. In particular, she maintained that in order to be fully assimilated immigrants must not only dress, speak and profess to be like the members of the host community, but they must also make a conscious effort to identify with the host culture adopting its ways and values and approving of them as just and proper for themselves. This is

referred to as "subjective assimilation". To be totally assimilated, one must be both externally and subjectively assimilated.

d. Alan Richardson. Richardson (1961, 1967) in Australia developed this subjective dimension of assimilation to a further extent. He postulated that an immigrant in a new country undergoes a sequence of three stages: (1) satisfaction; (2) identification; and (3) acculturation. Immigrants initially experience some degree of satisfaction with their lives in the host culture due to the novelty of the new environment, the social freedom of their roles and the need for self-justification for their initial decision to emigrate. This is characteristically followed by a lowering of satisfaction typical after six or seven months of residence. The novelty of the immigrants' new environment wears off and they begin to realize more fully the difference between their old community and their new one.

As the immigrants come to establish themselves occupationally, economically, residentially, and socially, their positive attitudes towards and satisfaction in the new environment return. Once the immigrants have achieved a certain level of satisfaction with their lives in the host country, they enter the second stage of assimilation. The identification stage is characterized by the active participation of the immigrants in the activities of the new community, and increased tendency to think of themselves as a member of the cultural group as reflected in the use of "we" and "our" pronouns when referring to the host group. Having achieved a certain level of identification, the immigrants pass to the third and final stage. It is at this acculturation stage that the immigrants make a conscious attempt to adopt the appearance, social behaviours, values, and norms of the host group as their own.

Although Richardson's and Taft's theory of assimilation were developed in Australia and Gordon's in the United States, similarities could be seen in the various stages they postulated. Gordon's acculturation stage is similar to Richardson's third and Taft's fifth stage; Gordon's structural assimilation bears resemblance to Taft's third stage of identification; and finally,

Gordon's identificational assimilation is similar to Richardson's second and Taft's fourth stage of psychological identification.

e. John Goldlust and Anthony Richmond. Goldlust and Richmond's (1974) theory, which will be elaborated in the final section of this chapter, analyzed how the pre-migration characteristics and conditions of the immigrant and the situational determinants of the host society combine to affect the adaptation process. In other words, the adaptation process is conceptualized as a complex of variables. Pre-migration characteristics, including education, degree of urbanization, and motive for emigrating, and the socio-political conditions of the receiving society, such as government policies, pluralism, stratification, and prejudice, among others, combine to influence the objective (political, economic, social) and subjective (identification, internalization, satisfaction) aspects of the immigrants' adaptation.

3.3. MANAGING DIVERSITY IN CANADA: THE CANADIAN MOSAIC

In Assimilation in American Life, Gordon (1964) presented, in addition to a theory of assimilation, a description of three ideologies of assimilation, including Anglo-conformity, melting pot, and cultural pluralism, that have been used to explain the dynamics of intergroup relations in American life.

a. Anglo-Conformity. The Anglo-conformity model was defined by Gordon (1964:85) as "the complete renunciation of the immigrant's ancestral culture in favor of the behaviour and values of the Anglo-Saxon core group". This version of the assimilationist model in the American historical experience has emphasized conformity by minority groups to dominant group standards - the desirability and necessity of maintaining English social institutions, the English language, and English-oriented cultural patterns. This model assumes that an ethnic minority should give up its distinctive cultural characteristics and adopt those of the dominant group (Gordon, 1964). In fact, Newman (1973:53) suggested that this model can be expressed

by the formula A + B + C = A, in which A is the dominant group and B and C represent ethnic minority groups that must conform to the values and life styles of the dominant group; they must "disappear" if they wish to achieve positions of power and prestige in the society.

b. Melting Pot. As indicated by Gordon (1964:85), the melting pot is referred to "a biological merger of the Anglo-Saxon peoples with other immigrant groups and a blending of their respective cultures into a new indigenous American type". Similar to Anglo-conformity, the objective of a melting pot policy is a society without ethnic differences. More tolerant than a policy of Anglo-conformity, the melting pot ideal sees ethnic differences as being lost in the creation of a new society and a new people - a synthesis unique and distinct from any of the different groups that formed it. Unlike Anglo-conformity, none of the contributing groups is considered to be superior; each is considered to have contributed the best of its cultural heritage to the creation of something new.

The melting pot ideal, according to Newman (1973:63) can be expressed by the formula A + B + C = D, in which A, B, and C represent the different contributing groups and D is the product of their synthesis. The melting pot model assumes extensive interaction in both public and private spheres between two or more groups such that each contributes equally to a merging and blending of peoples, cultures, and institutions. Given this assumption, continuous contact between these ethnic groups will result in a transformation of the characteristics of the participating ethnic groups and the development of one distinctive new culture and ethnic unit. Since the model assumes no ascriptive barriers to ethnic integration, it should ideally facilitate the development of a common sense of national identity. Indeed, the melting pot conception has been perhaps the most widely idealized popular conception of how ethnic groups have been integrated into American society. It was a prominent feature of Frederick Jackson Turner's 1893 frontier thesis, which for generations provided the most definitive and compelling interpretation of what was most distinctive about American society. According to Turner, "in

the crucible of the frontier the immigrants were Americanized, liberated, and fused into a mixed race" (Turner, 1966:12).

c. Cultural Pluralism. First popularized in the 1920s by the social philosopher, Horace Kallen, who used it as a rejoinder to Anglo-conformity and melting pot perspectives on American identity, cultural pluralism has become over the past few decades a favoured interpretation of American society. Gordon (1964:85) defined it as "the preservation of the communal life and significant portions of the culture of the later immigrant groups within the context of American citizenship and political and economic integration into American society".

Pluralism rejects the inevitability of cultural assimilation. As the term has been applied to American society, pluralism is a system in which groups with different cultural practices can co-exist and be preserved but simultaneously embrace common values and beliefs and participate in common economic, political, and social institutions. Each group should be permitted to retain its unique qualities while affirming its allegiance to the a larger society. This model, as suggested by Newman (1973:63), can be expressed by the equation A + B + C = A + B = C, in which A, B, C are each ethnic groups that maintain their distinctiveness over time.

In addition, this model requires some degree of integration on the part of the participating ethnic groups to facilitate effective participation of their members within the public sphere of secondary, societal institutions. At the same time, a certain degree of social segregation is encouraged so as to maintain the growth of the ancestral culture and identity of the various ethnic groups. The model assumes relative equality (in terms of power, privilege, and prestige) among the ethnic groups. A society predicated on the cultural pluralism model could, at the same time, encourage a common sense of national identity and a distinctive sense of ethnic identity.

d. The Canadian Mosaic. Hughes and Kallen (1974) stated that the Anglo-conformity, melting pot, and cultural pluralism models are ideal types which do not exactly correspond with the empirical picture of minority ethnic integration within any society at any given time. Nevertheless, it has often been noted that a major factor differentiating the Canadian and American ethnic systems is how the two countries regard relations among diverse groups and the eventual absorption of these groups into the larger society. More specifically, Canada has been considered as a society in which ethnic group differences are tolerated more so than in the United States. The popular phrases of comparison are mosaic, supposedly characteristic of Canada, and melting pot, supposedly characteristic of the United States.

Palmer (1976: 488), however, insisted that this view oversimplifies both the American and the Canadian experiences. It also ignores the fact that the mosaic approach has not always been the prevailing attitude towards immigrant adjustment in Canada. He believed that Canada and the United States have shared similar immigration policies, particularly on the issue of the types of ethnic, national, and racial groups that were the most desirable. As well, the history of racism, nativism, and discrimination has been rather similar in both countries. In fact, a recent study by Reitz and Breton (1994) confirmed that while there are differences of tone in ethnic and race relations in Canada and the United States, the differences between the two countries in terms of their effects on the experiences of minority groups may be more apparent than real. In particular, they stated that the differences between rates of assimilation of minorities in the two countries seemed to be small, and the differences varied with the aspect of assimilation considered. Differences in the extent of economic opportunity were small as well.

Apparently, the dual national character of Canada has made ideas of ethnic assimilation problematic. Given the historical fact of two founding groups, neither the Anglo-conformity nor the melting pot model could have the same meaning in the Canadian context as in the American. The question is how different ethnic groups can assimilate into the dominant culture and society when there are two dominant groups. When there is no uniform "Canadian way of

life" to serve as a societal reference point, the idea of "Canadianizing" people becomes an empty notion. As Hiller (1976: 107-108) explained:

> If one group had dominated, there would have been more accord about the specific nature of the dominant culture; but since the British and French were in conflict themselves, the society had greater built-in tolerance for the perpetuation of ethnic identities.

Li (1988) also elaborated on this point:

> ... it is often difficult for Canadians to define what a Canadian is, let alone explain to immigrants how to become one. In the absence of an objective criterion of assimilation, any sign of immigrants' behaviour that may suggest an adherence to non-English language and culture is often taken to mean little or no assimilation, no matter how irrelevant these behaviours may be to surviving in North American society.

Canada has, nevertheless, prided itself on creating and maintaining its multi-ethnic composition as well as its "mosaic" approach to dealing with minority ethnic groups. Fleras and Elliot (1992: 66) explained that when Canada is described as a multicultural mosaic, each of the tiles (i.e., individual cultures) is considered as relatively equal in size with respect to its status and role in Canadian society. Each contributes proportionally to the overall image.

In 1971, the government proclaimed its official stand on how to treat ethnic groups by enacting a multicultural policy. This affirmation had come after the publication of the Royal Commission Report on Bilingualism and Biculturalism a year earlier. This report and the issue itself reflected the intention of the then Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau to create a national ideology rooted in the promise of cultural diversity. According to Wright and LaBar (1984: 112-113), the Prime Minister "envisioned a society in which members of all cultural groups would have equal economic, social, and political opportunities; the distinctiveness of a number of separate cultural groups would be encouraged ... national unity would be brought about by interaction among diverse cultural groups". Anderson and Frideres (1981) considered the

Canadian government's renewed interest in the area of inter-ethnic relations resulting from three major factors, including the growth of federal revenue and of state intervention in society in general; the political development in Quebec; and the growing assertiveness of the more influential and powerful of the "other ethnic groups".

Multiculturalism and a commitment to an ideology of culturalism, however, has been both a high profile and contentious government policy since its origin. Bolarai and Li (1988) contended that the multicultural policy merely succeeds in managing race and ethnic relations within a state apparatus; that is, the multicultural programs provide an outlet for minorities to organize themselves under state supervision. This is accomplished through fiscal control of ethnic associations, whereby the nature, duration, and amount of grants ethnic associations receive fall in line with the officially defined priorities of multicultural programs.

Li (1988) stated that multiculturalism offers both financial assistance and legitimacy to minority leadership and organizations and promotes cultural novelties and ethnic entertainments which do not threaten the livelihood of average Canadians. Multiculturalism as a state policy is, therefore, appealing to both the majority and minority groups. Li and Bolaria (1983:1) were highly critical of multiculturalism as it tends to operate mainly at the level of folk activities. In their words: "the irony of multiculturalism is that it furnishes Canadian society with a great hope without having to change the fundamental structures of society. Multiculturalism is the failure of an illusion, not of a policy". As well, Roberts and Clifton (1982) suggested that the official multicultural policy simply reinforces token or symbolic pluralism.

Moreover, Bolaria and Li (1985) insisted that multiculturalism policy fails to combat racism and discriminatory practices. In fact, a recent study by the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews found that racism in Canada is increasing. Twenty-five per cent of Canadians believe that there is a "great deal of racism" and 61 per cent say there is "some racism" in Canada. The

report also found that those most likely to be discriminated against are Canadians of African origin, Native Canadians, Canadians of South-Asian/East Indian descent, Asians, and Jews (Decima Report, 1993: 19-20, quoted in Alladin, 1996: 10).

As stated earlier, ethnic groups in a culturally pluralistic society are believed to share some aspects of a common culture and participate collectively in its economic and political life while retaining their unique ethnic culture. According to Steinberg (1981), critiques of pluralism argued that pluralists downplayed the problem of racial and ethnic inequality, and that their view of a pluralistic society often assumes a basic equality for all groups. Although various minority groups may collectively participate in the same economic and political institutions, the participation is more marginal for some than for others. This is especially evident in the unequal access both to the political arena and to the social rewards in the Canadian society.

Furthermore, in a society which is structured on systemic inequality, pluralism can only be an ideal for some ethnic members, as there is no tenable basis for permanent ethnic preservation (Steinberg, 1981). The pluralist perspective also unduly emphasizes the transplanted culture from the old country as the principal antecedent and defining characteristic of ethnic groups (Yancey, Ericksen and Juliani, 1976) and it overlooks the structural conditions of the host society in shaping ethnic inequality. For instance, Li (1976) argued that the historical exclusion of the Chinese in America, and not the sojourner orientation which channelled them into ethnic business.

Indeed, Porter's (1965) thesis of the vertical mosaic has served as a provocative focus of research linking ethnicity and ethnic inequality. In The Vertical Mosaic, Porter (1965) has found that the maintenance of ethnic cultures appears to be a sustaining factor in the Canadian class system. In particular, a clear relationship was shown between ethnicity and various measures of social class. The pattern which emerged from his analysis was a three-part structure made up of British and French charter groups, the former at the top of the income

and occupational hierarchies, followed by later-arriving European ethnic groups and, finally, native peoples. This notion of a vertical mosaic implied that Canadian society was not just ethnically differentiated, but was also ethnically stratified.

It is peculiar to note that two decades after publication of The Vertical Mosaic, Porter co-authored a paper entitled "Ethnic Origin and Occupational Attainment", claiming the "collapse of the vertical mosaic" (Pineo and Porter, 1985:390). This view, as argued by Lautard and Guppy (1990), is apparently at odds with new government policy and with other sociological research revealing the continuance of intense ethnic antagonism and discriminatory behaviour (e.g., Henry and Ginsberg, 1985; Robson and Breems, 1986).

Lautard and Loree (1984) and Lautard and Guppy (1990) attempted to defend the vertical mosaic model by studying the occupational differences among various ethnic groups. These two studies revealed that occupational inequality was found to have declined over time (i.e., between 1931 and 1986). Although Lautard and Guppy (1990) admitted that the differences have shrunk and that differences may be a result of differential immigration rather than blocked mobility, they maintained that occupational inequality was still substantial enough to justify the use of the "vertical mosaic" concept to characterize this particular aspect of ethnic relations in Canada.

The relationship between the persistence of individual ethnic cultures and the degree of equality with which ethnic groups participated in the social, economic, and political life of the wider society was examined by Breton et al. (1990). This study was based on an interview survey of eight ethnic groups in Toronto, including German, Italian, Jewish, Ukrainian, Chinese, Portuguese, West Indian, and British/Irish, and concluded that the relation between ethnic persistence and inter-ethnic equality was highly variable. Sometimes, and in some respects, ethnic persistence was an obstacle and a liability; sometimes, and in other respects, it

was an asset and actually enhances economic and political participation. And sometimes ethnicity did not seem to matter at all.

In an attempt to ascertain whether ethnic identity is a resource or drawback for social mobility, Isajiw, Sev'er, and Driedger (1993) studied the Germans, Italians, Jews, and Ukrainians in Toronto. This study revealed that there were differences between the types of ethnic identities, and the levels of retention (or loss) of ethnic identities among the four groups. Moreover, strong support was found for the convergence hypothesis. In other words, all four groups made significant gains in both occupational and educational mobility across generations. Their results, nevertheless, failed to support the fears that ethnicity retarded mobility. The researchers, therefore, acknowledged that their findings may or may not apply to other ethnic groups, that the four groups in their analysis were not in the lowest strata of the ethnic stratification system, and that all four were white racially.

In The Ethnic Myth, Steinberg (1981) challenged the conventional wisdom on race and ethnicity. He rejected the prevailing view that cultural values and ethnic traits are the primary determinants of the economic destiny of racial and ethnic groups in America. He proposed that locality, class conflict, selective migration, and other historical and economic factors played a far larger role not merely in producing inequalities, but in maintaining them as well.

The debate on whether Canadian cultural policy can maintain a simultaneous commitment to cultural pluralism and ethnic equality is likely to continue. More studies need to be done before firm conclusions can be drawn. In any event, Canada is a North American experiment in ethnic pluralism. This experiment is apparently still in the testing stage, and its outcome uncertain (Marger, 1994). In considering the future course of race and ethnic relations in Canada, special attention should be given to three critical issues. The first is concerned with French-English schism. Whether Quebec will remain in the Canadian union or eventually seek the way of independence is an issue that in the 1990s remains unresolved. This ethnic conflict

will surely continue to dominate internal politics in Canada. In fact, this issue has been complicated in recent years by the Quebec's government 's adoption of its own version of multiculturalism, which it calls a policy of "cultural convergence". As pointed out by Reitz and Breton (1994:14), this Quebec policy, instead of encouraging the perpetuation of separate languages and cultures, seeks to promote a fusion between majority and minority cultures.

The second issue of concern is the question of whether the multicultural policy will eventually translate into a real alteration of the ethnic hierarchy - affording them greater, and eventually proportional, power, privilege, and prestige. Whether an advanced multiculturalism will move Canada increasingly toward corporate pluralism, a term used by Gordon (1975, 1981) to describe societies where cultural differences among ethnic groups are protected by the state, remains to be seen.

The final issue deals with the change in the racial and ethnic makeup of the future immigrants. The composition of the immigration flow in recent years have changed in the direction of "visible minority" immigrants. According to Samuel (1988), the proportion of visible minorities in Canada (both foreign born and native born) increased from 4.7 per cent of the total population in 1981 to 5.6 per cent in 1986. By 2001, their proportion is expected to be between 8.7 per cent and 9.6 per cent depending upon the level of immigration.

There is, however, a growing restiveness over the shift in immigration patterns. A 1989 national poll indicated that although 63 per cent of Canadians supported the multicultural policy, 61 per cent also felt that immigrants should change their distinct culture so as to blend with the larger society (Maclean's, 1989). A more recent national survey revealed that nearly half of the Canadian public felt that Canada should accept fewer immigrants (Bozinoff and MacIntosh, 1992). Similar findings from a series of opinions on attitudes of Canadians toward immigration have been summarized by Reitz and Breton (1994: 77-78) as follows: " Angus Reid Group In. (1989: 4-5) reports that the proportion of Canadians who think too many

immigrants are coming to Canada increased from 30 percent in May 1988 to 31 percent in February 1989 and 43 percent in August 1989. An Ekos Research Associates Inc. poll showed that this proportion had risen to 53 percent by February 1994".

3.4. REVIEW OF STUDIES ON ADAPTATION OF CHINESE IMMIGRANTS

Comparatively speaking, there is a paucity of studies concerning the adaptation of minority immigrants in Canada, whereas a plethora of research exists in the United States. This section will review studies dealing with the adaptation of Chinese immigrants that have been conducted in both countries. The theoretical framework guiding these studies would also be outlined.

3.4.1. Studies on Chinese Immigrants in Canada

a. Cultural Dimension. A majority of studies focuses on the cultural dimension of adaptation. The cultural aspect involves the adoption by one ethnic group of another's cultural traits, such as language, religion, and diet. This dimension has also been referred to as acculturation (Gordon, 1964; Yinger, 1981).

Using the theoretical framework advanced by Milton Gordon, Lai (1971) studied the new Chinese immigrants in Toronto. The study found that Chinese examined in the study were only partially culturally assimilated, partially structurally assimilated, and although a significant proportion had a strong civic-identificational assimilation, and tended to be insistent with respect to the preservation of their language and overall cultural identity. Based on the results of the study, the author has pointed out that complete assimilation in any one area tends not to occur and each aspect of assimilation may occur simultaneously. In other words, unlike the viewpoint some sociologists (e.g., Richardson, 1961), assimilation does not occur in stages, forming a continuum.

In order to understand the relationship between the proficiency in English and cultural background of Chinese immigrant students and their educational and social development, Wong (1977) surveyed the Chinese immigrant students attending various professional schools at the University of Toronto. Using Goldlust and Richmond's multivariate model of immigrant adaptation as one of the conceptual frameworks for the study, Wong has pointed out that as a consequence of the interaction of the various pre-immigration characteristics and situation determinants with their length of residence, the Chinese immigrant students adopted one of the two identities - Chinese or Chinese-Canadian. More importantly, students in the two identity groups seemed to differ significantly in a number of variables, including intent to become a Canadian citizen, frequency of using English, proficiency in English, ethnic background of their best friends, choice of a future marriage partner, perception of similarity of interests between Chinese and Canadian students, and perception of respect for Chinese people.

Wolfgang and Josefowitz (1978) analyzed value differences between Chinese immigrant and Canadian-born high school students from non-Chinese backgrounds. The impact of the Canadian experience on traditional Chinese values was also assessed by examining the amount and type of attitude change experienced by immigrants to Canada. Based on the results of a questionnaire survey involving 400 students in Metro Toronto, the researchers concluded that values held by Canadian born students and Chinese immigrant students were similar. Results also demonstrated that the longer in Canada the more the Chinese students adopt Canadian values of individualism while becoming more traditional in their view of family and more concerned that their social interactions be smooth.

In response to Reitz's comparative study on the survival of ethnic groups in 1980 which suggested that Chinese may be the most cohesive ethnic group in Canada after economic factors have been taken into account, Friesen's (1988) study provided insights into (a) how the Chinese have managed to preserve their group cohesiveness and maintain many of their cultural traditions throughout their second and third generation, and (b) the mechanisms the Chinese

leaders used to successfully perpetuate Chinese culture in Canadian society. His study of the leaders of Chinese organizations in Calgary concluded that they utilized various cultural maintenance techniques. In particular, this study has demonstrated institutional and informal socialization patterns at work through the operation of Chinese clubs, family associations, schools, churches, and business associations. The five ethnic newspapers and Chinese television and radio broadcasts further helped to unite the Chinese community and encourage language retention. The Chinese leaders have, nevertheless, recognized that the erosion of Chinese has continued as the essence of Chinese culture is not rite or artifact; but ideology.

Adopting an intergroup perspective on immigration acculturation, Lalonde and Cameron (1993) examined whether more "stigmatized" immigrant groups (non-white immigrants in the Canadian context) would perceive themselves as being at a greater disadvantage and would be more likely to support a collective approach to acculturation than less "stigmatized" immigrant groups (i.e., immigrants of European origin). Interestingly, the study has found that black Caribbean and Chinese-speaking immigrants perceived themselves to be at a greater disadvantage in Canada than Italian and Greek immigrants. This was true for both first- and second- generation immigrants.

In an examination of the impact of family values and schooling in home country, as part of a cultural model, on the adaptation process of the children of Chinese immigrants from Mainland China. Sun (1993) has found that in the initial phases of the children's adaptation in a new and culturally different setting, the traditions and habits that the parents brought from their home country, such as those reflected in the parents' educational expectations for their own children and their input in the children's education, were still highly relevant factors bearing on the rate of adaptation. In other words, the main frame of reference for the parents in coping with children's transition difficulties remains primarily to be the value structures formed in their homeland.

Thomson (1991) described and analyzed the folk customs of the members of the Chinese Association of Newfoundland and Labrador to determine the impact of folklore and folklife on the acculturation process and vice versa. Using participant observation as the methodology, the researcher confirmed that folk customs and acculturation did impact upon each other. This was visible in the retention of non-verbal elements such as food practices, rather than the retention of the Chinese language. Children served as a catalyst for both maintaining Chinese traditional observances and adopting Newfoundland festivals. Other significant factors influencing acculturation included migration patterns, physical environment, technological changes, as well as the traditions and folk customs of the host society.

Liu (1991) conducted a study of the foodways of three Chinese immigrant families in St. John's, Newfoundland. The focus was on two forces, continuation of Old World food habits and acculturation of New World practices, in the current foodways complex of three families. The study has found that the tendency to acculturate and the tendency to keep separate from the host culture existed in juxtaposition in all three families. The researcher indicated that both forces assumed their own place in the resultant foodways complex for the Chinese families, specifically, with respect to the procurement of foodstuffs, meals, and food in relation to custom and belief.

b. Ethnic Language Retention. An ethnic group's language provides efficient communication among group members, preserves the ethnic culture, and maintains collective ethnic identity and solidarity. The retention or loss of ethnic language entails significant consequences for ethnic community structure. A few studies focus on the ethnic language retention of Chinese immigrant children.

A study dealing with the effects of parents on ethnic language retention by children in five Chinese communities in urban Canada was conducted by Cheung (1981). Parents' direct promotion of ethnic language was found to be the only variable that had a strong direct effect

on children's language retention. Parents' direct promotion was related positively to their ethnic community involvement, but negatively to their knowledge of English/French. Moreover, parents' ethnic identification and their length of time in Canada had no significant relationships with the above variables. The finding of this study was contrary to the conventional assimilationist view that all ethnic groups assimilate into the host society and that their levels of assimilation increase with time.

Yu (1987) examined how heritage language learning affected Chinese immigrant children in Newfoundland. The study has found that a majority of the 41 students (82%) felt learning Chinese was useful, particularly those who were born outside Canada. Various reasons were given in response to why they felt that way. The major reasons were to communicate with grandparents and with other Chinese, to travel back to their native home, to read Chinese newspapers and to watch Chinese movies. Some acknowledged that they were Chinese, that the Chinese language was part of their heritage, and that being bilingual helped their future career. As well, about three-fifths of the participants responded positively that they liked to learn Chinese.

Chan (1989) focused on the process of mother tongue maintenance among Chinese adolescent students in Toronto. Using ethnographic methods, this study identified a number of factors that were considered significant in the process of mother tongue maintenance, such as the valorisation of the mother tongue both in the community and in the home, age of arrival and length of residence of the adolescent, the general orientation toward the two languages in the home, the presence of a definite language policy in the home, the amount of opportunity for the adolescent to continue to use the mother tongue to "get things done". The researcher concluded that while mother tongue maintenance ultimately hinges on the individual's attitude and motivation, a whole multitude of factors impact on the process of mother tongue maintenance.

c. Psychological Well-being and Mental Health. The assimilation of minority groups has been viewed, traditionally, from the sociological perspective. However, psychological changes, attitudinal and behavioural, have also been woven into the process of social assimilation (Fong, 1965). An increasingly number of studies focus specifically on the psychological well-beings of immigrants. Such concern is apparently based on the recognition of the "problematic" nature of the cross-cultural adaptation process.

Using a case study approach, Lee and Cochran (1988) studied the adjustment decisions of women who emigrated from Hong Kong to Vancouver, British Columbia. They have found that adjustment seemed to be characterized by potent conflicts located in everyday practical situations. Common themes of conflict involved Chinese and western value opposition, the need for personal development, and the fear of social isolation.

Lin (1993) examined the psychological adjustment and coping strategies of Chinese immigrants in Metro Toronto. In particular, Chinese immigrants were found to be more likely to endorse higher levels of stress, anxiety, depression, and somatization than were the Caucasians. A number of background dimensions appeared to moderate the likelihood of psychological stress, the most salient being the level of English proficiency. Other factors included the existence of social or family support and length of residence in Canada.

Psychological adaptation during acculturation was studied among 68 Chinese sojourners (students and visiting scholars from China and Hong Kong) by Zheng and Berry (1991). This study also involved the participation of 28 Chinese immigrant and Chinese-Canadian students, 30 Chinese immigrant and Chinese-Canadian students, as well as 33 non-Chinese Canadian students as comparison groups. Findings have shown that the Chinese sojourners reported lower English fluency, lower ease of making friendships, more adaptation and communication problems, and lower subjective adaptation than non-Chinese Canadian, or Chinese-Canadian students. Moreover, health status was confirmed as a frequent outcome for individuals

undergoing acculturation . The contribution of this study was in demonstrating the relationships between health concepts, health causation, health beliefs, health behaviours, and adaptation outcomes.

d. General Gratification with Life. Chan (1987) conducted a study on the problems encountered by Chinese students at the University of Calgary. Participants included visa students, landed immigrants, and Canadian citizens. This study concluded that half of the respondents had moderate or serious problems with enrollment quotas, finding jobs in between terms, finding jobs that pay enough for expenses to attend university, and insufficient advice from foreign student advisors. As well, more than a third of the students had problems with negative attitudes of some Canadians to skin colour, insufficient advice from academic advisors, dating practices of Canadians, sexual customs in Canada, and negative attitudes of some students towards foreign and immigrant students.

3.4.2. Studies on Chinese Immigrants in the United States

The study of cross-cultural adaptation of immigrants has been particularly active in the United States, a nation in which immigrants and ethnic diversity have always been an issue of serious concern due to greater salience of racial conflicts.

a. Cultural Dimension. Fong (1965) studied the assimilation orientation and social perception of 336 college students. The psychometric findings supported the thesis that as Chinese became progressively removed from their ancestral culture and in greater contact with the dominant American culture, they demonstrated a concurrent increase in their assimilation orientation and in their internalization of American perceptual norms. The indexes of progressive removal utilized were generation, citizenship, area of residence, and social groups. The Westernized Chinese from Hong Kong were found to be highly internalized, by Western standards, the least assimilation-oriented.

The assimilation of Chinese-Americans in Washington, D.C. was examined by Kuo and Lin (1977). The study focused on the effect of socio-economic status on assimilation. Two contradictory hypotheses on the pace of assimilation of Chinese-Americans were tested. The study found that higher socio-economic attainment had an insignificant effect on the Chinese-American's centrifugal tendencies when the effects of education were controlled. This finding contradicts the notion that the achievement of occupational or economic success motivates Americanization. The evidence demonstrated that education exerted sizable effects on the absorbing of Chinese-Americans, while the Chinese friendship tie served to sustain the Chinese subculture. Overall, most Chinese-Americans have preserved their key cultural values. The researchers argued that the relatively low pace of assimilation among Chinese-Americans was attributed to their sub-societal structure, which is a consequence of the difference in racial and cultural distinction from American whites.

Comparing the assimilation experiences of Chinese in New York City and Lima, Peru, Wong (1978) concluded that the Lima Chinese were substantially more assimilated than their New York counterparts and attributed this distinction in part to differences in attitudes of the larger societies in which the two Chinese communities were embedded. Discriminatory immigration and miscegenation laws and endemic racism in the States inhibited the assimilation of the New York Chinese, while a substantially lower level of racial prejudice and official discrimination in Peru facilitated the assimilative process there.

Using the theoretical scheme proposed by Gordon, Yao (1979) examined the assimilative patterns of first-generation Chinese Americans in metropolitan areas. Particularly, their assimilation in terms of both intrinsic and extrinsic cultural traits was measured by two attitude inventories. Comparison between the intrinsic and extrinsic cultural traits demonstrated that the former revealed a lower degree of assimilation than the latter. The inconsistent patterns of assimilation shown by the sample seemed to be coherent with the theoretical schemes proposed by Gordon (1964), Kiefer (1974), and Newman (1973).

McLeod (1986) examined the features of assimilation theory in light of the experience of the new immigrant Chinese professionals in California. Noticeably, the attitudes and new behaviours of these new Chinese immigrants suggested a departure from the assumptions of the linear replacement process posited by assimilation theory. While they have become more Americanized, they have also enhanced their Chinese identity as a result of raising their children as a minority in American society. The researcher concluded that assimilation theory presents an incomplete picture of immigrant adaptation and ignores relevant macro-level and micro-level variables. Factors that were found to have significant influence on the lives of these immigrants included: historical cohort effects, age and life cycle effects, and status effects.

Lee and Yamanaka (1990) analyzed the patterns of Asian American (Chinese, Filipino, Indian, Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese) intermarriage and marital assimilation. Intermarriage implies marital assimilation which, according to Gordon's (1964) model of assimilation, is contingent on prior cultural and structural assimilation. For the purposes of comparison, additional samples of Hispanics, Blacks, Hawaiians, native Americans and Eskimos were included. Using the 1980 U.S. Population Census data, this study has shown that Japanese Americans had the highest out-marriage level (34%), followed closely by Koreans and Filipinos with about 30 per cent. The Chinese and Indians were the lowest, with only about 15% intermarriages. Based on the fact that the level of intermarriage among Asian Americans was substantially higher than that for Blacks and Hispanics, the researchers postulated that if present levels persist, prospects for the eventual social assimilation of Asian American society are favourable.

Drawing on an investigation of the relationship between acculturation, ethnic identity, and perceived prejudice in Chinese immigrants and Chinese-Americans, Pu (1994) has pointed out that ethnic identity was positively related to perceived prejudice, and that acculturation was negatively associated with ethnic identity and perceived prejudice. In other words, those who were more acculturated into the mainstream American culture perceived lower prejudice and

identified less with the Chinese culture, and vice versa. It has also been found that age at immigration, English proficiency, age, and length of residence in the states bore significant relationship with acculturation, ethnic identity, and perceived prejudice; in contrast, income, education, and religious involvement did not.

Yu (1994) investigated relationships among self-esteem, acculturation, and recreation participation among recently arrived Chinese immigrant adolescents in New York City. The research findings showed that these immigrant students were at a low level of acculturation, but had a moderately high level of self-esteem. They participated most frequently in home/indoor activities and were attracted to different types of mass media using Chinese languages. Students with higher levels of acculturation participated more often in recreation activities, especially in sports. They affiliated more often with organizations for recreation, especially with organized religious groups.

In an examination of the cultural adjustment difficulties of Asian international people (i.e., Asians from the Indian subcontinent, Chinese, Koreans, Japanese, and Malaysians) and Asian Americans (i.e., Asian Indians, Chinese Americans, Japanese Americans, Koreans, and Vietnamese), Lai (1993) has concluded that perceived prejudice, family closeness, generation level, and religion were significant predictors for the cultural adjustment difficulties for both groups.

Hsu (1982) evaluated the possible educational effects on two groups of Chinese new immigrants who took a course entitled "Family Life and Health Education" as a part of their high school graduation requirements. One group of students was taught through a culturally relevant theme, and the other was taught a culturally foreign theme. The conclusion drawn in this study was that students' achievement scores and self concept scores were positively related to culturally relevant class experiences. The researcher argued that within a multi-racial, multi-cultural society, it is imperative for educators to possess the necessary conceptional tools and

social skills to deal with students from families of unlike classes, races, and national origins. As well, educators need to better understand the meaning of basic social and cultural differences and their effects upon the students motivation in learning and perception of their life chances in terms of upward mobility.

Sung (1983) documented the adjustment process of Chinese immigrant children and youth in New York City during the late 1970s. The major hypothesis of this study was that with the improved social climate and the more tolerant attitude of the American people toward ethnic minorities since the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the experiences of new immigrants would be correspondingly more favourable and the immigrant experience less stressful. It has been found that social institutions such as the school, the community, and the family served as strong props in the relatively healthy adjustment experiences of the children. The most disquieting syndrome was the lack of parental presence in the home.

b. Ethnic Language Retention. A survey of 127 second-generation Chinese American adults was conducted by Li (1995) to look retrospectively at the phenomena of language retention and loss in adult children to identify the factors that might have led to their respective linguistic outcomes. This study confirmed the importance of continued use of the heritage language as the primary language of communication among family members, both children and adults. The most important factors in their acquisition and subsequent retention of Chinese were the use of Chinese by the child in speech directed to parents and grandparents and the use of Chinese by these significant adults in speech directed to the child. Other variables that were found to be positively related to Chinese language retention were parental directives to speak Chinese, time spent in Chinese-speaking countries and attitudes regarding ethnic identity, all of which evoked a sense of need to speak the language.

c. Communication Patterns. There has also been an increasing number of studies which focus on immigrants and their communication patterns (e.g., Dunn, 1973; Kim, 1977; Yum,

1982; Yum and Wang, 1983). As argued by McGuire and McDermott (1987), it is crucial to study the specific communication behaviours and patterns of immigrants because they are related to the processes of assimilation or to the opposing state of alienation. Schneider (1985) developed a theoretical framework for examining the acculturation process of Chinese immigrants. Focusing on communication variables, five levels of analysis have been suggested for assessing acculturation as a continuous rather than dichotomous variable: the speech act level, ritualistic communication, strategic communication, the organization of conversational discourse, and verbal information processing.

d. Residential Dimension. Patterns of residential integration have been one of the most frequently examined indices of assimilation, particularly in the United States. Massey and Mullen (1984:837) have referred to it as spatial assimilation and defined it as "the process whereby a group attains residential propinquity with members of a host society".

Lobo (1993) attempted to assess and compare the socio-economic and residential patterns of Asians (Chinese, Indians, Japanese, Koreans, Vietnamese) and Hispanics (Cubans, Dominicans, Mexicans, and Puerto Ricans) living in the United States and to explore the structural underpinnings of their status. The three major findings included: (a) there was a positive association between the class background at entry and the subsequent socio-economic assimilation of immigrant cohorts; (b) native-born Asians and Hispanics would be better assimilated socio-economically than their ethnic immigrant counterparts; and (c) groups that were more integrated economically would have a higher degree of spatial assimilation.

Fang (1995) proposed that macro-economic conditions, along with individual and group characteristics interacted with factors of assimilation and ethnicity, thereby jointly structuring the spatial mobility of immigrants. Using census data on foreign-born Chinese population of the States, it has been found that while employment in ethnic enclaves did limit the spatial mobility of Chinese enclave workers to affluent suburbs, it did not block their migration out of the

enclave. Immigrants possessing substantial stocks of human capital were found to be more likely to work in non-ethnic sectors. They also tended to concentrate in certain growing metropolitan areas while residing in suburbs and other locations with a low concentration of ethnic population.

e. Economic Dimension. Chen (1995) studied the Chinese immigrants in the U.S. labour market. The researcher has rightly argued that most researchers have usually treated Chinese immigrants in the United States as a homogeneous group regardless of their country of origin - mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. Because of different levels of economic development and different kinds of political systems in the three areas, the researcher suggested that the Chinese immigrants are likely to be at differing quality levels, and to experience different assimilation rates. The results of this study indicated great differences among Chinese immigrants from the three areas in age, wage rates, years of schooling, and industrial and occupational distributions. Immigrants from China tended to be older and less educated than immigrants from Hong Kong and Taiwan. The study has also found that the three Chinese groups experienced substantial assimilation into the U.S. labour market during the 1980s.

f. Psychological Well-being and Mental Health. A study was undertaken by Tabora (1994) to investigate the vulnerabilities to depression among Chinese immigrant women. These vulnerabilities included the circumstances that increased their risks and their cultural beliefs and help-seeking behaviours which might prevent early intervention. This study has demonstrated that self-esteem was the best predictor of depression followed by economic strain and level of acculturation. The personal resources of hardiness and social support buffered stressors secondary to the acculturation experience at various points along the process. Participation in the decision to immigrate, preparation to immigrate and English ability were the best predictors of knowledge of knowledge of resources and beliefs about mental illness.

Cheng (1994) examined the degree of depression and risk factors among adolescent Chinese immigrants. Using migration status (accompanied and unaccompanied), gender, and whether they had visited their home country as three predictor variables, this study has revealed that the unaccompanied experienced a much higher degree of depression than their accompanied counterparts. The unaccompanied also reported a higher degree of somatization and psychological distress than their accompanied counterparts. In addition, male subjects were found to have had more days of cutting class than their female counterparts. On the contrary, female subjects immigrants reported a slightly higher degree of depression, psychological distress, and somatization than male subjects. Those who had visited their home country experienced a similar degree of depression and psychological distress than those who had not been back.

3.4.3. A Summary of Review of the Literature

A review of the literature on the adaptation of Chinese immigrants in Canada and the United States demonstrates that a number of important areas of analysis have been largely untouched. First of all, most studies tended to focus on a single dimension, such as the cultural, economic, or spatial aspect of the immigrants' adaptation. It is vital to recognize that the adaptation of any immigrant group should be viewed as a multi-dimensional phenomenon. The immigrants' adaptation in one area is likely to have an impact on their experiences in other areas. Secondly, the degree of satisfaction with life in the host country needs greater research attention. Thirdly, the high-school-age immigrant group has been neglected. Thus, it would be illuminating and crucial to examine the adaptation experiences of Chinese immigrant students at the high school level using a multivariate approach.

3.5. A METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF IMMIGRANT STUDENTS

Methodologically, the single assimilation-index (e.g., Richardson, 1961; Taft, 1961; Taft and Dorczy, 1962; Johnston, 1969) and multivariate (e.g., Kosa, 1957; Jansen, 1971; Lai, 1971; Goldlust and Richmond, 1974, 1975; Hazuda, Stern, and Haffner 1988; Ueda, 1978; Wong-Rieger, 1981) approaches have been widely used in the study of immigrant adaptation. Participation-observation-interview approach has also been employed (e.g., Child, 1943, Luce, 1990).

This section proposes the use of a multivariate model to study the adaptation experience of immigrant students. First of all, although Breton and Pinard (1960:465) indicated that concepts such as acculturation, integration, assimilation, adaptation, or absorption all refer to the same phenomenon, the term "adaptation" should be used in preference to the others. While lacking specificity and requiring a more precise operational definition for purposes of empirical research, the term "adaptation" has the advantage of not involving a priori value judgements concerning desirable outcomes or conveying the same ideological overtones that have come to be associated with the notion of "assimilation".

As well, Michalowski (1987) recognized that adaptation is a multi-dimensional phenomenon embracing various factors, including satisfaction, identification, cognitive, linguistic and behavioural assimilation, economic performance and social integration. In fact, as pointed out by Liberson (1961), the convergence of an immigrant population, in time, to a state of assimilation with the indigenous population, may be a special case of certain type of adaptation, while the convergence of the members of a receiving society toward the characteristics of the migrant group may be another.

The development of a multivariate model to study immigrant adaptation was based primarily on a recognition of the fact that human behaviour is the complex outcome of various

determinants and only a very few of these can be adequately observed. As indicated by Goldlust and Richmond (1974:196-197), the multivariate model assumes that:

> The immigrant population is heterogeneous and is influenced by a variety of pre-immigration characteristics and conditions. By the same token, the receiving society is recognized as heterogeneous and undergoing change. This provides a variety of situational determinants that will affect the type of mutual adaptation taking place between migrants and those of the receiving society. Out of this interaction will emerge new social patterns that are determined by the complex interplay of the technological, demographic, economic, cultural and social forces.

The multivariate model of immigrant adaptation proposed by Goldlust and Richmond is represented in Figure 3-1. The effects of pre-immigration factors (i.e., education and technical training, prior urbanization, demographic characteristics, auspices, and motivation) on the one hand, and the situational determinants in the receiving society (i.e., demography, urbanization, industrialization, government policies, pluralism, and stratification) on the other, are subsumed under seven major categories.

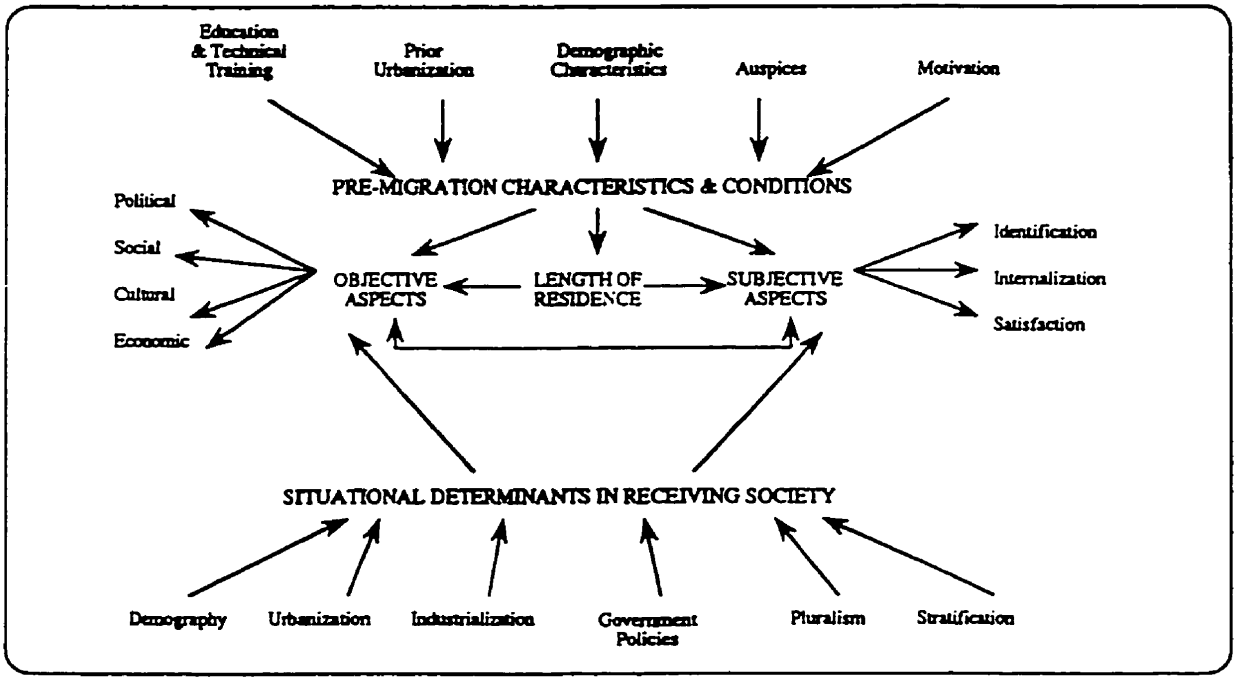
Four of these are objective or external, and the remaining four are subjective and are concerned with the socio-psychological aspects of immigration. Length of residence in the receiving society is considered as an independent variable which interacts with both the pre-immigration characteristics and situational determinants to modify the objective and subjective modes of adaptation.

The objective aspects of adaptation are political, social, cultural, and economic. The political aspects include participation in the normal process of voting and standing for election, together with the formation of pressure groups. The social aspects include the integration of immigrants into networks of primary relationships with kith and kin, as well as members of the receiving country. Regarding the cultural aspects, they include the establishment of communication channels with the receiving country through language learning, the interchange of cultural

artifacts and symbols ranging from food to moral beliefs and practices. The economic aspects include the occupations into which the immigrants move and their subsequent incomes and social mobility.

The three key subjective elements are identification, internalization, and satisfaction. Identification involves the modification of the immigrant's own sense of identity and a transference of loyalty from the country of origin to the new. Internalization refers to the process of change in the attitudes and values of the immigrant and is actually a component of the socialization process. The level of satisfaction involves relative comparisons with the immigrant's situation prior to migration as well as with other immigrants and with members of the receiving society.

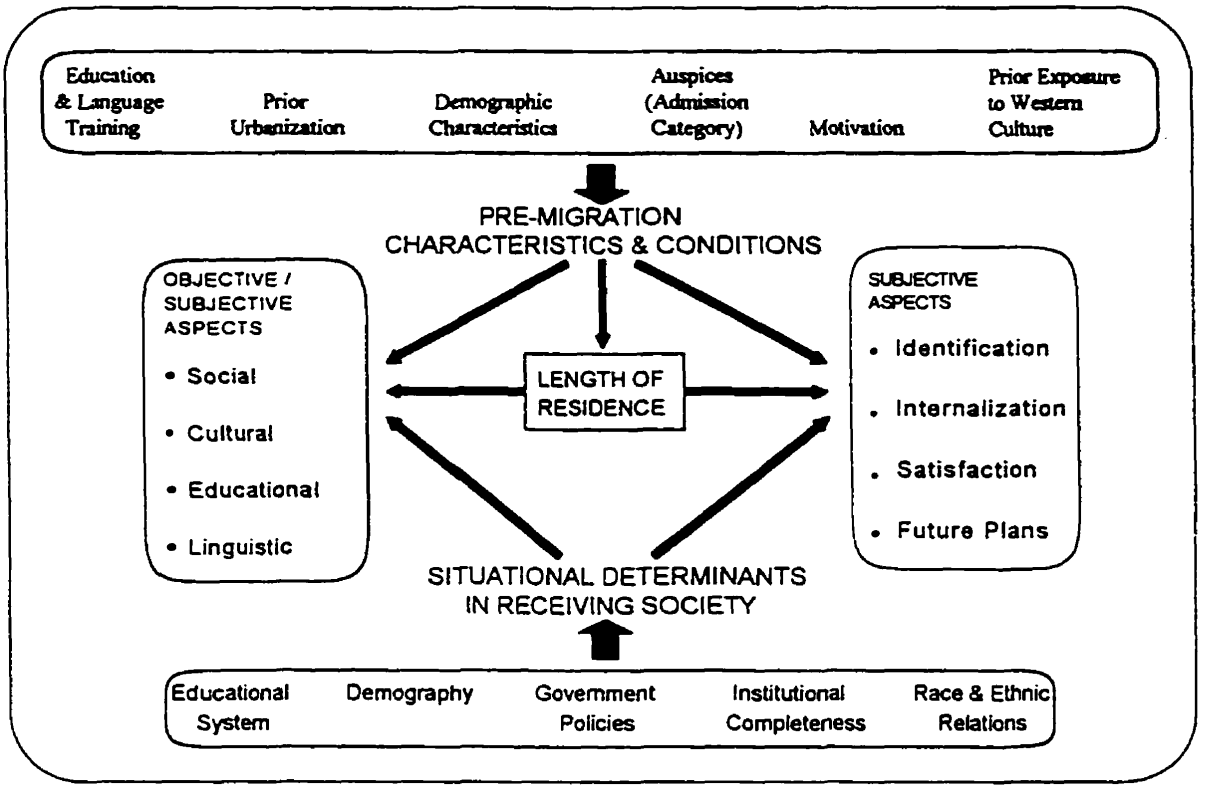
Figure 3-1: Multivariate Model of the Immigrant Adaptation Process



(Source: Goldlust, John and Richmond, Anthony. (1974). " A Multivariate Model of Immigrant Adaptation". International Migration Review. Vol. 8(2):193-225, Figure 2)

This multivariate model of Goldlust and Richmond (1974) was developed to study the adaptation of immigrants in general. A modified version of this model is proposed to be applied as the theoretical framework for the study of immigrant students. Figure 3-2 presents the multivariate model of immigrant student adaptation.

Figure 3-2: Multivariate Model of Immigrant Student Adaptation



In terms of the pre-immigration characteristics and conditions, in addition to the five factors aforementioned, it is important to include the immigrant students' prior exposure to Western culture. In fact, many Chinese students may have studied in a Western country as foreign students prior to their migration to Canada (Chow, 1990; Mickle, 1984).

With respect to motivation, immigrants with a strong drive to leave their homeland and emigrate to a foreign country would put more effort into the process of a new society and as a consequence of greater effort would be more likely to achieve a satisfactory settlement. A study on immigrant students should focus on their perceptions of the major reasons for their families' decision to emigrate.

As regards the situational determinants in receiving country, institutional completeness, educational system, and race and ethnic relations need to be taken into serious consideration. Institutional completeness, a term coined by Breton (1964), is defined as "the extent to which an ethnic group in a particular locale possess organizations developed by or for members of that ethnoculture". As pointed out by Abu-Laban (1980:155), these ethnic institutions will provide a link with the ancestral land, reinforcing the maintenance of cultural and linguistic identity. At the same time, they will also play a crucial adaptive role, encouraging acculturative change and integration with the host society.

In terms of the educational system, it must be noted that the school is a powerful socializing agent, able to assist the development and maintenance of diversity or uniformity. In fact, education is widely recognized as a means of upward social and occupational mobility. To that end, the instrumental value of education is acknowledged by immigrants and is reflected in their high educational and occupational aspirations (e.g. Cheng, 1988; Kao and Tienda, 1993). It is crucial, therefore, to examine whether schools are catering for the needs of immigrant students.

Concerning race and ethnic relations, it should be recognized that in a multi-ethnic society, conflict may arise out of competition for scarce resources, the differential distribution of power in the society, fundamental opposition of basic value systems, and inherent contradictions in the values held and the institutions serving them. New immigrants will not be able to fully enjoy and participate in this new country unless harmonious relationships are established among the various racial and ethnic groups. The ease with which these immigrants are accepted will surely facilitate their adaptation to the Canadian society.

The original model focuses on four objective aspects of adaptation (political, social, cultural, and economic). Emphasis should be placed on the educational and linguistic aspects, rather than the political and economic dimensions, in the study of the adaptation of immigrant students. In addition, these four aspects will be treated as both subjective and objective elements in the new model. For instance, in the case of social adaptation, the question of whether an immigrant student interacts with Canadians is an objective measure, whereas the immigrant student's experience in making friends with Canadians is a subjective measure.

The future plans of the immigrant students has been added as one of the subjective aspects of adaptation. This is vital because their plans for permanent settlement in Canada or for returning to their country of origin will definitely influence their commitment to improve their language skills, the types of social network developed, the degree of participation in various formal organizations, as well as their commitment to the receiving country.

Finally, the analytical approaches to be applied to this multivariate model should also be proposed. Scales with high internal reliability need to be developed in order to measure the subjective and objective aspects of immigrants' adaptation experiences. As multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) allows the evaluation of mean differences on two or more dependent criterion variables (Bray and Maxwell, 1985), this is a particularly appropriate method to be applied so as to examine the interaction effects among the different measures of adaptation. It

is also possible to delineate new dimensions of adaptation by subjecting these scales to a factor analysis with varimax rotation, a method of orthogonal rotation which simplifies the factor structure by maximizing the variance of a column of the pattern matrix (Kim and Mueller, 1978). As well, multiple regression and logistic regression analyses can be conducted to disentangle the factors (i.e., socio-demographic and background variables) affecting the adaptation experiences of immigrants.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

This chapter outlines the study design, the sample, the instruments, and the methods employed to collect and analyze the data.

4.1. POPULATION

The population for the present study was defined as all the Hong Kong and Caribbean immigrant students attending public high schools within Metro Toronto during the academic years of 1992-93 and 1993-94.

4.2. PROCEDURE OF DATA COLLECTION

The information on which this study was based derived from two specific sources. The principal method of data collection was a self-administered questionnaire survey (see Appendix A). Personal interviews (see Appendix B) were subsequently conducted with a small sample of students who were willing to further participate in this study.

4.2.1. Questionnaire Survey

The sample was drawn in two stages. First of all, access to the schools to conduct the study was granted by five school boards within the Metro Toronto area. Of these five, only one school board permitted the use of Black students from the Caribbean as a comparison group. This was not surprising as research on ethnicity in the school system has always been difficult due to its sensitive nature.

The researcher, upon receiving approval from school boards to undertake the study in the schools under their jurisdiction, contacted the principals of the schools approved by the boards to obtain permission to survey the students. In the schools that agreed to participate in the

study, the principal, vice-principal, or head of ESL department arranged for student participation during or after school time. In other cases, research instruments were distributed to the prospective participants via the home form teachers to allow them to complete the questionnaires at home. Parental approval (see Appendix C) was required by most principals for participants under the age of 18. The total number of questionnaires completed by the Hong Kong and Caribbean students were 215 and 57 respectively.

In order to obtain a larger and more representative sample, the researcher attempted to obtain more responses through his connection to a youth group comprised of immigrant students from Hong Kong. An additional 143 Hong Kong students and 6 Caribbean students participated in this study. As a result, the entire sample included 368 Hong Kong and 63 Caribbean students attending 28 different high schools under the jurisdiction of 6 school boards in Metro Toronto (see Table 4-1).

Table 4-1: Number of Participating Schools

Board of Education	Hong Kong Group		Caribbean Group	
	No. of Students	No. of Schools	No. of Students	No. of Schools
A	183	6	2	1
B	68	6	-	-
C	2	1	-	-
D	18	4	-	-
E	97	9	57	8
F	-	-	4	1
Total	368	26	63	10

4.2.2. Personal Interview

Students who had indicated their willingness to participate in a personal interview by filling out a consent form attached to the questionnaire were contacted by telephone. The researcher arranged all the interviews to the mutual convenience and satisfaction of both parties.

Interviews took part in the homes of the participants, the school premises, or the office of the researcher at OISE, and all were recorded with the use of a tape recorder.

Upon arriving for their interviews, participants were greeted and thanked for their attendance. After an effort was made to briefly establish rapport, the researcher re-introduced the focus of the study and emphasized both the value of the participants' perspectives to the study and the possible contribution of their participation to prospective immigrant students. Various participation-related issues outlined in the Consent Form (see Appendix D) were clarified. More specifically, the Consent Form assured participants that their participation was completely voluntary and that they were free to withdraw from the study at any time. It was also made clear that their names appeared only on that document and kept separate from the data, which would be number-coded to ensure confidentiality. Questions posed by the participants were addressed and written consent was secured from them via the signing of the Consent Form. It is worth noting that one popular question that quite a number of interviewees raised was related to the basis on which they were selected for participation in the study. On the other hand, the interview guide provided the structure for the interview. The order of the questions varied slightly from the interview guide. Open-ended questions were used so as to capture the experiences and feelings of the participants as much as possible.

4.3. CONSTRUCTION OF QUESTIONNAIRE

4.3.1. Operationalization of Variables

4.3.1.a. Dependent Variable. Multiple measures were used so as to gain a comprehensive understanding of the adaptation experiences of immigrant students. The key dependent variable, adaptation, was measured primarily by the following subjective and objective factors: social aspect of adaptation; cultural and linguistic aspect of adaptation; educational aspect of adaptation; identification; internalization; satisfaction with academic and non-academic matters;

and future plans. Various sub-scales were developed by the researcher for the purposes of the present study.

(i) Educational Aspect of Adaptation. A 10-item scale was used as a subjective measure of students' degree of satisfaction with the various aspects of school life. A higher score would reflect a higher degree of satisfaction. Students were asked to rate their academic ability in comparison to other Canadian students in their classes on a 5-point scale, from 1 = well below average to 5 = well above average. The average mark of all the courses that each student had completed in the previous academic year was used as an objective measure of educational adaptation.

(ii) Cultural and Linguistic Aspect of Adaptation. In order to examine the cultural aspect of adaptation, a 10-item scale was employed to measure the students' perceptions of the extent to which their values and customs are different from those of the Canadians on a Likert-scale, with 1 = very different to 5 = very similar. Enrollment in English Language or English as a Second Language courses in the previous two semesters/terms, frequency of English usage with parents, siblings, best friends, best schoolmates, and family physician, as well as self-rated English ability in the areas of spoken English, written English, and understanding English were three measures of the linguistic aspect of adaptation.

(iii) Social Aspect of Adaptation. The social aspect of adaptation was measured by respondents' frequency of participation in religious organizations, recreational facilities, community groups, and political organizations. Responses were scored on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 = never to 5 = very often. A more subjective question concerned with respondents' experience in making Canadian friends. In particular, they were asked to describe their experiences on a 5-point scale, with 1 = very easy to 5 = very difficult.

(iv) Identification with Homeland and Host Country. The respondents' degree of identification with home country was measured by a 3-item scale. Students were asked to

indicate their degree of agreement with statements concerning: (a) whether they were interested in issues, events, or affairs relating to their home country; (b) whether they felt a strong attachment to their home country; and (c) whether they actively participated in organizations or social groups that consisted primarily of people belonging to their ethnic group.

Statements employed to examine their degree of identification with Canada included: (a) whether they were interested in issues, events, or affairs relating to Canada; (b) whether they had a strong positive feeling about being Canadian; (c) whether they had a strong sense of belonging to Canada; and (d) whether they interacted with Canadians frequently. As well, in order to understand their self-identification, students were asked to indicate the label (i.e., non-hyphenated Canadian or hyphenated Canadian) that they consider more appropriate for themselves.

(v) Gratification with Life. A 11-item scale was used as a subjective measure of students' degree of satisfaction with various aspects of life. Respondents were asked to rate each item on a 5-point scale according to the degree of seriousness, with 1 = very important to 5 = very unimportant.

(vi) Future Plans. Several questions were used to probe for respondents' future plans, including: (a) whether they would seek employment or further their studies in Canada upon completion of high school; (b) whether they would return to their country of origin eventually. Two related questions were used to assess their overall immigration experience in Canada: (a) based on their experience in Canada thus far, whether they would still immigrate to Canada if a choice was given; (b) whether they would encourage their friends and relatives from their home country to immigrate to Canada.

4.3.1.b. Independent Variables. Both the pre-immigration characteristics and socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents were included as independent variables. All these were in fact considered as possible determinants of the adaptation experiences of immigrant students. The nine pre-immigration characteristics included: age at immigration; prior experience in other countries; prior experience in Canada; prior degree of urbanization of homeland; major language of instruction used in homeland; highest level of education completed in homeland; admission category; immigration decision; and reasons for immigration.

The socio-demographic characteristics included: age; gender; religion; current employment status; grade level; parents' marital status; presence of parents in Canada; length of residence in Canada; and ethnicity. Socio-economic status was not measured by a single index. Instead, a series of questions which would reflect their socio-economic status were asked. These questions pertained to: parents' education; parents' occupation in homeland and in Canada; home ownership; admission category; self-rated socio-economic class on a scale of 1 (low) to 5 (high); and family income.

4.3.2. Reliability of the Major Scales

The internal consistency estimates of reliability for the major scales based on the total sample are shown in Table 4-2. The reliability coefficients were satisfactorily high, ranging from 0.55 to 0.93.

Table 4-2: Reliability Coefficients for Major Scales

Scale	Questionnaire Items	Alpha
Measures of Adaptation		
Education	B11a to B11j	0.8424
Culture	C05a to C05j	0.8158
Social	C06a1, C06b1, C06c1, C06d1	0.5699
Problem	C01a to C01k	0.7888
Identification with Canada	C07a, C07c, C07d, C07g, C07h	0.7344
Identification with homeland	C07b, C07e, C07f	0.5490
English usage	B09a to B09e	0.9288
English proficiency	B01a to B01d	0.8909
Exposure to English media	B10a, B10c, B10e, B10g	0.7883
Exposure to ethnic media	B10b, B10d, B10f, B10h	0.7342
Reasons for Immigration		
Social factors	A011a to A011e	0.8030
Educational factors	A012a to A012e	0.8310
Economic factors	A013a to A013c	0.7893
Political factors	A014a to A014c	0.7570
Cultural factors	A015a to A015d	0.7270
Personal factors	A016a to A016g	0.6865

4.3.3. Translation of Research Instrument

The researcher, who has extensive experience in conducting surveys in a bilingual capacity (see Chow, 1991; Chow 1993; Chow 1994), has translated the questionnaire into Chinese (see Appendix A). It was reviewed by a statistical consultant at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto (OISE/UT), who also has substantial experience in heritage language teaching in the Chinese community in Toronto. The English version was examined by two Caribbean students and a professor of African descent in the Department of Sociology in Education at OISE/UT. Both the Chinese and English versions were made available to suit the language preference of the respondents.

4.3.4. Pilot Study

A pilot test of both versions of the questionnaires was undertaken during February and March of 1993 with the following objectives: (a) to confirm the suitability and comprehensibility of the questionnaire items; (b) to ensure that the amount of time required for completing the questionnaire was not excessive; and (c) to discover the reaction of the participants to the questionnaire contents.

The sample used for the pilot study consisted of 15 Hong Kong and Caribbean immigrant students attending public high schools in Metro Toronto. Several of these participants were known to the researcher and the others were contacted via a "snowball" method.

Pilot-testing the questionnaire helped identify questions that needed to be expanded, were ambiguous or poorly worded, or had been overlooked in the draft questionnaire. Based on the results of the pilot study, several items were rephrased. The amount of time required to complete the questionnaire was found to be in the range of 20 to 30 minutes.

A few Hong Kong students (N=3) were also interviewed in order to pilot the interview schedule and the interview format. The interviews, recorded on audiotape, ranged in length from 45 minutes to 90 minutes. No problem arose due to the amount of time required, as the respondents expressed no impatience, and they took their time with their answers throughout. None of the respondents found the tape recorder to be a problem.

4.4. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Three major limitations should be noted. First of all, caution should be warranted in generalizing the findings of this study. Although Chinese participants were drawn from a large number of schools within the Metro Toronto area, the sample was not strictly a random one.

Secondly, with respect to the comparison group, it must be acknowledged that Caribbean background that participants come from is very diverse and the educational experiences prior to immigrating to Canada are equally so. This background signifies that the term "Caribbean" is precarious because of the wide range of differences and experiences that it encompasses.

Thirdly, the sample size of this comparison group was relatively small. In fact, a majority of the Caribbean immigrants came primarily from Jamaica. As well, these students were recruited from a small number of schools. The small sample size has also precluded separate regression analysis attempting to delineate the determinants of adaptation for the Caribbean group.

CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH FINDINGS - QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY

This chapter presents the quantitative and, where appropriate, qualitative findings of the present study. To maintain consistency, results pertaining to the Hong Kong group will be presented first, followed by a comparative analysis of data concerning both the Hong Kong and Caribbean groups.

5.1. A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF STATISTICAL ANALYSES

The primary goal of the present study was two-fold: (a) to investigate the extent to which these students have adapted socially, culturally, linguistically, and educationally in Canada; and (b) to disentangle the factors (various background and socio-demographic variables) affecting their adaptation experiences. A multivariate approach has been adopted. A brief overview of the statistical analyses is presented below:

(1) Frequencies are reported on independent variables of both the Hong Kong and Caribbean groups. Cross-tabulation and analysis of variance (ANOVA) procedures are employed to test for differences of the background characteristics between the Hong Kong and Caribbean groups.

(2) Scores of the 13 measures of adaptation are reported. Multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) is used to compare the different adaptation scores of both groups.

(3) Factor analysis is utilized to delineate new dimensions of adaptation based on the original 13 different measures.

(4) Multiple and logistic regression analyses are performed to further explore the determinants of adaptation for the Hong Kong group and for the total sample.

5.2. SAMPLE

The present sample comprised of 368 Hong Kong immigrant students attending 26 different public high schools under the jurisdiction of 6 boards of education in Metro Toronto during the academic years of 1992-93 and 1993-94. The three selection criteria imposed were: (i) last permanent country of residence being Hong Kong; (ii) legal status in Canada being landed immigrant or citizen; and (iii) length of residence being approximately 5 years. The same criteria applied to the comparison group, except the last region of permanent residence being the Caribbean, rather than Hong Kong. The comparison group included 63 Black students from 10 schools under the jurisdiction of 3 school boards.

5.3. SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

This section will describe in detail the socio-demographic and background data of the respondents. To facilitate analysis, some of these variables have been re-coded. As well, in order to examine possible group differences, cross-tabulation and analysis of variance procedures have been executed on these re-coded variables.

5.3.1. Individual Characteristics

This section deals with the individual characteristics of the sample, including age, age at immigration, marital status, religion, country of birth, length of residence in Canada, level of education completed in homeland, major language of instruction in homeland, prior experiences in Canada and other countries, rural-urban background in homeland, grade level, and employment status in Canada. A summary of these characteristics is shown in Table 5-1.

a. Gender. The Hong Kong sample consisted of 48.0 per cent males and 52.0 per cent females, as compared to 33.9 per cent males and 66.1 per cent females in the Caribbean sample. A cross-tabulation analysis showed that in both the Hong Kong and Caribbean groups, there were significantly more female participants (Chi-square = 4.2374, d.f. = 1, $p < 0.0395$).

b. Age. The mean ages of the Hong Kong and Caribbean groups were 17.83 (SD = 2.8798) and 17.02 (SD = 2.7418) respectively. An ANOVA indicated that the age difference between the two groups attained statistical significance ($F(1,418) = 4.017$, $p < 0.046$).

c. Age at Immigration. The mean age at immigration of the Hong Kong students was 15.30 (SD = 3.36). Although the mean of the Caribbean group was slightly lower (mean = 14.57, SD = 3.28), an ANOVA revealed no significant difference between the two groups.

d. Marital Status. As the sample consisted of students at the high school level, a large majority of the students in both the Hong Kong (99.4%) and the Caribbean (93.4%) groups were single.

e. Religion. Among those who indicated a religious affiliation, a noticeable proportion of the students in both the Hong Kong (62.9%) and Caribbean (35.3%) groups identified themselves as Protestant. Other religious groups only constituted a small minority. When this variable was collapsed into two categories, with 1 = religion and 0 = no religion, a cross-tabulation analysis showed that significantly more students in the Caribbean group indicated a religious affiliation (Chi-square = 15.0699, d.f. = 1, $p < 0.0001$).

f. Country of Birth. An overwhelming majority of the Hong Kong students (94.6%) were born in Hong Kong. A significant proportion of the Caribbean students reported Jamaica (42.6%) as their country of birth, followed by those who were born in Trinidad (24.6%) and Guyana (18.0%).

g. Length of Residence in Canada. Since length of residence in Canada was one of the selection criteria, the means for the Hong Kong (mean = 2.66, SD = 1.68) and Caribbean (mean = 2.77; SD = 1.76) groups were relatively similar.

h. Level of Education Completed in Homeland. About three-quarters of the Hong Kong students (75.2%) had finished secondary school (Forms 1-5) prior to immigration. In terms of

the Caribbean sample, over two-fifths (43.1%) had completed secondary school (Forms 1-5) and about a quarter (34.5%) completed primary school. This variable was collapsed into two categories, with 0 = primary school and 1 = secondary school or above. A cross-tabulation procedure has demonstrated that significantly more Hong Kong students had completed a higher level of education (Forms 1-5 in secondary school) before coming to Canada (Chi-square = 27.78005, d.f. = 4, $p < 0.0001$).

i. Major Language of Classroom Instruction. More than half of the Hong Kong students (56.5%) did not indicate English as the primary medium of instruction in schools they last attended in Hong Kong. On the contrary, an overwhelming majority of the Caribbean students (98.3%) had English as their primary language of instruction in schools. It is thus not surprising that a cross-tabulation analysis demonstrated significant difference in terms of students' major language of instruction used in home country (Chi-square = 57.0467, d.f. = 1, $p < 0.0001$).

j. Prior Experience in Canada and Other Countries. Slightly more than one-quarter of the Hong Kong students (26.2%) had come to Canada before as a tourist prior to immigration. Another 6.4 per cent had studied in Canada on student authorization. On the other hand, only 10 Caribbean students had visited Canada prior to immigration, and none of them studied in Canada before. Only very few students in both the Hong Kong (8.8%) and Caribbean (4.9%) groups had prior experience in other countries. This variable was collapsed into two categories, with 1 = with prior experience in Canada and 0 = without prior experience in Canada. A cross-tabulation procedure confirmed that significantly more Hong Kong students had experience in Canada prior to immigration (Chi-square = 7.0667, d.f.= 1, $p < 0.0079$).

k. Rural-Urban Residence in Homeland. A vast majority of the Hong Kong students (93.5%) came from an urban background, whereas the figure for the Caribbean students was 40.0 per cent. When this variable was collapsed into two categories, with 1 = urban and 0 = suburban or rural, a cross-tabulation analysis (Chi-square = 122.0376, d.f. = 1, $p < 0.0001$) confirmed that significantly more Hong Kong students came from an urban background.

l. Grade Level. Hong Kong and Caribbean students were represented at all grade levels (Grades 9-13/OAC). A cross-tabulation procedure, after collapsing this variable into 2 categories, with 0 = junior (Grades 9-12) and 1 = senior (Grade 13/OAC), demonstrated that significantly more Hong Kong students were studying at the Grade 13/OAC level (Chi-square = 15.437, d.f. = 4, $p < 0.00388$).

m. Employment Status in Canada. While 16.7 per cent of the Hong Kong students were employed part-time, 19.4 per cent of the Caribbean counterparts held a similar employment status. A cross-tabulation analysis did not reveal group difference.

Table 5-1 Personal Characteristics of Respondents

Personal Characteristics	Hong Kong		Caribbean	
	n	%	n	%
Gender				
Male	176	48.0	21	33.9
Female	191	52.0	41	66.1
Total	367	100.0	62	100.0
Marital Status				
Single	361	99.4	57	93.4
Married	2	0.6	3	4.8
Divorced	-	-	1	1.6
Total	363	100.0	61	100.0
Religion				
Protestant	127	63.8	18	35.3
Catholic	32	16.1	4	7.8
Ancestral worship	27	13.6	1	2.0
Buddhist	12	6.0	-	-
Taoist	1	0.5	-	-
Hindu	-	-	9	17.6
Muslim	-	-	7	14.0
Other Protestant	-	-	12	23.6
Total	199	100.0	51	100.0
Country of Birth				
Hong Kong	349	95.1	-	-
China	10	2.7	-	-
Canada	4	1.1	-	-
Taiwan	2	0.5	-	-
Macau	2	0.5	-	-
Jamaica	-	-	26	42.6
Trinidad	-	-	15	24.6
Guyana	-	-	11	18.0
Grenada	-	-	4	6.6
St. Vincent	-	-	2	3.3
St. Lucia	-	-	1	1.6
St. Kitts	-	-	1	1.6
Sri Lanka	-	-	1	1.6
Total	367	100.0	61	100.0

Continued on next page

Table 5-1 Personal Characteristics of Respondents (Continued)

Level of Education Completed in Homeland				
Primary	60	16.5	20	34.5
Secondary (Forms 1-5)	273	75.2	25	43.1
Secondary (Forms 6-7)	20	5.5	9	15.1
Technical/Commercial Institute	8	2.2	2	3.4
College/Polytechnic	2	0.6	2	3.4
Total	363	100.0	58	100.0
Major Language of Instruction Used in Homeland				
English language	121	34.0	58	98.3
Chinese language	201	56.5	1	1.7
Bilingual	34	9.6	-	-
Total	356	100.0	59	100.0
Prior Experience in Canada				
Visa student	21	5.8	-	-
Tourist	95	26.2	10	15.9
Visa student & tourist	2	0.6	-	-
No prior experience	245	67.5	53	84.1
Total	363	100.0	63	100.0
Rural-Urban Residence in Homeland				
Rural	5	1.4	19	31.7
Suburban	19	5.2	17	28.3
Urban	343	93.5	24	40.0
Total	367	100.0	60	100.0
Grade Level				
Grade 9	10	2.8	5	8.3
Grade 10	50	13.9	16	26.7
Grade 11	84	23.3	12	20.0
Grade 12	92	25.5	17	28.3
Grade 13 (OAC)	125	34.6	10	16.7
Total	361	100.0	60	100.0
Employment Status in Canada				
Part-time employment	61	16.7	12	19.4
Without employment	305	83.3	50	80.6
Total	366	100.0	62	100.0

5.3.2. Family Characteristics

This section describes in detail the family characteristics of the sample, including parents' education, parents' occupation in Canada and homeland, parents' marital status, presence of parents in Canada, total number of siblings, number of siblings in Canada, type of housing, area of residence, family income, and self-rated socio-economic status. A summary of data is presented in Table 5-2.

a. Fathers' Education. Slightly less than three-quarters the fathers of the Hong Kong group (71.1%) had completed a secondary school or post-secondary education, whereas two-fifths (40.4%) of the fathers of the Caribbean students attained a similar educational level.

b. Mothers' Education. The educational attainments of the mothers of both groups were also high. In particular, over three-fifths of the mothers of the Hong Kong group (64.4%) had completed a secondary school or post-secondary education, whereas the figure for the Caribbean group was 52.7 per cent.

c. Fathers' Occupation in Homeland and in Canada. The occupations of the fathers in the Hong Kong group were more concentrated in the business (45.4%), professional (9.9%), and managerial/administrative (9.3%) sectors prior to immigration. The occupations of their fathers in Canada were primarily more concentrated in the business sector (30.2%). A noticeable proportion of their fathers were concentrated in categories such as sales (10.7%), restaurant/hotel service (10.7%), and secretarial/clerical (9.4%). It must also be noted that 38.2 per cent of their fathers were not residing in Canada at the time of the study.

With respect to the Caribbean group, the occupations of their fathers in homeland were more highly concentrated in the industrial (37.5%) and professional (15.0%) sectors. On the other hand, their occupations in Canada were more concentrated in industrial (40.9%) and business (13.6%) sectors.

This variable was collapsed into 3 categories, with 1 = professional, managerial, or business, 2 = other occupational categories, and 3 = unemployed or not in the labour force. A cross-tabulation analysis demonstrates that significantly more fathers in the Hong Kong sample were concentrated in the business/managerial/professional category in homeland (Chi-square = 22.8691, d.f. = 2, $p < 0.0001$).

d. Mothers' Occupations in Homeland and in Canada. A significant proportion of the mothers of the Hong Kong sample (40.4%) were homemakers prior to immigration, followed by those whose mothers worked in the secretarial/clerical (16.9%) and business (14.6%) sectors. Noticeably, 44.1 per cent of their mothers were homemakers in Canada. Others were concentrated in secretarial/clerical (13.8%) and industrial (13.3%) sectors.

With respect to the mothers of the Caribbean students, 36.6 per cent were homemakers in their home countries. Others were concentrated in secretarial/clerical (14.6%) and educational (12.2%) sectors. In Canada, 16.7 per cent of their mothers worked in the secretarial/clerical sector. An equal number of them worked in the health service sector (13.9%) and as homemakers (13.9%).

Cross-tabulation analysis based on the three new categories reveals that mothers' occupation in both the country of origin (Chi-square = 11.4581, d.f. = 2, $p < 0.0033$) and in Canada (Chi-square = 10.0544, d.f. = 2, $p < 0.0066$) were significantly different. In particular, mothers of the Hong Kong students were more highly concentrated in the "other" category, indicating that they were not in the labour force.

e. Fathers' Marital Status. Fathers of the Hong Kong group were predominantly married (94.0%), whereas only slightly more than half of the Caribbean students indicated a similar marital status for their fathers (55.8%). A cross-tabulation analysis, after collapsing this variable into two categories, with 1 = married/re-married and 0 = other, has shown that significantly more fathers of the Hong Kong students were married or re-married (Chi-square = 66.1405, d.f. = 1, $p < 0.0001$).

f. Mothers' Marital Status. An overwhelming majority of the Hong Kong students (92.4%) indicated the marital status of their mothers as married, whereas only about half of the Caribbean students (51.8%) reported a similar status for their mothers. A cross-tabulation analysis has indicated that significantly more mothers of the Hong Kong group were married/remarried (Chi-square = 68.5353, d.f. = 1, $p < 0.0001$).

g. Presence of Father in Canada. Slightly more than three-fifths of the fathers in both the Hong Kong (61.8%) and Caribbean (63.3%) groups were residing in Canada at the time of the study. In terms of the Hong Kong group, it is noticeable that 29.0 per cent of the fathers were still working in Hong Kong. Relatively few of those in the Caribbean group (4.1%) were working in home country. In fact, more one-fifth of them (22.4%) provided other reasons for the absence of their fathers in Canada.

h. Presence of Mother in Canada. More than three-quarters of the mothers of both the Hong Kong (79.8%) and Caribbean (75.5%) groups were present in Canada at the time of the study.

i. Area of Residence. Students' area of residence corresponded generally to the location of the schools they attended. Although the present study included students attending high schools within the Metro Toronto area, a small proportion of the Hong Kong students (4.5%) actually resided outside of Metro Toronto, in nearby cities such as Mississauga, Markham, Unionville, and Richmond Hill, whereas all Caribbean students resided within the Metro Toronto area.

j. Type of Housing. While over three-fifths of the Hong Kong students (68.6%) lived in houses purchased, 11.9 per cent lived in apartments purchased. In contrast, a large majority of the Caribbean students lived in apartments rented (68.9%), followed by those who lived in houses rented (13.1%). A subsequent cross-tabulation procedure, after collapsing this variable as 1 = house or apartment purchased and 0 = other, has shown that home ownership rate was significantly higher among Hong Kong (Chi-square = 73.6067, d.f. = 1, $p < 0.0001$).

k. Family Income. While only a quarter of the Hong Kong students indicated their family income 20,000 or under, over half of the Caribbean students indicated a similar income level. It is also peculiar to note that none of the Caribbean students indicated an income level higher than the third level (i.e., above 60,000). An ANOVA using this family income as a continuous variable has found that the means for the Hong Kong group was significantly higher ($F = 13.849$, $p < 0.001$).

l. Self-rated Socio-economic Status. Respondents indicated on a scale of 1 (lower) to 5 (upper) the socio-economic class to which they thought their families belonged. A majority of the Hong Kong (63.5%) and Caribbean (73.1%) students made use of the middle category. Relatively few Caribbean students (3.8%) rated above the mid-level, whereas 17.6 per cent of the Hong Kong students made a similar selection. An ANOVA indicated that Hong Kong students tended to rank their social status higher than that of the Caribbean counterparts ($F = 5.386$, $p < 0.021$).

m. Total Number of Siblings and Number of Siblings in Canada. On average, the mean total numbers of siblings for the Hong Kong and Caribbean groups were 2.79 (SD = 1.48) and 4.90 (SD = 2.63) respectively. The mean numbers of siblings in Canada were 2.44 (SD = 1.18) and 3.02 (SD = 1.66) for the Hong Kong and Caribbean groups respectively.

Table 5-2 Family Characteristics of Respondents

	Hong Kong		Caribbean	
	n	%	n	%
Father's Education				
No formal education	17	4.8	2	3.8
Primary school	45	12.6	8	15.4
Secondary school	140	39.3	6	11.5
Technical/commercial institute	16	4.5	4	7.7
College/polytechnic	46	12.9	8	15.4
University (undergraduate)	39	11.0	3	5.8
Graduate school	12	3.4	-	-
Don't know	40	11.2	21	40.4
Total	356	100.0	52	100.0
Mothers' Education				
No formal education	16	4.5	3	5.5
Primary school	71	19.8	9	16.4
Secondary school	167	46.5	12	21.8
Technical/commercial institute	15	4.2	6	10.9
College/polytechnic	27	7.5	8	14.5
University (undergraduate)	20	5.6	3	5.5
Graduate school	2	0.6	-	-
Don't know	41	11.4	14	25.5
Total	359	100.0	55	100.0
Father's Occupation in Homeland				
Business/managerial	176	54.3	4	10.0
Professional	32	9.9	6	15.0
Educational	4	1.2	1	2.5
Sales	13	4.0	-	-
Service	32	9.9	2	5.0
Clerical/secretarial	20	6.2	1	2.5
Mechanical/industrial/technical	31	9.6	19	47.5
Other occupation	11	3.4	6	15.0
Not in labour force	5	1.5	1	2.5
Total	324	100.0	40	100.0

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Table 5-2 Family Characteristics of Respondents (Continued)

Father's Occupation in Canada				
Business/Managerial	56	34.8	5	22.7
Professional	11	6.8	1	4.5
Educational	3	1.9	-	-
Sales	17	10.6	-	-
Service	20	12.4	-	-
Clerical/secretarial	15	9.3	1	4.5
Mechanical/industrial/technical	18	11.2	11	50.0
Other occupation	8	5.0	1	4.5
Not in labour force	13	8.1	3	13.6
Total	161	100.0	22	100.0
Mother's Occupation in Homeland				
Business/managerial	48	18.5	-	-
Professional	8	3.1	1	2.4
Educational	9	3.5	5	12.2
Sales	8	3.1	-	-
Service	17	6.5	8	19.5
Clerical/secretarial	44	16.9	6	14.6
Mechanical/industrial/technical	16	6.2	3	7.3
Other occupation	5	1.9	3	7.3
Not in labour force	105	40.4	15	36.6
Total	260	100.0	41	100.0
Mother's Occupation in Canada				
Business/managerial	16	8.2	1	2.8
Professional	1	0.5	1	2.8
Educational	3	1.5	-	-
Sales	4	2.0	2	5.6
Service	24	12.2	13	36.1
Clerical/secretarial	27	13.8	6	16.7
Mechanical/industrial/technical	26	13.3	5	13.9
Other occupation	7	3.6	1	2.8
Not in labour force	88	44.9	7	19.4
Total	196	100.0	36	100.0

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Table 5-2 Family Characteristics of Respondents (Continued)

Father's Marital Status				
Married	327	94.0	29	55.8
Separated/divorced	9	2.6	16	30.8
Widowed	1	0.3	-	-
Remarried	8	2.3	4	7.7
Deceased	3	0.9	1	1.9
Single	-	-	2	3.8
Total	348	100.0	52	100.0
Mothers' Marital Status				
Married	329	92.4	29	51.8
Separated/divorced	12	3.4	19	33.9
Widowed	11	3.1	2	3.6
Remarried	4	1.1	2	3.6
Deceased	-	-	-	-
Single	-	-	4	7.1
Total	356	100.0	56	100.0
Presence of Fathers in Canada				
Residing in Canada	215	61.8	31	63.3
Working in home country	101	29.0	2	4.1
Visiting in home country	11	3.2	5	10.2
Residing outside Canada	21	6.0	11	22.4
Total	348	100.0	49	100.0
Presence of Mothers in Canada				
Residing in Canada	284	79.8	31	75.5
Working in home country	43	12.1	2	9.4
Visiting in home country	17	4.8	5	3.8
Residing outside Canada	12	3.4	11	11.3
Total	356	100.0	49	100.0

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Table 5-2 Family Characteristics of Respondents (Continued)

Area of Residence				
North York	162	44.5	2	3.2
Scarborough	86	23.6	2	3.2
Toronto	75	20.6	47	75.8
Etobicoke	15	4.1	2	3.2
York	7	1.9	6	9.7
East York	3	0.8	3	4.8
Richmond Hill	6	1.6	-	-
Mississauga	5	1.4	-	-
Markham	4	1.1	-	-
Unionville	1	0.3	-	-
Total	364	100.0	62	100.0
Type of Housing				
Rental apartment	28	7.8	42	68.9
Rental house	36	10.0	8	13.1
Apartment owned	43	11.9	1	1.6
House owned	247	68.6	7	11.5
Rental basement/room	1	0.3	1	1.6
Stayed with relatives/sponsor/guardian	5	1.4	2	3.3
Total	360	100.0	61	100.0
Family Income				
20,000 or under	71	26.0	19	54.3
20,001 - 40,000	85	31.3	9	25.7
40,001 - 60,000	53	19.4	7	20.0
60,001 - 80,000	29	10.6	-	-
80,001 - 100,000	17	6.2	-	-
100,001 or more	18	6.6	-	-
Total	273	100.0	35	100.0
Self-rated Socio-economic Status				
Level 1 (low)	6	2.6	4	7.7
Level 2	38	16.3	8	15.4
Level 3	148	63.5	38	73.1
Level 4	37	15.9	2	3.8
Level 5 (high)	4	1.7	-	-
Total	233	100.0	52	100.0

5.4. DESCRIPTIVE & MULTIVARIATE ANALYSES OF ADAPTATION

5.4.1. Perceptions of Motivation for Immigration

To understand how the immigration process began, it is necessary to probe for students' perceptions of major reasons for immigration. Students ranked the importance of a total of 24 possible reasons under the following 6 categories: (a) social factors; (b) educational factors; (c) economic factors; (d) political factors; (e) cultural factors; and (f) personal factors. Space was also provided for respondents to elaborate on reasons that might have been excluded. The rank order of the students' perceptions of the reasons for immigrating to Canada in each category is presented in Tables 5-3 and 5-4 for the two groups.

Based on the mean values assigned to each of the 24 reasons, the five with the highest mean values in the Hong Kong group included: (1) more university or college places in Canada (mean = 4.26, SD = 0.90); (2) uncertain political future of home country (mean = 3.70, SD = 1.24); (3) better educational opportunities in Canada (mean = 3.88, SD = 1.09); (4) a wider choice of fields in Canada (mean = 3.84, SD = 1.05); and (5) human rights are highly respected in Canada (mean = 3.67, SD = 1.16).

The top five reasons given by the Caribbean students were: (1) better educational opportunities in Canada (mean = 4.51, SD = 0.92); (2) more university or college places in Canada (mean = 4.35, SD = 0.97); (3) a wider choice of fields in Canada (mean = 4.31, SD = 1.19); (4) the prospects for personal advancement in Canada are better (mean = 4.20, SD = 1.02); and (5) better job opportunities in Canada (mean = 4.19, SD = 1.17).

A multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was executed to examine differences in the major reasons given by the Chinese and Caribbean respondents for immigrating to Canada. As presented in Table 5-5, univariate F-tests of MANOVA shows that four categories of reasons, including educational ($F(1,418) = 9.84$, $p < 0.002$), economic ($F(1,418) = 62.18$, $p < 0.001$),

political ($F(1,418) = 12.87$, $p < 0.001$) and personal ($F(1,418) = 20.80$, $p < 0.001$), attained statistical significance.

An examination of the mean values of these four categories reveals that Hong Kong students placed greater emphasis on the political aspect, whereas the Caribbean students were more concerned with educational, economic, and personal factors. The result is not surprising as Hong Kong students were facing an uncertain political future in their place of origin. It should also be mentioned that some Hong Kong respondents indicated explicitly the fear of 1997, the need to purchase an insurance policy (i.e., to obtain a foreign passport), and dissatisfaction with the educational system in Hong Kong as their reasons for immigration.

Table 5-3 Rank Order of Hong Kong Students' Perceptions of Major Reasons for Immigrating to Canada

Rank	Reasons for Immigration	Mean	SD
	Social Factors		
01.	Better social welfare system in Canada.	3.07	1.20
02.	Pollution problems in home country.	2.74	1.19
03.	My home country is too overpopulated.	2.73	1.25
04.	Life is too tense or hectic in home country.	2.59	1.17
05.	Poor housing condition in home country.	2.32	1.17
	Educational Factors		
01.	More university or college places in Canada.	4.26	0.90
02.	Better educational opportunities in Canada.	3.88	1.09
03.	A wider choice of fields in Canada.	3.84	1.05
	Economic Factors		
01.	Better job opportunities in Canada.	2.25	1.22
02.	Better investment opportunities in Canada.	2.19	1.09
03.	Family owns business in Canada.	2.13	1.13
	Political Factors		
01.	Uncertain political future of home country.	3.70	1.24
02.	Human rights are highly respected in Canada.	3.67	1.16
03.	Greater political freedom in Canada.	3.44	1.16
	Cultural Factors		
01.	Canada is a multicultural society.	3.32	1.24
02.	Many people of my ethnic origin are living in Canada.	3.20	1.15
03.	Communities of my own ethnic groups are well-established in Canada.	3.11	1.16
04.	Canada is an English-speaking country.	3.09	1.20
	Personal Factors		
01.	Recommended by friends or relatives.	3.04	1.19
02.	To join family members or relatives already in Canada.	2.94	1.37
03.	To prepare the way for remaining family members or relatives to immigrate to Canada.	2.85	1.33
04.	The prospects for personal advancement in Canada are better.	2.76	1.27
05.	Recommended by immigration consultant/lawyer.	2.44	1.13
06.	Came to Canada before as a visitor or student.	2.27	1.28
07.	Unable to obtain landed immigrant status from other countries	2.09	1.13

Table 5-4 Rank Order of Caribbean Students' Perceptions of Major Reasons for Immigrating to Canada

Rank	Reasons for Immigration	Mean	SD
	Social Factors		
01.	Better social welfare system in Canada.	2.89	1.44
02.	Pollution problems in home country.	2.84	1.33
03.	My home country is too overpopulated.	2.35	1.31
04.	Life is too tense or hectic in home country.	2.30	1.25
05.	Poor housing condition in home country.	1.93	0.93
	Educational Factors		
01.	More university or college places in Canada.	4.51	0.92
02.	Better educational opportunities in Canada.	4.35	0.97
03.	A wider choice of fields in Canada.	4.31	1.19
	Economic Factors		
01.	Better job opportunities in Canada.	4.19	1.17
02.	Better investment opportunities in Canada.	3.50	1.13
03.	Family owns business in Canada.	1.91	1.07
	Political Factors		
01.	Uncertain political future of home country.	3.53	1.24
02.	Human rights are highly respected in Canada.	2.93	1.35
03.	Greater political freedom in Canada.	2.71	1.26
	Cultural Factors		
01.	Canada is a multicultural society.	3.32	1.26
02.	Many people of my ethnic origin are living in Canada.	3.46	1.32
03.	Communities of my own ethnic groups are well-established in Canada.	3.42	1.27
04.	Canada is an English-speaking country.	2.88	1.21
	Personal Factors		
01.	Recommended by friends or relatives.	4.20	1.02
02.	To join family members or relatives already in Canada.	3.95	1.25
03.	To prepare the way for remaining family members or relatives to immigrate to Canada.	3.47	1.22
04.	The prospects for personal advancement in Canada are better.	2.64	1.30
05.	Recommended by immigration consultant/lawyer.	2.42	1.43
06.	Came to Canada before as a visitor or student.	2.42	1.43
07.	Unable to obtain landed immigrant status from other countries	2.24	1.35

Table 5-5 MANOVA: Perceptions of Major Reasons for Immigration

Type of Reason	Hong Kong mean	Hong Kong SD	Caribbean mean	Caribbean SD	F	Significance of F
Social	2.69	0.93	2.50	0.93	2.13	0.145
Educational	3.99	0.89	4.38	0.87	9.84	0.002
Economic	2.18	1.00	3.27	0.84	62.18	0.000
Political	3.60	0.99	3.10	1.05	12.87	0.000
Cultural	3.17	0.88	3.40	0.98	3.26	0.072
Personal	2.64	0.77	3.14	0.80	20.80	0.000

5.4.2. Admission Category

An examination of the immigration category under which respondents were admitted to Canada shows that about two-fifths of the Hong Kong students (37.1%) came to Canada with their parents under business class (investor or entrepreneur). Approximately one-quarter (24.9%) were admitted under the self-employment or independent category. Another 20.9 per cent came as family class immigrants. Close to 10 per cent were under assisted relatives. Relatively few of them were admitted under retirement, overseas workers, family business, domestic workers, or refugee class. In terms of the Caribbean students, over half of them (55.1%) came as family class immigrants, and almost another quarter (24.1%) were admitted under the category of assisted relatives (see Table 5-6).

Table 5-6 Admission Category

Category	Hong Kong n	Hong Kong %	Caribbean n	Caribbean %
Family class	73	20.7	32	55.1
Assisted relatives	31	8.9	14	24.1
Business	130	37.1	-	-
Independent/self-employed	87	24.9	5	8.6
Overseas worker	4	1.1	3	5.2
Domestic labour	11	3.1	-	-
Retirement	13	3.7	-	-
Refugee	1	0.3	3	5.2
Total	350	100.0	58	100.0

5.4.3. Adaptation Experiences

The adaptation experiences of the Hong Kong and Caribbean immigrant students will be discussed under the following major sections: educational aspects of adaptation, social aspects of adaptation, cultural and linguistic aspects of adaptation, internalization, identification, general gratification with life, discrimination experience, and future plans.

5.4.3.1. Educational Aspects of Adaptation

a. Academic Performance and Major Area of Study. The average mark of all courses completed in the previous term was used as an objective measure of students' academic performance. As shown in Table 5-7, most of Hong Kong students were doing quite well. In particular, 34.9 per cent of them had an "A" average and another 39.1 per cent had a "B" average. Only very few (5.8%) obtained a grade D or below. With regard to the Caribbean students, while almost half of them (48.1%) had a "B" average, about one-fifth of them (20.4%) had an "A" average.

Subjectively, students compared their academic ability with that of their Canadian counterparts. Noticeably, a majority of the Hong Kong students (51.4%) considered

themselves as "average". About one-third (32.6%) regarded themselves as "above average" or "well above average". Only 15.8% of them were quite modest, considering themselves as "below average" or "well below average". In terms of the Caribbean group, a higher percentage of them rated themselves as "well above average" (19.0%). Almost four-fifths (79.4%) reported that they were "above average" or "average". Only one student chose the "well below average" category.

To examine whether students were more inclined to enrol in courses which required less English, they were asked to identify their major area of study (i.e., area in which they have accumulated the most academic credits) in both homeland and in Canada. A cross-tabulation analysis has found that a significant proportion of Hong Kong students who focused on Arts subjects prior to immigration switched to other areas, with 26 per cent to science, 23.3 per cent to business, and 28.8 per cent to combination of various subjects. Among those who specialized in science, business, or combination of various areas, a majority of them remained in the same field (Chi-square = 197.1653, d.f. = 9, $p < 0.001$). Statistical significance has not been attained for the Caribbean group (see Table 5-8).

Table 5-7 Average Mark of Courses Taken in Previous Term

Grade/Mark	Hong Kong		Caribbean	
	n	%	n	%
Grade A (80-100)	125	34.9	11	20.4
Grade B (70-79)	140	39.1	26	48.1
Grade C (60-69)	72	20.1	12	22.2
Grade D (50-59)	18	5.0	5	9.3
Grade E (49 or below)	3	0.8	-	-
Total	358	100.0	54	100.0

Table 5-8 Self-rated Academic Ability

	Hong Kong		Caribbean	
	n	%	n	%
I am well above average.	22	6.0	12	19.0
I am above average.	98	26.6	18	28.6
I am average.	190	51.6	32	50.8
I am below average.	46	12.5	1	1.6
I am well below average.	12	3.3	-	-
Total	368	100.0	63	100.0

Table 5-9 Cross-tabulation: Major Area of Study in Homeland and in Canada

	Arts		Science		Business		Other		Row
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	Total
Hong Kong Group (N=276)									
Arts	*16	21.9	19	26.0	17	23.3	21	28.8	73
Science	4	4.5	*77	86.5	1	1.1	7	7.9	89
Business	-	-	2	14.3	*10	71.4	2	14.3	14
Other	3	3.0	15	15.0	10	26.3	*72	70.6	100
Caribbean Group (N=34)									
Arts	*1	16.7	2	33.3	-	-	3	50.0	6
Science	-	-	*3	75.0	-	-	1	25.0	4
Other	1	5.3	4	44.4	4	21.1	*10	52.6	19

* *Remained in the same area of study*

b. Satisfaction with School Life. Students expressed their degree of satisfaction with 10 different aspects of their school life. A higher mean value corresponds to a higher level of satisfaction. Table 5-10 displays the rank order of the various items. Noticeably, Hong Kong students were most satisfied with their relations with other students (mean = 3.84, SD = 0.75), followed by academic program (mean = 3.74, SD = 0.83) and helpfulness of teachers (mean = 3.63, SD = 0.94). In contrast, extra-curricular activities (mean = 3.25, SD = 1.05), language training programs (mean = 3.32, SD = 0.96), and teaching quality of the teachers (mean = 3.331, SD = 0.95) were items with which they were least satisfied.

The Caribbean students were most pleased with the relations with other students (mean = 4.42, SD = 0.79), helpfulness of teachers (mean = 4.18, SD = 0.88), and school facilities (mean = 4.16, SD = 0.90). On the other hand, they were least satisfied with the grading and examination system (mean = 3.85, SD = 0.85), language programs (mean = 3.83, SD = 0.96), and academic program (mean = 3.78, SD = 0.94).

Table 5-10 Degree of Satisfaction with Various Aspects of School Life

Rank	Mean	SD
Hong Kong Group		
01. My relations with other students.	3.84	0.75
02. My academic program.	3.74	0.83
03. Helpfulness of my teachers.	3.63	0.94
04. School facilities.	3.57	0.91
05. Friendliness of Canadian students.	3.46	0.91
06. Grading and examination system.	3.43	0.99
07. Counselling services provided.	3.333	0.90
08. Teaching quality.	3.331	0.95
09. Language training programs offered.	3.32	0.96
10. Extra-curricular activities provided.	3.25	1.05

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Table 5-10 Degree of Satisfaction with Various Aspects of School Life (Continued)

Caribbean Group		
01. My relations with other students.	4.42	0.79
02. My academic program.	4.18	0.88
03. Helpfulness of my teachers.	4.16	0.90
04. School facilities.	4.12	0.79
05. Friendliness of Canadian students.	4.09	1.00
06. Grading and examination system.	3.98	0.93
07. Counselling services provided.	3.91	1.05
08. Teaching quality.	3.85	0.85
09. Language training programs offered.	3.83	0.96
10. Extra-curricular activities provided.	3.78	0.94

5.4.3.2. Social Aspects of Adaptation

a. Participation in Community Activities. On the more objective side, students indicated their frequency of participation in religious, recreational, community, and political organizations. An examination of the mean values in Table 5-11 shows that more Hong Kong students tended to participate in activities organized by religious organizations. Some participated in sports centres and community organizations. None participated in political organizations. The Caribbean students were relatively active in both religious and recreational organizations.

Table 5-11 Frequency of Participation in Community Organizations

Type of Organization	Hong Kong		Caribbean	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Religious (e.g., church)	2.28	1.26	2.96	1.49
Recreational (e.g., sports centre)	1.80	0.99	2.77	1.48
Community (e.g., YMCA/YWCA)	1.42	0.73	1.77	1.22
Political (e.g., lobby group, political party)	-	-	-	-

Concerning the people with whom they spent their leisure time, Hong Kong immigrant students seemed to have spent most of their leisure time with people who were also from Hong Kong. More specifically, Table 5-12 shows that 80.1 per cent of the Chinese students said they spent most of their leisure time with family, relatives, or friends from Hong Kong. Only 16.8 per cent actually spent their leisure time with non-Chinese Canadian students.

With respect to the Caribbean group, while almost two-thirds (66.7%) indicated that they spent their leisure time with family, friends, or schoolmates from home country, 14.3 per cent spent time with their Canadian friends.

Table 5-12 People with Whom Students Spent Their Leisure Time

Type of People	Hong Kong		Caribbean	
	n	%	n	%
01. Family/relatives/friends from homeland.	281	80.1	42	66.7
02. Canadian friends/schoolmates.	59	16.8	9	16.4
03. Other	11	3.1	4	7.9
Total	351	100.0	55	100.0

b. Experience in Making Friends with Canadians. The experiences of the students in making friends with Canadians (i.e., people not belonging to their ethnic group) was a subjective measure of their social adaptation. While only 9.5 per cent of the Hong Kong students said it was "very easy" to make friends with Canadians, more than two-fifths (41.9%) of the Caribbean counterparts gave the same response. Slightly more than a quarter of Hong Kong students considered "fairly difficult" or "very difficult", whereas only 9.7 per cent of the Caribbean students made use of the same categories (see Table 5-13).

Table 5-13 Experience in Making Friends with Other Canadians

Degree of Difficulty	Hong Kong		Caribbean	
	n	%	n	%
Very easy	35	9.5	26	41.9
Fairly easy	150	40.9	21	33.9
Uncertain	89	24.3	9	14.5
Fairly difficult	78	21.3	2	3.2
Very difficult	15	4.1	4	6.5
Total	367	100.0	62	100.0

5.4.3.3. Cultural and Linguistic Aspects of Adaptation

a. *Exposure to English and Ethnic Media.* Students' degree of exposure to English media, including T.V. programs, radio broadcasts, newspapers, and magazines, was used as an objective measure of cultural adaptation. It can be noted from Table 5-14 that students from Hong Kong had a greater exposure to the four types of mass media in their ethnic language. Caribbean students appeared to have had greater exposure to the four types of media in the English language.

Table 5-14 Frequency of Exposure to Mass Media

Mass Media	Hong Kong		Caribbean	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
01. Watch English TV programs/videos	3.48	0.98	4.48	1.03
02. Watch ethnic TV programs/videos	3.63	0.94	3.54	1.54
03. Listen to English radio broadcasts	2.63	1.22	4.06	1.29
04. Listen to ethnic radio broadcasts	3.06	1.89	1.29	1.73
05. Read English newspapers	2.73	1.01	4.02	1.25
06. Read ethnic newspapers	3.08	1.07	3.50	1.61
07. Read English magazines/periodicals	2.83	0.98	4.23	1.10
08. Read ethnic magazine/periodicals	3.08	0.97	3.19	1.68

b. Self-rated English Ability. Students rated their ability in (a) speaking English, (b) reading English, (c) understanding English, and (d) writing English on a five-point scale. As can be seen in Table 5-15, Caribbean students assigned a much higher point for all four areas of skills. Noticeably, both the Hong Kong (mean = 3.27, SD = 1.13) and Caribbean (mean = 4.85, SD = 0.36) students considered their ability in understanding spoken English their strongest area. The area in which both the Hong Kong (mean = 2.72, SD = 1.06) and Caribbean (mean = 4.67, SD = 0.63) students regarded as having the greatest difficulty was writing skills.

Table 5-15 Self-rated English Ability

English Language Skills	Hong Kong		Caribbean	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
To speak English	2.92	1.13	4.75	0.47
To read English	3.01	1.13	4.79	0.41
To understand English	3.27	1.13	4.85	0.36
To write English	2.72	1.06	4.67	0.63

c. Frequency of English Usage. Students indicated on a five-point scale the language they used when speaking to various individuals, such as parents, siblings, best friends, best schoolmates, and family physician. As can be seen from Table 5-15, Hong Kong students used the English language less frequently as the five scores were relatively low, ranging from 1.46 to 2.18, whereas the Caribbean group demonstrated a much higher frequency of English usage.

Table 5-16 Frequency of English Language Usage

Type of People	Hong Kong		Caribbean	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Parents	1.46	0.60	4.29	1.07
Siblings	1.87	0.79	4.34	1.09
Best friends	1.98	0.92	4.27	1.17
Best schoolmates	2.18	1.03	4.49	0.95
Family physician	2.00	0.98	4.81	0.68

d. English Language Training. A majority of the Hong Kong students (45.8%) enrolled in regular English courses, whereas slightly more than a quarter of them (27.2%) took English as a Second Language (ESL) courses. Only very few of them (5.2%) did not enrol in any English courses in the previous two terms. An overwhelming majority of the Caribbean students (83.6%), however, enrolled in regular English courses.

Table 5-17 English Language Courses Taken in Previous Two Terms

Type of English Language Course	Hong Kong		Caribbean	
	n	%	n	%
ESL	100	27.2	7	11.5
Regular English	168	45.8	51	83.6
Regular English & ESL	78	21.3	1	1.6
Completed OAC English	2	0.5	-	-
No English Course	19	5.2	2	3.3
Total	367	100.0	61	100.0

5.4.3.4. Internalization

Students expressed the extent to which they perceived 10 customs and values as similar to or different from their own way of thinking. It was anticipated that the differences in value might contribute indirectly to intergroup conflict. Hong Kong students tended to agree that they shared the same "ideas about what is sad", "ideas about what is funny", and "openness to new ideas". On the contrary, their major problems lie in the areas concerning "attitudes towards sex", "children's respect for their parents", as well as "students' respect for their teachers" .

Caribbean students, on the other hand, seemed to share the same "ideas about what is sad", "subjects which should not be discussed", as well as "the degree of friendliness and intimacy between unmarried men and women". They were uncomfortable with people's respect for teachers, parents, and the elderly. Students in both groups seemed to have perceived the lack of respect for others, such as parents, teachers, and elderly, as well as the attitudes towards sex.

Table 5-18 Rank Order of Items on Scale of Internalization

Rank	Mean	SD
Hong Kong Group (N=361)		
01. Idea about what is sad.	2.98	0.92
02. Ideas about what is funny.	2.85	0.97
03. Openness to new ideas.	2.82	0.94
04. People's respect for the elderly.	2.80	1.23
05. Subjects which should not be discussed.	2.70	0.87
06. Tolerance of others.	2.59	0.97
07. The degree of friendliness and intimacy between unmarried men and women.	2.54	0.99
08. Students' respect for their teachers.	2.25	1.03
09. Children's respect for their parents.	2.40	1.02
10. Attitude towards sex.	2.32	0.98

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Table 5-18 Rank Order of Items on Scale of Internalization (Continued)

Rank	Mean	SD
Caribbean Group (N=61)		
01. Idea about what is sad.	3.79	1.23
02. Subjects which should not be discussed.	3.44	1.34
03. The degree of friendliness and intimacy between unmarried men and women.	3.36	1.49
04. Openness to new ideas.	3.34	1.28
05. Ideas about what is funny.	3.28	1.37
06. Tolerance of others.	3.20	1.42
07. Attitudes towards sex.	2.87	1.44
07. People's respect for the elderly.	2.87	1.65
09. Children's respect for their parents.	2.34	1.60
10. students' respect for their teachers	2.13	1.48

5.4.3.5. Self-Identification

Identification involves the modification of the immigrant's own sense of identity and a transference of loyalty from the country of origin to the new. Students from Hong Kong were particularly interested in issues, events, and affairs of Canada (mean = 3.13, SD = 1.03). In fact, the lowest mean value was associated with the amount of time they spent with non-Chinese Canadians. This once again confirms the previous findings that a great deal of their time was spent with individuals such as their family members, relatives, or friends from their homeland.

With regard to self-identification, a significant proportion of the Hong Kong sample (57.4%) identified themselves as "Hongkonger", followed by those considered themselves as "Chinese" (16.9%). Terms such as "Chinese-Canadian" and "Canadian" were chosen by 16.1 per cent and 1.1 per cent respectively. On the other hand, Caribbean students were more likely to label themselves as "West Indian" (17.55%), West Indian Canadian (15.9%), Black (15.9%), and Caribbean (14.3%).

This variable was re-coded as a dichotomous one, with 1 = Canadian/Hyphenated Canadian and 0 = other. It is interesting to note that only a relatively small proportion of both the Hong Kong (21.0%) and Caribbean (28.6%) students labelled themselves as a "Canadian" or "Hyphenated-Canadian".

Table 5-19 Degree of Identification with Homeland and Canada

	Hong Kong		Caribbean	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Canada				
a. I am very interested in issues, events, or affairs concerning Canada.	3.13	1.03	2.21	0.82
b. I have a strong positive feeling about being Canadian.	2.92	0.95	2.04	0.92
c. I have a strong sense of belonging to Canada.	2.72	1.00	2.23	1.03
d. I find it easy to make friends with Canadians who are not of my own ethnic group.	3.04	0.90	2.47	1.31
e. I seldom spend time with Canadians who are not of my own ethnic group.	2.72	1.04	2.92	1.37
Homeland				
a. I am very interested in issues, events, or affairs concerning my home country.	3.70	1.09	1.71	0.89
b. I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.	3.65	1.01	2.15	1.03
c. I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly people of my own ethnic group.	2.73	0.86	3.30	1.23

Table 5-20 Self-identification

	n	%
Hong Kong Group		
01. Hongkonger	210	57.4
02. Chinese	62	16.9
03. Chinese-Canadian	59	16.1
04. Chinese Hongkonger	9	2.5
05. Canadian	4	1.1
06. Hong Kong Canadian	4	1.1
07. Other	18	4.9

Continued on next page

Table 5-20 Self-identification (Continued)

Caribbean Group		
01. West Indian	11	17.5
02. West Indian Canadian	10	15.9
03. Black	10	15.9
04. Caribbean	9	14.3
05. Jamaican	4	6.3
06. Afro-Canadian	2	3.2
07. Canadian	2	3.2
08. Black Caribbean	2	3.2
09. Guyanese	2	3.2
10. Trinidadian	2	3.2
11. Other	9	14.3

5.4.3.6. General Gratification with Life

Students were presented with a list of problems and they indicated the extent to which these problems concerned them. Apparently, "getting used to the climate" and "adjusting to Canadian food" were not of particular concern to the Hong Kong students. The top five items that were of concern to these students included: (i) doing well in school, (ii) discrimination against my race; (iii) unpleasant treatment by teachers; (iv) financial situation of family; and (v) separation from friends or relatives in home country.

The Caribbean students expressed similar concerns. The five major items of concern were: (i) doing well in school; (ii) discrimination against my race; (iii) financial situation of my family; (iv) separation from friends or relatives in home country; and (v) pressure of school work.

Table 5-21 Rank Order of Major Problems Encountered

Rank	Mean	SD
Hong Kong Group		
01. Doing well in school.	4.32	0.84
02. Discrimination against my race.	3.79	0.99
03. Unpleasant treatment by teachers.	3.65	1.13
04. Financial situation of my family.	3.50	1.23
05. Separation from friends or relatives in home country.	3 41	1.19
06. Unfriendliness of Canadians.	3.39	1.10
07. My family's adjustment to this country.	3.32	1.07
08. Pressure of school work.	3.22	1.19
09. Adjusting to Canadian culture.	3.03	1.04
10. Getting used to the climate.	2.74	1.13
11. Adjusting to Canadian food.	2.38	1.11
Caribbean Group		
01. Doing well in school.	4.59	0.77
02. Discrimination against my race.	3.86	1.40
03. Financial situation of my family.	3.85	1.24
04. Separation from friends or relatives in home country	3.81	1.35
05. Pressure of school work.	3.51	1.37
06. Unpleasant treatment by teachers.	3.32	1.48
07. My family's adjustment to this country.	3.24	1.30
08. Unfriendliness of Canadians.	3.07	1.42
09. Getting used to the climate.	3.03	1.45
10. Adjusting to Canadian culture.	2.98	1.40
11. Adjusting to Canadian food.	2.61	1.49

5.4.3.7. Discrimination Experience

Discrimination appears to be an area of concern to both groups of students. More specifically, 89 students in the Hong Kong group (24.5%) indicated that they had personally experienced discrimination because of their ethnic and cultural background, whereas 10 Caribbean students (16.7%) reported a similar experience.

Students were asked to provide a brief description of their worse experience. Examples of the written accounts given by the respondents are indicated below. The country of origin, gender and length of residence in Canada of the respondents have also been included.

My English teacher does not grade my assignments fairly. She has told me that being a Chinese student, I should be happy if I am given a passing grade [trans.]. (0001/HK/male/3 years and 10 months)

Sometimes, while we are speaking Cantonese, some Canadians will give us a dirty look. Or makes us feel uncomfortable. Also, some friends told me that some teacher does not like HK people or Chinese. They will be harsh to those Chinese [sic.]. (0010/HK/female/2 years and 9 months)

Some black guys said "Dirty chink!" to me in school [sic.]. (0056/HK/male/9 months)

I was discriminated against by Canadians in school. They used foul language and called me names. They just don't respect Chinese people [trans.]. (0061 HK/female/2 years and 10 months)

I was being called a Chinese pig. (0406/HK/female/1 year and 9 months)

The school librarian thought I didn't even understand the meaning of the word "telephone". It was very insulting [trans.]. (0214/HK/female/2 years and 3 months)

I was not being treated fairly by my teachers [trans.]. (0216/HK/male/3 years)

The black guys pick on me. When I don't want to talk to them, they swear at me. (0296/Jamaica/female/2 years)

People treat me differently because I hang out with a white guy. (0297 Trinidad/female/4 years and 3 months)

I have been teased by a few guys because of my surname - "Poon". (0298/HK/female/1 year and 4 months)

Being told that I have no rights in Canada. (0329/Granada/male/4 years)

During the English class, the Canadian students always called me names. (0351 HK/female/1 year and 1 month)

I was not being treated fairly by my Chemistry teacher. The teacher also insulted the Chinese students in class. (0352/HK-Macau/female/3 months)

In addition, students also spoke of their discrimination experiences outside the schools. Here are some examples:

I work part-time as a salesperson. Once when I was talking to a customer in English, that person spoke to me rather sarcastically, suggesting that I should go back to my country of origin. (0031/HK female/4 years)

I was asking for help and they (all Canadians with blonde hair) looked at one another. And then they said no, which is very obvious that they did it deliberately [sic.] (038/HK female/2 years and 4 months)

Once I went with my brother to take TTC bus, we asked the driver to give us transfer but he wasn't give us but we saw he gave to other people - Canadian passengers [sic.]. (0255/HK female/5 years and 6 months)

When I was talking to my friends in Cantonese in a public place, some people said some bad words to us. They told us to speak in English. [trans.]. (0196/HK female/1 year and 2 months)

Cross-tabulation and ANOVA procedures were used to examine the relationship between discrimination experience and other socio-demographic and background variables. ANOVAs revealed that discrimination experience was significantly related to students who reported having greater difficulties in making friends with Canadians ($F = 5.803$, $p < 0.017$) and those whose length of residence in Canada was longer ($F = 5.173$, $p < 0.024$). No significant relationship has been found for the Caribbean sample.

5.4.3.8. Future Plans

The future plans of immigrant students would inevitably affect their commitment to improve their language skills, the types of social network developed, the degree of participation in organizations and the wider community, as well as their overall commitment to the receiving country.

As can be seen from Table 5-22, an overwhelming majority of the Hong Kong students (89.1%) planned to enter university upon completion of their high school education, whereas only 40.0 per cent of the Caribbean counterparts indicated a similar intention. Compared with the Hong Kong group, significantly more Caribbean students planned to enter college (41.7%) or to seek employment (11.7%).

Students were further asked whether they would eventually return to their homeland. Exactly half of the Hong Kong students responded positively. More than one-third of them (35.3%) were not sure, and only 14.7 per cent gave a negative response. Noticeably, almost half of the Caribbean students also expressed that they would return to their home countries eventually.

5.4.3.9. Overall Adaptation Experiences

Students were further asked, based on their experiences in Canada, what would they prefer to do if they were given a choice. More than one-third of the Hong Kong students (34.1%) said that they would return to Hong Kong. Less than one-third (31.3%) indicated that they would stay, and 30.8 per cent said they had no particular preference. On the other hand, more than half of the Caribbean students (51.6%) said that based on their experience, they would still prefer to stay in Canada.

In response to the question as to whether respondents would encourage their relatives and friends to immigrate to Canada, Table 5-23 reveals that while slightly less than a quarter of the Hong Kong students (23.6%) would definitely do so, nearly half of the Caribbean students (45.9%) responded positively. Noticeably, a significant proportion of the students in both the Hong Kong (55.3%) and Caribbean (49.2%) groups made use of the "uncertain" category.

Table 5-22 Future Plans

	Hong Kong		Caribbean	
	n	%	n	%
a. Study/work plan upon completion of high school education				
University	326	89.1	24	40.0
College	24	6.6	25	41.7
College/University	5	1.4	2	3.3
Employment	7	1.9	7	11.7
Employment/College	-	-	1	1.7
Uncertain	4	1.1	1	1.7
Total	366	100.0	60	100.0
b. Plan to return to homeland eventually				
Yes	184	50.0	27	46.6
No	54	14.7	10	17.2
Uncertain	130	35.3	21	36.2
Total	368	100.0	58	100.0

Table 5-23 Overall Adaptation Experiences

	Hong Kong		Caribbean	
	n	%	n	%
a. Intention of encouraging friends/relatives to emigrate to Canada				
Yes	86	23.6	28	45.9
No	77	21.1	3	4.9
Uncertain	202	55.3	30	49.2
Total	365	100.0	61	100.0
b. Immigration decision based on lived experiences				
Stay in Canada	115	31.3	32	51.6
Return to home country	125	34.1	9	14.5
Immigrate elsewhere	10	2.7	2	3.2
Return to home country or immigrate elsewhere	4	1.1	-	-
Uncertain	113	30.8	19	30.6
Total				

5.5. FURTHER DATA ANALYSIS

5.5.1. Multivariate Analysis of Variance on Measures of Adaptation

As a multivariate approach was adopted for the present study, it is crucial to examine the interaction among the various measures of adaptation. An examination of Table 5-24 indicates that there were significant differences between the scores obtained by both groups on ten of the twelve scales included.

The results suggested that Caribbean students (1) were more satisfied with the various aspects of school life, (2) considered their values more similar to those of the Canadians, (3) more active in participation of community activities, (4) more satisfied with their English ability, (5) used English more often, (6) indicated a greater exposure to various English media, and (7) considered it easier to make friends with Canadians, and (8) rated their academic ability higher. On the other hand, the Hong Kong students achieved higher scores on the identification with home country and identification with Canada scales.

Noticeably, although the scale on academic performance was significant only at $p < 0.075$, this nevertheless shows that the actual academic performance of the Hong Kong students (mean = 76.97, SD = 11.09) was better than the Caribbean students (mean = 73.98, SD = 10.41). It should be noted that the average grade was based on the courses completed in the previous term. The level of difficulty of the courses taken by the students, however, was not taken into account. Based on the fact that only 40.0 per cent of the Caribbean students planned to enter university upon completion of their high school education, as discussed in the previous section on future plans, it could reasonably be assumed that Hong Kong students were more likely to have completed advanced-level courses.

Table 5-24 MANOVA: Univariate F-Tests of Major Adaptation Scores

Measures of Adaptation	Hong Kong*		Caribbean**			Sig.
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	F	of F
Educational	3.489	0.582	4.080	0.486	46.10	.000
Cultural	2.618	0.582	3.012	0.989	16.10	.000
Social	1.678	0.598	2.372	0.941	49.17	.000
Problem	3.335	0.615	3.468	0.823	1.83	.177
Identification (Canada)	2.960	0.699	2.277	0.785	39.71	.000
Identification (Homeland)	3.362	0.720	2.354	0.880	79.49	.000
English Usage	1.908	0.651	4.431	0.804	607.09	.000
English Proficiency	2.967	0.905	4.752	0.405	184.99	.000
Media Exposure (English)	2.931	0.786	4.121	0.857	96.38	.000
Media Exposure (Ethnic)	3.206	0.731	3.350	1.372	1.29	.257
Academic Performance	76.97	11.094	73.98	10.407	3.18	.075
Academic Ability	3.196	0.860	3.694	0.822	14.57	.000
Interaction Experience	3.301	1.032	3.959	1.136	17.05	.000

* N=352; ** N=49

5.5.2. Factor Analysis on Measures of Adaptation

A factor analysis on the original 13 scales measuring the adaptation experiences of immigrant student was performed. The new scales (dimensions of adaptation) to be analyzed in the following section would draw on a five-factor solution generated by the use of varimax rotation, a method of orthogonal rotation which simplifies the factor structure by maximizing the variance of a column of the pattern matrix (Kim and Mueller, 1978). The scales loaded on factor one and two scales were loaded on each of the four other factors. All loadings were above the .60 level, significantly higher than the .30 recommended by Pedhazur (1982) as the acceptable minimum. Frequency of English usage, academic performance, sense of belonging to Canada, ethnic language retention, and general gratification with life were the five new dimensions of adaptation delineated. These new dimensions were named by paying particular attention to the items that loaded most significantly onto them.

Table 5-25 Orthogonally Rotated Varimax Pattern Matrix for Factor Analysis for 13 Measures of Adaptation

Scale	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5
Exposure to English Media	0.7812				
English Proficiency	0.7392				
English Usage	0.6433				
Social	0.6221				
Educational	0.6152				
Academic Performance		0.8754			
Academic Ability		0.8580			
Identification with Canada			0.8236		
Identification with Homeland			0.6893		
Exposure to Ethnic Media				-0.6858	
Interaction Experience				0.6285	
Problem					0.6943
Cultural					0.6884

Note: Factor loadings less than .3 not reported

5.5.3. Multiple Regression Analysis

Multiple regression procedure was utilized to examine the amount of variance accounted for in the five new dimensions of adaptation by a combination of selected socio-demographic and background variables. Table 5-26 shows an inventory of predictor variables used in both multiple regression and logistic regression analyses. The set of predictor variables was classified under five categories: (a) reasons for immigration, (b) personal characteristics, (c) socio-economic status, (d) family characteristics, and (e) other control variables. The means and standard deviations of these variables are reported separately for the Hong Kong group, the Caribbean group, and the total sample in Table 5-27.

The results of the multiple regression analysis are shown in Tables 5-28 to 5-32, separately for the Hong Kong group and the total sample. For purposes of comparability, the same set of predictor variables was entered into each of the equations simultaneously. It should be noted that the use of a relatively large set of predictor variables precluded separate regression analysis for the Caribbean group due to its small sample size. Two coefficients are shown: partial regression coefficients (b), which show the unit change in the dependent variable induced by a unit change in the independent variable; and standardized regression coefficients (beta), which indicate the relative weight of the particular variable in the equation.

5.5.3.a. Frequency of English Usage

Table 5-28 presents the results of regressing frequency of English usage on selected socio-demographic and background variables. The overall model for the Hong Kong sample was statistically significant ($F = 4.317$, $p < 0.001$) and accounted for 22 per cent of the variance. The standardized coefficients (betas) revealed five significant predictors, including cultural reason for immigration (beta = .185), prior experience in Canada (beta = .145), presence of mother in Canada (beta = .162), mother's occupational category in home country being non-professional, non-business (beta = .178), as well as level of education completed in home country (beta = .147).

More specifically, Hong Kong students exhibiting a higher frequency of English usage were those whose mothers resided in Canada, mothers worked in a non-business, non-professional occupation category in home country, primary reason for immigration to Canada being culturally-oriented, had prior experience in Canada as tourists and/or foreign students, as well as those who had completed a higher level of education (above primary school) prior to immigration.

Taking into consideration the total sample, the level of education completed in the homeland was no longer a significant predictor. Two other variables, including self-rated SES and ethnicity displayed statistically significant effects on frequency of English usage. Students who indicated a higher SES and those who immigrated from the Caribbean tended to use English more frequently.

5.5.3.b. Academic Performance

An examination of Table 5-29 revealed that the overall model for the Hong Kong group was significant ($F = 2.899$, $p < 0.001$) and 16 per cent of the variance in academic performance was accounted for.

Political reasons for immigration, self-rated SES, presence of father, and language of instruction in home country, were significantly and positively related to academic performance. That is, students whose major reason for immigration was politically-related (beta = .154), fathers resided in Canada (beta = .418), language of instruction in home country being English (beta = .105), and self-rated SES was higher (beta = .248) performed better academically.

Two other predictor variables, social reason for immigration (beta = -.188) and personal reason for immigration (beta = -.155) were related to academic performance significantly and negatively. Students who indicated social and personal reasons for immigration as important associated with lower academic performance.

Of particular note is the salient effect of the presence of father on academic performance, with a beta coefficient of .418. Further analysis of the total sample demonstrated that five of the six variables discussed above (except personal reason for immigration) remained to be statistically significant.

5.5.3.c. Sense of Belonging to Canada

The results of multiple regression analysis with sense of belonging to Canada is shown in Table 5-30. The overall model for the Hong Kong group was statistically significant ($F = 3.345$, $p < 0.001$) and accounted for 18 per cent of the variance.

Hong Kong students who considered their major reasons for immigration were politically- and culturally-related, as well as those who came to Canada at an older age exhibited a stronger sense of belonging to Canada. Age at immigration, in particular, displayed a much stronger impact, with a beta coefficient of .259. Students with prior experience in Canada as tourist and/or visa student) exhibited a weaker sense of belonging to Canada.

Age, presence of father, and ethnicity, were the three additional variables found to be significant predictors of sense of belonging to Canada when the total sample was taken into consideration. Age exhibited a negative impact, indicating the fact that the younger the students, the weaker their sense of belonging. The presence of father, on the other hand, displayed a positive impact. As well, Caribbean students' stronger sense of belonging was stronger than that of the Hong Kong counterparts.

5.5.3.d. Ethnic Language Retention

The overall model for the Hong Kong group was statistically significant ($F = 2.152$, $p<0.01$) and accounted for 12 per cent of the variance in ethnic language retention (see Table 5-31).

Hong Kong students whose fathers resided in Canada (beta = .131), attended school in the downtown area (beta = -.181), and experienced discrimination in Canada (beta = -.151) demonstrated a significantly higher degree of ethnic language retention. On the other hand, the degree of ethnic language retention among those who had indicated their main reason for immigration was personally-motivated was lower.

Further analysis on the total sample demonstrated that the overall model still attained statistical significance ($F = 1.677$, $p < 0.05$) and explained 9 per cent of the variance. Three of the four significant predictors in the model of the Hong Kong sample (except personal reason for immigration) remained to be statistically significant.

5.5.3.e. General Gratification with Life

The overall model for the Hong Kong group was statistically significant ($F = 2.60$, $p<0.001$) and explained 14 per cent of the variance in general gratification with life. Noticeably, discrimination experience in Canada was the only predictor variable which attained statistical significance. The degree of gratification among Hong Kong students who had been discriminated against in Canada was significantly lower (see Table 5-32).

When the total sample was taken into consideration, the model remained to be statistically significant ($F = 3.88$, $p < 0.001$) and explained 18 per cent of the variance. Students who had been discriminated against (beta = -.122) and whose fathers held a non-business/professional/managerial occupation in home country displayed a lower degree of gratification, whereas students with a higher degree of gratification were those whose perceptions of the major reasons for immigration were socially- and politically-motivated (beta weights = .121 and .206 respectively).

5.5.4. Logistic Regression Analysis

To assess the extent to which these immigrant students were satisfied with their overall immigration experience, two specific questions were asked: (a) whether they would still immigrate to Canada, based on their lived experience in Canada, if a choice were given, and (b) whether they would encourage their friends and relatives in their homeland to immigrate to Canada. Logistic regression procedure, rather than linear regression method, would be used as the outcome variables were dichotomous. The logistic regression coefficients indicate the change in the log odds of one outcome variable versus another associated with one-unit change in the independent variable. It should be noted that students who made use of the "uncertain" category have been excluded from the logistic regression analysis.

5.5.4.a. Immigration Decision Based on Lived Experience

Table 5-33 presents the logistic regression models for the Hong Kong group and the total sample, both of which achieved statistical significance.

The equation for the Hong Kong sample revealed that age at immigration, economic reason for immigration, and discrimination experience made significant contributions to the equation predicting decision to immigrate to Canada based on lived experience. Students whose age at immigration was higher and whose major reason for immigration to Canada was economically motivated were significantly more likely to immigrate to Canada based on their lived experience. Those who reported having been discriminated against in Canada, on the other hand, would be less likely to come.

Further analysis on the total sample demonstrated that the overall model still attained statistical significance Two of the three significant predictors in the model for the Hong Kong sample, including economic reasons for immigration and discrimination experience, remained to be statistically significant.

5.5.4.b. Recommendation of Canada as Choice of Destination

As regards whether students would encourage their friends and relatives to immigrate to Canada, Table 5-34 shows that six variables, including economic reasons for immigration, political reason for immigration, cultural reason for immigration, immigration category, employment status, and discrimination experience, made significant contributions to the equation predicting Hong Kong students' intention of encouraging their friends and relatives to immigrate to Canada.

To be more specific, there was a greater possibility for those who immigrated to Canada on economic and political reasons and those who were admitted to Canada as non-business category class immigrants were more likely to encourage their relatives and friends to come. Those who held a part-time job, indicated their major reason for immigration was culturally-motivated, and experienced discrimination were less likely to do so. When the total sample was taken into consideration, all the six significant predictors for the Hong Kong sample remained to be statistically significant.

Table 5-26 Inventory of Predictor Variables for Multiple Regression and Logistic Regression Analyses

Predictor Variables	Definitions
I. Reasons for Immigration	
01) Social	measured on a Likert-type scale with
02) Educational	1 = very unimportant 2 = unimportant,
03) Economic	3 = uncertain/not applicable,
04) Political	4 = important, and 5 = very important
05) Cultural	
06) Personal	
II. Personal Characteristics	
07) Age	measured in years
08) Age at immigration	measured in years
09) Gender	1 = male; 2 = female
10) Religion	1 = religion; 2 = no religion
11) Prior experience in Canada	1 = yes; 0 = no
12) Grade completed in homeland	1 = primary; 2 = secondary/above
13) Instruction language in homeland	1 = English; 0 = other
14) Field of study in Canada	1 = Arts; 2 = Science; 3 = Business; 4 = other
15) Present employment status	1 = employed part-time; 0 = not employed
III. Socio-economic Status	
16) Self-rated SES	values range from 1 (low) to 5 (high)
17) Father's education	1 = primary school; 2 = secondary/above
18) Mother's education	1 = primary; 2 = secondary/above
19) Father's occupation in homeland	1 = professional/managerial/business; 2 = non-professional/managerial/business; 3 = not in labour force
20) Admission category	1 = business class; 0 = non-business class
IV Family Characteristics	
21) Presence of father in Canada	1 = present; 0 = absent
22) Presence of mother in Canada	1 = present; 0 = absent
V. Other Variables	
23) Discrimination experience	1 = yes; 0 = no
24) Location of school	1 = uptown; 0 = downtown
25) Ethnicity	1 = Chinese; 2 = Black

Table 5-27 Means, Standard Deviations of Predictor Variables for the Hong Kong Group, Caribbean Group, and the Total Sample

Predictor Variables	Hong Kong Mean	SD	N	Caribbean Mean	SD	N	Total Sample Mean	SD	N
I. Reasons for Immigration									
01) Social	2.69	(0.92)	366	2.48	(0.93)	60	2.66	(0.93)	426
02) Educational	4.00	(0.88)	368	4.39	(0.85)	63	4.05	(0.89)	431
03) Economic	2.19	(1.01)	366	3.31	(0.86)	62	2.35	(1.06)	428
04) Political	3.61	(0.98)	367	3.11	(1.04)	61	3.54	(1.00)	428
05) Cultural	3.18	(0.88)	367	3.44	(0.98)	62	3.22	(0.90)	429
06) Personal	2.64	(0.77)	364	3.21	(0.86)	63	2.73	(0.81)	427
II. Personal Characteristics									
07) Age	17.86	(2.82)	363	17.12	(2.58)	57	17.76	(2.80)	420
08) Age at immigration	15.30	(3.36)	362	14.57	(3.28)	58	15.20	(3.35)	420
09) Gender	0.48	(0.50)	367	0.34	(0.48)	62	0.46	(0.50)	429
10) Religion	0.55	(0.50)	368	0.81	(0.40)	63	0.59	(0.49)	431
11) Prior experience in Canada	0.33	(0.47)	363	0.16	(0.37)	63	0.30	(0.46)	426
12) Grade completed (HC)	0.17	(0.37)	363	0.34	(0.48)	58	0.19	(0.39)	421
13) Instruction lang. (HC)	0.44	(0.50)	356	0.97	(0.18)	59	0.51	(0.50)	415
14) Present field of study	2.80	(1.03)	313	3.00	(1.14)	44	2.83	(1.05)	357
15) Present employ. status	0.17	(0.37)	366	0.19	(0.40)	62	0.17	(0.38)	428
III. Socio-economic Status									
16) Self-rated SES	2.98	(0.70)	233	2.73	(0.66)	52	2.93	(0.70)	285
17) Father's education	0.80	(0.40)	315	0.68	(0.48)	31	0.79	(0.41)	346
18) Mother's education	0.72	(0.45)	319	0.71	(0.46)	41	0.72	(0.45)	360
19) Father's occupation (HC)	1.37	(0.52)	324	1.77	(0.48)	40	1.42	(0.53)	364
20) Admission category	0.37	(0.48)	350	0.02	(0.13)	58	0.32	(0.47)	408
IV Family Characteristics									
21) Presence of father	0.62	(0.49)	348	0.63	(0.49)	49	0.62	(0.49)	397
22) Presence of mother	0.80	(0.40)	355	0.75	(0.43)	53	0.79	(0.40)	408
V. Other Variables									
23) Discrimination experience	0.25	(0.43)	364	0.17	(0.38)	60	0.24	(0.43)	424
24) Location of school	0.74	(0.44)	368	0.10	(0.30)	63	0.64	(0.48)	431
25) Ethnicity	1.00	(0.00)	368	2.00	(0.00)	63	1.15	(0.35)	431

Table 5-28 Unstandardized and Standardized Regression Coefficients for Effects of Selected Independent Variables on Frequency of English Usage of the Hong Kong Group and the Total Sample

Independent Variables	Hong Kong b	Hong Kong Beta	Total Sample b	Total Sample Beta
I. Reasons for Immigration				
01) Social	-.045	.053	-.049	-.046
02) Educational	.053	.061	.081	.072
03) Economic	-.013	-.016	.015	.016
04) Political	.040	.051	.060	.060
05) Cultural	.162**	.185	.142**	.128
06) Personal	.108	.016	.023	.019
II. Personal Characteristics				
07) Age	.038	.138	.035	.097
08) Age at immigration	-.022	-.093	-.027	-.090
09) Gender	.073	.047	.032	.016
10) Religion	.124	.080	.131	.065
11) Prior experience in Canada	.241**	.145	.201*	.092
III. Socio-economic Status				
12) Father's occupation in homeland				
a) Business/managerial/professional	.148	.095	.103	.051
b) Non-business/managerial/professional	-.030	-.018	-.021	-.010
13) Mother's occupation in homeland				
a) Business/managerial/professional	.071	.033	.053	.018
b) Non-business/managerial/professional	.311***	.178	.226**	.103
14) Self-rated SES	.129	.093	.160*	.091
IV. Family Characteristics				
15) Presence of father	-.023	-.014	.048	.022
16) Presence of mother	.320**	.162	.234*	.092
V. Other Variables				
17) Language of instruction in homeland	.106	.067	.083	.041
18) Grade completed in homeland	.308**	.147	.131	.051
21) Location of school	-.136	-.078	-.146	-.070
20) Discrimination experience	-.077	-.043	-.136	-.058
21) Ethnicity	n.a.	n.a.	1.566***	.554
(Constant)	-2.566***		-3.865***	
R-Square	.22		.48	
N	345		407	
F	4.31702***		16.13568***	

* p<.05; ** p<.01; *** p<.001

Table 5-29 Unstandardized and Standardized Regression Coefficients for Effects of Selected Independent Variables on Academic Performance of the Hong Kong Group and the Total Sample

Independent Variables	Hong Kong b	Beta	Total Sample b	Beta
I. Reasons for Immigration				
01) Social	-.208**	-.188	-.183**	-.168
02) Educational	.073	.063	.038	.034
03) Economic	.012	.011	-.017	-.018
04) Political	.159*	.154	.128*	.128
05) Cultural	-.108	.093	-.106	-.095
06) Personal	-.207*	-.155	-.096	-.077
II. Personal Characteristics				
07) Age	-.002	-.004	.014	.040
08) Age at immigration	-.017	-.054	-.020	-.066
09) Gender	-.109	-.054	-.071	-.035
10) Religion	-.033	-.016	-.009	-.004
11) Prior experience in Canada	.119	.055	.129	.059
III. Socio-economic Status				
12) Father's occupation in homeland				
a) Business/managerial/professional	-.042	-.021	.002	.001
b) Non-business/managerial/professional	.086	.039	.059	.027
13) Mother's occupation in homeland				
a) Business/managerial/professional	-.049	-.017	.014	.005
b) Non-business/managerial/professional	-.029	-.013	.127	.058
14) Self-rated SES	.248*	.136	.181*	.103
IV. Family Characteristics				
15) Presence of father	.418***	.194	.226*	.105
16) Presence of mother	-.162	-.063	-.059	-.023
V. Other Variables				
17) Language of instruction in homeland	.219*	.105	.252*	.124
18) Grade completed in homeland	.103	.037	.048	.019
19) Location of school	.069	.030	.036	.017
20) Discrimination experience	.032	.014	.057	.024
21) Ethnicity	n.a.	n.a.	.105	.037
(Constant)	-.166		-.409	
R-Square	.16		.11	
N	345		407	
F	2.89974***		2.26561***	

* p<.05; ** p<.01; *** p<.001

Table 5-30 Unstandardized and Standardized Regression Coefficients for Effects of Selected Independent Variables on Sense of Belonging of the Hong Kong Group and the Total Sample

Independent Variables	Hong Kong b	Hong Kong Beta	Total Sample b	Total Sample Beta
I. Reasons for Immigration				
01) Social	-.041	-.041	-.054	-.050
02) Educational	.028	.027	.032	.028
03) Economic	.054	.059	-.055	-.058
04) Political	.139*	.150	.123*	.123
05) Cultural	.244***	.063	.180**	-.162
06) Personal	-.044	-.037	-.017	-.014
II. Personal Characteristics				
07) Age	-.051	-.157	-.050*	-.138
08) Age at immigration	.071**	.259	.075**	.249
09) Gender	.131	.072	.117	.058
10) Religion	.153	.084	.117	.058
11) Prior experience in Canada	-.208*	-.106	-.205*	-.094
III. Socio-economic Status				
12) Father's occupation in homeland				
a) Business/managerial/professional	.051	.028	.018	.009
b) Non-business/managerial/professional	-.024	-.012	-.040	-.019
13) Mother's occupation in homeland				
a) Business/managerial/professional	-.099	-.039	-.099	-.033
b) Non-business/managerial/professional	.081	.040	.087	.039
14) Self-rated SES	.029	.018	.031	.018
IV. Family Characteristics				
15) Presence of father	.195	.101	.210*	.098
16) Presence of mother	.056	.024	-.034	-.013
V. Other Variables				
17) Language of instruction in homeland	-.029	-.015	-.029	-.014
18) Grade completed in homeland	.021	.008	.047	.018
19) Location of school	-.052	-.025	-.028	-.014
20) Discrimination experience	-.009	-.004	-.055	-.023
21) Ethnicity	n.a.	n.a.	-1.403***	-.496
(Constant)	-1.574***		.044	
R-Square	.18		.32	
N	345		407	
F	3.34516***		8.14877***	

* p<.05; ** p<.01; *** p<.001

Table 5-31 Unstandardized and Standardized Regression Coefficients for Effects of Selected Independent Variables on Ethnic Language Retention of the Hong Kong Group and the Total Sample

Independent Variables	Hong Kong b	Hong Kong Beta	Total Sample b	Total Sample Beta
I. Reasons for Immigration				
01) Social	.073	.071	.048	.044
02) Educational	-.007	-.006	-.037	-.033
03) Economic	.086	.092	.059	.062
04) Political	.032	.033	.010	.011
05) Cultural	-.009	-.009	-.035	-.031
06) Personal	-.218**	-.177	-.122	-.097
II. Personal Characteristics				
07) Age	-.043	-.127	-.019	-.053
08) Age at immigration	.010	.036	-.010	-.035
09) Gender	-.186	-.099	-.071	-.035
10) Religion	-.053	-.028	-.031	-.015
11) Prior experience in Canada	.188	.093	.190	.087
III. Socio-economic Status				
12) Father's occupation in homeland				
a) Business/managerial/professional	-.087	.046	.041	.148
b) Non-business/managerial/professional	-.165	-.081	-.021	-.010
13) Mother's occupation in homeland				
a) Business/managerial/professional	.240	.092	.212	.072
b) Non-business/managerial/professional	.047	.022	-.025	-.011
14) Self-rated SES	.128	.076	.129	.074
IV. Family Characteristics				
15) Presence of father	.259*	.131	.233*	.109
16) Presence of mother	-.112	-.047	-.112	-.044
V. Other Variables				
17) Language of instruction in homeland	-.013	-.007	.029	.014
18) Grade completed in homeland	-.164	-.064	-.036	-.014
19) Location of school	-.386**	-.181	-.430***	-.206
20) Discrimination experience	-.330**	-.151	-.328**	-.139
21) Ethnicity	n.a.	n.a.	-.179	-.063
(Constant)	-.789		.872	
R-Square	.12		.09	
N	345		407	
F	2.15224**		1.67753*	

* p<.05; ** p<.01; *** p<.001

Table 5-32 Unstandardized and Standardized Regression Coefficients for Effects of Selected Independent Variables on General Gratification with Life of the Hong Kong Group and the Total Sample

Independent Variables	Hong Kong b	Hong Kong Beta	Total Sample b	Total Sample Beta
I. Reasons for Immigration				
01) Social	.072	.073	.131*	.121
02) Educational	.022	.021	.013	.012
03) Economic	.095	.015	.058	.061
04) Political	-.005	-.005	-.071	-.071
05) Cultural	.051	-.049	.054	.049
06) Personal	.119	.100	.258***	.206
II. Personal Characteristics				
07) Age	.030	.092	-.010	-.028
08) Age at immigration	-.032	-.117	.007	.023
09) Gender	-.093	.097	-.086	-.043
10) Religion	.068	.037	.034	.017
11) Prior experience in Canada	.078	.040	-.007	-.003
III. Socio-economic Status				
12) Father's occupation in homeland				
a) Business/managerial/professional	-.154	-.084	-.142	-.071
b) Non-business/managerial/professional	-.280	-.142	-.270*	-.127
13) Mother's occupation in homeland				
a) Business/managerial/professional	-.216	-.085	-.270*	-.092
b) Non-business/managerial/professional	.054	.027	-.075	-.034
14) Self-rated SES	-.083	-.051	-.110	-.062
IV. Family Characteristics				
15) Presence of father	.070	.036	.087	.041
16) Presence of mother	-.118	-.051	-.212	-.084
V. Other Variables				
17) Language of instruction in homeland	-.059	-.032	-.021	-.010
18) Grade completed in homeland	-.060	-.024	.026	.010
19) Location of school	-.191	-.093	-.125	-.060
20) Discrimination experience	-.243*	-.116	-.289**	-.122
21) Ethnicity	n.a.	n.a.	.058	.020
(Constant)	-.470		-.467	
R-Square	.14		.18	
N	345		407	
F	2.60002***		3.88147***	

* p<.05; ** p<.01; *** p<.001

Table 5-33 Multivariate Logistic Regression Coefficients for Immigration Decision Based on Lived Experience and Selected Socio-demographic & Background Variables

Independent Variables	Hong Kong B	SE	Total Sample B	SE
I. Reasons for Immigration				
01) Social	.229	.271	.223	.268
02) Educational	-.289	.267	-.323	.265
03) Economic	.527*	.244	.544*	.240
04) Political	.339	.239	.402	.236
05) Cultural	-.040	.287	-.098	.277
06) Personal	.435	.339	.430	.325
II. Personal Characteristics				
07) Age	-.268	.148	-.164	.137
08) Age at immigration	.255*	.128	.140	.117
09) Gender	.052	.216	.017	.205
10) Religion	.127	.200	.136	.198
11) Prior experience in Canada	-.087	.216	-.165	.207
12) Employment status in Canada	-.210	.269	-.203	.260
III. Socio-economic Status				
13) Father's education	-.300	.282	-.069	.257
14) Father's occupation in homeland				
a) Business/managerial/professional	.291	.482	.239	.473
b) Non-business/managerial/professional	.348	.487	.261	.480
15) Admission category	.227	.213	.213	.210
IV. Other Variables				
16) Major area of study in Canada				
a) Arts	.231	.479	.042	.455
b) Science	.442	.347	.400	.328
c) Business	-.792	.521	-.669	.496
17) Discrimination experience	.454*	.229	.539*	.220
18) Ethnicity	n.a.	n.a.	-3.943	9.165
Constant	-2.727	1.792	-2.124	1.799
Model Chi-square	38.816**		43.843**	
Degree of freedom	20		21	
N	151		163	

* p<.05; ** p<.01; *** p<.001

Note

Table 5-34 Multivariate Logistic Regression Coefficients for Recommendation of Canada as Choice of Destination and Selected Socio-demographic & Background Variables

Independent Variables	Hong Kong B	Hong Kong SE	Total Sample B	Total Sample SE
I. Reasons for Immigration				
01) Social	-.125	.364	-.125	.364
02) Educational	-.132	.327	-.132	.327
03) Economic	.867*	.345	.867*	.345
04) Political	.938**	.325	.938**	.325
05) Cultural	-.874*	.398	-.874*	.398
06) Personal	.448	.423	.448	.423
II. Personal Characteristics				
07) Age	-.148	.146	-.148	.146
08) Age at immigration	.209	.140	.209	.140
09) Gender	-.534	.288	-.534	.288
10) Religion	-.132	.272	-.132	.272
11) Prior experience in Canada	-.310	.281	-.310	.281
12) Employment status in Canada	-.669*	.330	-.669*	.330
III. Socio-economic Status				
13) Father's education	-.634	.441	-.634	.440
14) Father's occupation in homeland				
a) Business/managerial/professional	.073	.567	.073	.567
b) Non-business/managerial/professional	-.331	.546	-.331	.546
15) Admission category	.609*	.280	.609*	.280
IV. Other Variables				
16) Major area of study in Canada				
a) Arts	1.028	.806	1.028	.806
b) Science	-.399	.509	-.399	.509
c) Business	.251	.721	.251	.721
17) Discrimination experience	.649*	.296	.649*	.296
18) Ethnicity	n.a.	n.a.	-.449	.446
Constant	-2.689	3.025	1.254	9.647
Model Chi-square	37.192*		47.491***	
Degree of freedom	20		21	
N	108		117	

* p<.05; ** p<.01; *** p<.001

Note: Reference category for father's occupation in homeland is "not in labour force"; for major area of study in Canada is "combination of various fields".

CHAPTER 6: RESEARCH FINDINGS - PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

This chapter highlights the major themes of the interviews with Hong Kong and Caribbean immigrant students. Case summaries of six Hong Kong and five Caribbean participants will also be presented.

6.1. PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

The interviews were intended to further supplement the survey findings. The interviews took place after the survey instrument was administered. Students indicated on a form attached to the questionnaire whether they would like to further participate in a personal interview. Those who responded positively were contacted by telephone to arrange appropriate meeting times and locations. Participants were assured as to the confidential nature of their information and were again informed concerning the purpose of the research and what was hoped to be gained from the interviews.

Interviews were conducted in the schools, residences of the students, or the researcher's office at OISE/UT. Some of the interviews were quite brief, while others were more lengthy. The duration depended very much on the availability of the students. Interviews conducted in the homes of the students lasted for 45 minutes to more than an hour, whereas those held in the schools during the respondents' spare classes, lunch, or after school took between 20 and 45 minutes.

The interviews followed a consistent format. The initial part of the interview progressed through a few questions focusing on the circumstances of their immigration. From that point, the interview became less structured and took on a more conversational format. In each case, the interviewer took point form notes as the conversation progressed. A total of 40 interviews were completed, 30 with Hong Kong students and 10 with Caribbean students. All interviews were audio-taped with the permission of the respondents. In interviewing the Hong Kong

students, Cantonese interspersed with English phrases was used. The major areas of focus of the interviews included:

(1) Circumstances of emigration: What were the major reasons for emigration? Who made the decision? Why was Canada chosen? Did you feel that you had some input/control into the decision to emigrate? Did your entire family emigrate at the same time?

(2) Experiences and impact of immigration: Was the Canada you met the Canada you imagined or expected? How has your life changed since you moved to Canada? Has your experience of immigrating to Canada enriched or impoverished you in any way as a person? Do you notice any changes of relationships among your family members after immigrating to Canada? What are some of the major difficulties that you are now facing in Canada? Does the English language present any problems in your school work or social life? With whom and where do you spend your leisure time? Do you think of Canada as being "home" or is your place of origin still "home"? What do you think the various governmental agencies or school can do to help you adapt to this society? What advice would you give to those prospective immigrants from your homeland?

(3) Future plans: With all your experience and knowledge, if you were back in time, would you still immigrate to Canada? How do you see yourself in five years, where and how?

(4) About the interview: Is there anything else that you would like to share with me about your experiences and feelings of having immigrated to Canada? How did you feel about sharing your feelings and experiences of immigration during this interview? Have you shared these experiences with someone else previously? Are there any other comments that you would like to make regarding this interview?.

6.2. THEMATIC ANALYSIS & PRESENTATION OF DATA

Thematic interpretation of the interview data involved several different steps. The audio-taped interviews were transcribed and a coding system was developed. Responses were coded into various categories, such as motivations for emigration, immigration application procedure, positive and negative immigration experiences, social network, school life, and so forth. Some categories had multiple meaning units, while others had very few. The data revealed that there were obvious similarities amongst participants. It was equally evident that each individual's experience was unique. A thematic analysis and presentation of the data, therefore, appeared to be logical and appropriate. Pseudonyms were given to all respondents to maintain anonymity. Five major themes, including circumstances of and motivations for emigration, school life, social life, family life, ethnic identification, and future plans are presented below. The gender, place of origin, and questionnaire identification code of the interviewees are noted.

6.2.a. Circumstances of and Motivations for Emigration

Hong Kong students generally believed that emigration was the right choice in view of the uncertain political future of Hong Kong. Many were doubtful whether capitalist Hong Kong could actually co-exist peacefully with socialist China under the so-called "one country, two systems" framework. Most respondents were excited by the opportunity to immigrate to Canada, and explained the decisions made by their families as follows:

> *My parents wanted us to have a better future. The decision was made together. In fact, I would like to emigrate to Canada. I was a bit scared about the politics in China. My parents were particularly fearful because they moved to Hong Kong from China in the late 1960s. That means they have experienced the cultural revolution ... Knowing that I would be leaving for Canada, I wasn't concerned very much about the political developments in Hong Kong during the transition years. (0335/Hong Kong/male)*

> *Right after the June 4 massacre in Tianamen Square, our family initiated the application procedure. We were kind of influenced by my dad's friends as well. I had the fear. The cultural revolution came across my mind. When I knew that we would be leaving, I was quite happy. I wanted to have a change. (0051/Hong Kong/male)*

To be honest, we were afraid of communist China. The fear of 1997 ... or the uncertainty of Hong Kong's future was the key factor. I thought about the cultural revolution a lot. One could lose everything overnight! Our family sought advice from both immigration lawyer and immigration consultant. We applied through the business (entrepreneurial) scheme, which required us to open a gift shop upon arrival. My aunt's family (dad's sister) also emigrated to Toronto. I felt happy knowing that I could come to Canada. In fact, if we didn't apply for landed immigrant status, I would have come to Canada to study as a visa student. (0056/Hong Kong/male)

Dad and mom were so afraid of 1997. I didn't mind to leave. I would like to study overseas anyway. We left Hong Kong shortly after I had completed the first semester of Form 4. A few of my friends also emigrated - most of them came to Canada and only one went to Australia. (0350/Hong Kong/male)

Initially my parents asked me to come here to study as a foreign student. They have thought of sending me to a boarding school. But I guess they thought I would not be able to take care of myself. So we emigrated to Canada together. Of course, our decision was partly due to 1997. (0112/Hong Kong/female)

Because of 1997. My mom really wanted us to come. She said we [she and her brother] could have better opportunities ... As investment class immigrants, we were required to start a company. The company was losing money, so we closed it down. Then my parents found jobs in a garment factory. Later they were both laid off. Mom managed to get another job. But I mean they are not upset ... because they are willing to pay the price as long as we can get out of Hong Kong. (0353/Hong Kong/female)

My parents very much wanted to emigrate. They didn't really consult me. At any rate, they sent me to Canada to study as a visa student. Our application was processed with the assistance of an immigration consultant. We made investment in some sort of funds in Newfoundland. It was like a gambling game. The company later declared bankruptcy. We weren't able to recover our money. We tried to hire a lawyer to help. But even the lawyer refused to accept the case because the chance of getting back our money was virtually zero. (0336/Hong Kong/male)

Primarily because of 1997. Politically speaking, it may be dangerous to stay in Hong Kong after the transfer of sovereignty. Many things are not clear and uncertain. We didn't know much about Canada. I guess there would be more educational opportunities here. My mom remarried ... with a Canadian citizen. That's how we could come here (0359/Hong Kong/male).

Some families considered other countries as possible choice of destination. Various explanations were offered as to why Canada was chosen:

Well, in addition to Canada, our family did consider other countries. But in both the United States and Singapore, I would have to serve in the army. Racism is quite a serious problem in Australia. (0056/Hong Kong/Male)

My mom's sister is in the United States. She has been there for many years. My mom was really interested in going to the States. We have already applied. But after the June 4 incident, our family felt the urge to leave as early as possible. We then filed our immigration application with the Canadian Immigration Department immediately. We knew the application process wouldn't take too long. (0053/Hong Kong/male)

I guess that's because my dad's younger brother is here. We thought about other countries as well. But I guess we only have relatives here. When I was still studying in the U.K. as a foreign student, I visited Canada twice. Oh, my dad's schoolmate from primary school is also here ... If we come here, we will be able to get help from them. (0068/Hong Kong/male)

In the case of Caribbean students, they were of course not facing an unstable political future in their homelands. Most tended to see Canada as a land of new promises and opportunities:

My grandmother sponsored me to come to Canada. I came here alone last summer as a visitor. I also managed to get a student authorization to go to school here. My landed immigrant status was finally granted last month. As my mom lives in Canada, I really wanted to be close to her ... My mom was originally sponsored by my grandmom as well. (0323/Jamaica/male)

My mom got married to a Canadian. This stepfather wanted to get us up here a long time ago. But the first time he didn't succeed ... they had to get married. So they got married in St. Vincent. My stepfather wanted us here so that we might have better opportunities. (0321/St. Vincent/female)

A few Caribbean students, however, were not particularly excited by the opportunity to emigrate:

My parents said it would be the best for me to come. My aunt kind of persuaded my mom to come. You know, my country was going down [crime rate was going up]. My decision was really to stay. But it was my parents' decision to come. (0325 Trinidad/female)

Down there the situation in my country was bad. We first came as visitors, and subsequently applied for refugee status. Mom and all her brothers and sister were here (0326/Trinidad/female).

6.2.b. School Life

With respect to school life, a major theme from interviews and discussions with both Hong Kong and Caribbean immigrants appeared to the problem of making transition from a highly structured and disciplined school system in their homelands to what considers as a less structured and less disciplined one in Canada. The difference between the systems in their homelands and Canada is reflected in teaching styles and the relatively friendly relationships between teachers and students. Both the Hong Kong and Caribbean systems are actually based on the British system. A great deal of emphasis is placed on instruction as opposed to experiential and individualistic learning.

In terms of workload in school, a majority of the students expressed that they faced less pressure in Canada - no public examination would be required. A few mentioned that the pressure seemed to be greater as tests and quizzes were being administered on a regular basis. Some students found their teachers to be quite helpful and understanding; a few experienced unfair treatment by their teachers.

The system here is not significantly different from what I have experienced in Hong Kong and the U.K.. But I mean I have to start from scratch - need to get to know how things work in school and to get to know the new teachers and schoolmates (0068/Hong Kong/male)

Definitely less homework and less pressure here. No school uniform is required. Academically, I am not doing particularly well. But at least I am doing better than when I was in Hong Kong. My overall average is in the range of 50 to 60 per cent. If I am willing to work harder, I'm sure my results will improve. (0106/Hong Kong/male)

I am not doing very well in school. I have just dropped all my Grade 13 courses. Now I am enrolled in courses mainly at the Grade 11 level. Well, there is not much pressure from teachers. When there is less pressure, I don't work very hard. (0336/Hong Kong/male)

Teachers generally have higher expectations of us [Chinese students]. They expect better results from us ... In general, there is less pressure here. But I think it has to do with the lower academic standards here ... We enjoyed more freedom here. I mean some students are quite "far out" - they even play mahjong [a popular Chinese "gambling" game played with small painted pieces of wood/bones] in the cafeteria during lunch time. Not knowing what the game is all about, some teachers even watch them play. (0334/Hong Kong/female)

The system here is better than the one in Hong Kong. Now I feel that I am going to school to learn. Unlike in Hong Kong, I was basically busy preparing for exams. Here, nobody forces you to study hard. In Hong Kong, I was constantly under tremendous pressure. And the teachers here are more approachable. They are very willing to talk to students. (0113/Hong Kong/female)

The schools are different. In our schools [schools in St. Vincent], students aren't allowed to smoke, drink, and stuff like that. But students here can do whatever they want. I don't like it - some young people are just destroying their bodies. (0321/St. Vincent/female).

You get more work to do here, It's not harder; it's not easier. It's just more work. Actually, I am not used to have so much school work. Teachers are generally very nice and friendly. Students are okay ... Here, very few students obey the teachers. In Jamaica, they have to. It's compulsory. Or they will get spanked or something. Students have to wear uniforms. They have to wear black shoes and blue socks. If the teachers come into the classroom and you are not dressed properly, you will be sent to the principal. And the principal will send you home. In Jamaica, you don't decide which subjects you want to do until you get to the fourth year in high school. People have more freedom here. But I think the system in Jamaica is more effective. (0323/Jamaica/male)

The workload here is not heavy, not at all. Maybe because I am older and wiser ... I did a few Shakespeare books before in my country. And I used to hate Shakespeare, and had nightmares. Now I find myself enjoying it. I read, now I understand ...can relate to things, everyday life. That could be a factor. (0358/Guyana/female)

The system here is easier. The only difference is that you have to study consistently. Because it's the grades throughout the year that determine you pass or fail. In Caribbean. it's the end- of- term grade that determines you pass or fail ... Here you can be exempt from writing the final exam. You do one exam and can be exempt from another one. In Jamaica, no matter how good your grades are, you have to do the final exam. (0324/Jamaica/female)

The school here is a lot easier. I like the teachers. They explain to you more, take time to teach you ... so it's up to you if you want to learn or not (0327/Guyana/female)

I'm really enjoying school here ... In my country, we had 8 classes each day. And the classes here are longer. We had to go to school from 8:00 am to 1:45 pm only. Because students wore uniforms, we could distinguish between teachers and students. Here, we don't have to wear uniform. Economic-wise, it's good because we don't have to follow the fashion trend. (0356/Grenada/female)

A few Hong Kong students shared their discrimination experiences in schools:

In my Physics class, we had to make a class presentation based on a project. When the Chinese, Korean, and Vietnamese were presenting their work, the teacher [a white male] asked what language were they using and why didn't they speak in English. I mean... of course, they were speaking English - not fluent English with perhaps strong accents. ... And if we [Chinese students] wanted to go to the washroom, we had to get his permission. Otherwise a mark of zero would be assigned for the course grade. I mean, the white students could come in and leave as they wished. ... And even worse, he sometimes would say we couldn't leave and we could use the test tubes in the lab. ...He was not joking ... He was very serious. We told our ESL teacher [white female] about this, but she advised us to pay no any attention to him. She didn't want us to cause trouble. She wasn't helping us really. But what could we do? She's our school principal's wife. (0352/Hong Kong/female)

When I was in my previous school [grade school], there were very few Chinese students. The white students teased my Chinese name. And those of the other Chinese students as well. They also tried to imitate the way I speak English. They thought it was funny. But I was very embarrassed! (0334/Hong Kong/female)

In gym class, the Canadian students sometimes teased the Chinese students because of their small physical size. They called me names, such as Ho Chi-minh [the name of a Vietnamese leader and one of the principal cities in Vietnam] ... I didn't understand it at first. They probably thought that I was Vietnamese. Their implication was that I am short and small. (0359/Hong Kong/male)

6.2.c. Social Life

A voluntary or involuntary departure from a familiar social milieu which has special meaning and significance for the immigrant students generates an acute sense of social dislocation. Social support is, therefore, of vital importance in providing immigrant students with acceptance, affiliation, and affection. Most students lamented the lack of close friends in Canada as they had left behind a closely knit group of friends in their homelands. Chinese

students seemed to socialize primarily with Chinese-speaking friends from Hong Kong, China, and Taiwan. They found it difficult to make friends with Canadian students, including Canadian-born Chinese who couldn't speak the Chinese language, because of the language barrier and differences in both interests and backgrounds. Some remarked that it would be easier to make friends with those who were emigrated from other foreign countries as they all shared similar immigration experience.

Chinese students tended to spend their spare time with their friends singing (karaoke) and watching videos. They would go shopping in malls and would go to see movies in theatres. The comment that "there is not much to do in Canada" was made repeatedly. Some of the Hong Kong and Caribbean students indicated that they used to be very active in their homeland. For those who could not drive (i.e., without a car in the family or a driver's license) complained about the inconvenience of using the public transportation in Toronto. The physical distance was a factor affecting the development of close relationships with their friends.

In Hong Kong, the same group of students stayed in the same classroom for all the lessons. But here, you go to a different room for a different course. You will get to know a lot of people. But it's just not possible to develop close relationships with them (0051 Hong Kong/male)

From Form 1 to Form 4, I hanged around with the same group of classmates. We were extremely close. But I don't really get to know the backgrounds of the schoolmates here. I guess I have the opportunity to get to know different types of people. I have more friends, but fewer close friends. (0113/Hong Kong/female)

I used to be quite active in Hong Kong. In fact, I went out with my friends all the time. I visited my friends, and went for BBQ and fishing. Here, I don't have much to do. Sometimes I feel quite lonely. I am now always home, and don't want to go out. (0336 Hong Kong/male)

I do have some Canadian friends. But I find it a lot easier to make friends with people from other countries - people from South America, ...Blacks, Indians, and so on [people whose native language is not English]. Basically, I don't see this as a problem. If you don't speak English well, how can you make friends with them [people whose mother tongue is English]? (0335/Hong Kong/male)

Life here is quite boring. When I am upset, I smoke, cry, and listen to music. I won't talk to people. I have tried to share with my friends. But they didn't really care. It's difficult to find friends here who can understand me. (0112/Hong Kong/female)

We go to church here up here, but the church is very far from where I live. Back home, church is not that far way from home. I get to go to church for meeting every Friday. I get to interact with the youths there. (0321/St. Vincent/female)

6.2.d. Family Life

Most students, particularly those in the Hong Kong group, emigrated to Canada with their family. Some admitted that and they spent more time with family members and their relationships with their parents improved. Others said as they lived in a house (as compared to a flat or an apartment unit), they spent more time in their own rooms, hence the communication and interaction among family members was significantly reduced. As well, many said that as they became more mature (grew up from teenage to young adulthood), their parents were willing to give them more freedom. The most popular family activity among Chinese students was to have dim-sum lunch on weekends in traditional Chinese restaurants.

I think my family members have more time to communicate with one another. On weekends, we sometimes go for dim-sum. As I stay home most of the time, I get to see my family all the time. Sometimes we will go shopping and will play ballgames together.(0068/Hong Kong/male)

I have been here for quite some time, and I guess I have been influenced by the Canadian culture a lot. Now I have less respect for my parents. But they have lower expectations as well. When they scold me for wrongdoing, sometimes I will argue with them. This would definitely not happen in Hong Kong. But I don't think they are conservative people ... (0055/Hong Kong/female)

My parents' relations aren't that good. Sometimes my dad is in Hong Kong, but my mom stays here. Sometimes vice versa. Now they are both in Hong Kong. They have quarrels. Very often they have arguments over the financial problems of the company that they have started here. In Hong Kong, their relations used to be better. But I don't have problems with them, and I get along with my sister well. (0057/Hong Kong/female)

My relations with my parents have improved. They return to Hong Kong regularly. There will obviously be less conflict if we don't see each other often. We'll treasure more the time that we are together ... With my siblings? We've got a lot of "competition" ... as we all try to get the best grades in school. (0352/Hong Kong/female)

My relationships with parents are getting worse. They have to work. And we live in a 2-storey house. I am always "upstairs" and they are always "downstairs". And I am now 17. I guess my life style has changed. We just have less communication! (0051/Hong Kong/male)

My relationship with my mom has become more distant. Mom has to work, and I have to work. I work in a fast food restaurant ... about 15 hours each week. I work mostly on weekends. So we don't get to see each other very much. I get along with my sister okay. (0359/Hong Kong/male)

Getting worse. In Hong Kong, my mom didn't take care of me. Here, she kicked me out of the house three times ... I stayed at my boyfriend's house. I mean my mom is 38, and my step-dad is 40. The generation gap is so huge... (0354/Hong Kong/female)

My relationship with my mom has always been good. I guess I have grown. When you reach teenage, you kind of become more rebellious, less obedient. But I am still obedient overall. In Canada, I seem to spend less time with my mom. She has to work and I have to go school. She works irregular hours. So sometimes when she returns home, I am already in bed. (0323/Jamaica/male)

We go out together more often. Back home, my grandfather didn't make time to go [she lived with her grandparents in her homeland]. My grandparents are really strict. They don't want me to go out. If I stay home all day, it will be nice for them. But we are very close ... We go to an West Indian club for dinner on Saturdays. And on Sundays, we sometimes go to the flea market. Now that I am working, I don't get to go with them that much. (0327/Guyana/female)

6.2.e. Ethnic Identification

Since most of the participants were "recent" immigrants (length of residence in Canada being approximately 5 years or less), they still maintained relatively strong ties to their homelands and felt attached to friends and relatives whom they had left behind. Extremely few students in both the Hong Kong and Caribbean groups would identify themselves as "Canadian" or a "hyphenated-Canadian". Understandably, the emotional and psychological

identity with the community within which immigrant students were born, raised, educated, and socialized is understandably strong and deep, and has far-reaching ramifications.

I still consider Hong Kong my home, and myself a Hongkonger. Actually, I don't think a label carries too much meaning. And where I live now is not an issue. I am still strongly attached to Hong Kong. One's childhood is important. And that's a significant period. My childhood was spent in Hong Kong, so Hong Kong is important to me. (0068/Hong Kong/male)

I am not sure if Hong Kong is still my home. But I am not a "Canadian" yet [still a landed immigrant without a Canadian passport]. But I consider myself as Chinese. I mean I won't tell people that I am "Canadian" even when I get my passport. I will always say "I am Chinese". If I tell people that I am a "Canadian", I am afraid that the Canadians [white people] will laugh at me. (0352/Hong Kong/female)

Hong Kong is still home. Canada is also my home. But I feel a stronger attachment to Hong Kong. I was born there, and my grandparents are still living in Hong Kong. I am more inclined to see myself as a Chinese and a Hongkonger. (0336/Hong Kong/male)

I would identify myself as a Chinese Canadian. I know I am a Hongkonger. But now I have immigrated to Canada. But I mean I am still Chinese. So I guess it's okay to call myself a Chinese-Canadian. I think I have developed a sense of belonging to Canada now ... because I am living in this country. (0335/Hong Kong/male).

I consider both Canada and Hong Kong my home. I like both places. Here, we get a lot of fresh air, I get to learn more things, and the country is so huge and clean. In Hong Kong, I still have many friends ... More entertainment there perhaps. I think I want to be called as a "Chinese-Canadian". This is a more balanced term. If I only like Hong Kong, I will use another label. (0353/Hong Kong/female)

Hong Kong is still home. But I mean Canada is quite a nice country. Although I will be getting my citizenship this summer, I do not have a strong sense of belonging to Canada. I want to live in a Chinese community. I want to live in a place where my mother tongue is spoken. I find it quite awkward to live in a place where the medium of communication is a foreign language. (0057/Hong Kong/female)

Canada as home? Not yet. I think in a year or so, I will probably accept it as my home. You know, my country does not have snow. When it is snowing, I think of back home. It would be hot ... I prefer to call myself a Vincentian. That's my nationality. But actually I really don't mind being called an African-Canadian here. Most people consider us as Black anyway. (0321/St. Vincent/female)

St. Vincent is still home. My home country has no winter. And I still have relatives there, like my cousins. (0378/St. Vincent/female)

Jamaica is more my home. I prefer to be called a Jamaican. I'm not a Canadian. I'm a Jamaican, no matter what. I will not give up my country. Maybe I reside here. My life so far has been spent in Jamaica. No matter where I go, people will always see me as a Jamaican. (0324/Jamaica/female).

I consider myself as a West Indian. Not Canadian or West Indian Canadian. I get used to life here. Now I see Canada as my home. If I go back to my country, I will only be a housewife. But here, Canada is a whole new world. Many in Guyana just die to come here. Many want to see Canada. (0327/Guyana/female).

Canada as being home? You know, when I dream, I still dream about the house ... the house I am in is the house at home [in Guyana]. To be honest, I love Canada. In general, I'm still more identified with people from the Caribbean. (0358/Guyana/female)

6.2.f. Advice for Prospective Immigrants

Students were queried as to what advice they would give their relatives and friends who might consider emigrating to Canada. Their responses reflected, to a certain extent, the problems they have personally encountered in adapting to new life in Canada.

I think they should be better prepared linguistically - learn more English before they come! (0360/Hong Kong/male)

I will tell them that the environment here is better. The education here is good. Oh, the fresh air and large parks as well. But the weather in winter is bitterly cold. If they don't drive, then they may have problem getting around in the city. (0106/Hong Kong/male)

Canada is a good place to live, particularly if they have children. The economic situation is bad, with very few employment opportunities. And I think they should not expect to get the same kind of job as they used to have in Hong Kong. It's cold in the winter. But I mean if they have a car, they can still manage. In Hong Kong, people can shop everywhere. Here, it's pretty inconvenient. There is less entertainment. But on the whole, they will find it quite comfortable. Canada is an ideal place for the retired people to come. (0113/Hong Kong/female)

Canada is huge. It's pretty clean. Food is cheap. Lots of fresh air. Schools are okay. Lots of freedom to enjoy. And the environment is good. (0336/Hong Kong/male)

No specific advice for them. Except life in Canada is so boring. (0112/Hong Kong/female)

They should save enough money before coming. (0056/Hong Kong/male)

I won't encourage people to come. It's really their own decision. But if they plan to come, I will tell them what Canada is like. Well, they should, first of all, brush up their spoken English ... Tell them that houses here are big and cheap. The environment is good. More social benefits. More taxes to pay though. There is racial discrimination, but it's not a major problem in Canada. It exists everywhere anyway. And it can be very inconvenient if they have to use public transportation. (0335/Hong Kong/male)

Frankly speaking, I won't ask them to come. I will eventually go back myself. There is no job here. I know people who have graduated from U. of T. in engineering and is still unemployed ... When I came here a few years ago to visit my friend, her dad was without a job. Hong Kong people are so realistic. If they couldn't get jobs or make money here, why would they come? (0352/Hong Kong/female)

Tell them that it's a great country up here. There are more opportunities. More friends to meet. It's quite easy to get along with the people here. But I will warn them about the recession. (0326/Trinidad/female)

If they decide to come, they have to set their mind to it. Judging from the experience of my parents, they need a lot of experience in order to get a job here. Back home, my dad is a mechanic. Here, to be a mechanic, you have to be able to do mechanic work, as well as some other work along with it. More skills are required. (0325/Trinidad/female).

I think they will have to make a choice between great opportunity and cold weather. And it's really a personal commitment. (0356/Grenada/female)

6.2.g. Future Plans

Hong Kong and Caribbean students intended to pursue post-secondary education in Canada, and would subsequently seek employment opportunities in this country. Some Hong Kong students planned to return to Hong Kong or to go to other countries where opportunities

would be available. For many Chinese students, the future political situation of Hong Kong would be a decisive factor:

If I were given a choice, I would not have emigrated. I was born in Hong Kong, and it will always be my home ... I guess it also depends on what Hong Kong will be like when I finish my study here. If the situation is not so good, I may choose to stay here. (0112/Hong Kong/female)

As long as it is politically stable, even if the economic condition is not so good, I will certainly return to Hong Kong. (0056/Hong Kong/female)

It's a difficult decision. There are merits in both places. But if I return there, I may encounter more problems, such as housing and adaptation. Basically, now that I'm here, I don't really want to face changes again. Anyway, who knows what will happen in Hong Kong after 1997. (0051/Hong Kong/male)

I guess I would go back to Hong Kong, unless the economic situation here gets better. I may also give considerations to opportunities available elsewhere. (0053/Hong Kong/male)

Oh, my family will definitely return to Hong Kong. As a matter of fact, my dad will return to Hong Kong soon. He wishes to explore new business opportunities in China ... As I said before, I like Hong Kong. The friends I have in Hong Kong all share similar interests and habits. You know, we still own a house in Yuen Long in the New Territories. We can always go back. (0360/Hong Kong/male).

I think it's better for me to stay. At least I won't go back in the near future. Perhaps when I reach 60. And it's quite likely that I would encourage my relatives and friends to come. (0323/Jamaica/male)

When I am older, I will go back to visit. I don't know if I want to settle there again. I'll think about this later. (0378/St. Vincent/female)

When I finish school, I will work here for a while. I plan to go back to Jamaica eventually ... "Home" is where you were born. I have to call this "home" for the time being. You see, I don't really have a problem in Jamaica. So I may go back. (0324/Jamaica/female)

6.2.h. About the Interview

The qualitative inquiry during the interviews provided the forum to gather new depth and understanding of the students' immigration experiences. On many occasions, respondents remarked that this was the first time they had been invited to share their personal story and to express their feelings about a very unique experience in their lives.

I hope my participation will be of help to somebody. Perhaps I also want to learn something through the process. (0068/Hong Kong/male)

I think it's good that I can share my personal experience. I guess it's because people can get to know more about the Hong Kong students. (0350/Hong Kong/male).

I want to get to know more people, and I think it's fun to participate. Perhaps I can learn something new. (0057/Hong Kong/female)

I want others to know my feelings ... To let people know the adaptation difficulties that I am facing. I hope people can make some changes, such as to tackle the discrimination problem. (0352/Hong Kong/female)

I guess I want to talk about my experiences. (0325/Trinidad/female)

6.3. CASE SUMMARY

With a total of 40 case study portrayals completed, sheer volume plus the repetitive nature of some of the cases argued strongly for presenting only some. The case summaries presented below attempt to provide a more coherent story about the immigration experiences of the individual respondents.

Case 1: Tom, Hong Kong

Tom' family was admitted to Canada under the entrepreneur category. The application process was initiated after the massacre took place in Tianamen Square. His father, together with a few other friends, hired an immigration consultant to file an application. His family

sought professional help because they would stand a better chance of passing the immigration interview as his dad didn't have extensive experience in doing business at that time.

Tom's father is now running a retail store selling photo frames and paintings. His father's friends are all living in the neighbourhood. He emphasizes that his dad will only be willing to reside in close proximity to his friends. His mother's sister has immigrated to Canada as well. He believes that Toronto generally offers more employment opportunities and that only wealthy Hong Kong immigrants who do not need to look for jobs will choose to go to Vancouver.

Tom is quite happy to have the chance to come here. He finds his teachers to be nice. He likes the courses that he is taking as "those business courses appear to be very practical". Upon the completion of his high school education, he intends to study business at York or the University of Toronto. Tom is very "business-minded" as he expects to start a small business in the upcoming summer by importing jewellery (accessories) from Hong Kong to sell in shopping malls.

His impression with the Chinese students in school is that they tend to hang around with Chinese only. He says it's quite difficult to develop close relationships with friends here. Unlike schools in Hong Kong where students stay in the classroom for all different lessons, he points out that students in Toronto have to go to a different classroom to take lesson with always a different group of students. As a result, the relationships he develops with the new friends seem to be more superficial. During his spare time, he will go to his friends' place to sing (Cantonese pop songs) and to watch videos. Sometimes he goes to the shopping malls with his friends. He goes to the downtown area occasionally as "there is more to see in the Eaton's Centre and stores along Yonge Street".

Tom is being quite candid when he responds to the question as to why he is willing to participate in this study - "nothing to lose or to gain". He suggests that this study should also focus on student's psychological adjustment. Quite a number of his friends are facing serious

family problems after immigration. More specifically, a number of his friends' parents have serious marital problem and will soon get a divorce. He emphasizes that immigration is not the sole "cause" of the problem, but it certainly provides the opportunity for the parents to separate.

Case 2: Kent, Hong Kong

Kent's family immigrated to Canada mainly because of his parents' fear of 1997. His family was admitted under the investment class (by making investments in Saskatchewan Government Funds). In fact, his parents have emigrated to Hong Kong from mainland China in the late 1960s. And they have experienced the cultural revolution in China. Although they have relatives in both Canada and the United States, Canada was chosen because of its political stability and better environment.

Kent's family consists of 6 members - his parents, two elder brothers, and one elder sister. One of his brother is running a retail store in the Broadview area with his parents. Another brother works in a factory, and his sister attends an out-of-town college. Kent has always wanted to go overseas to study. He says he has been partly influenced by television programs he watched in his childhood - "a better environment and more educational opportunities in foreign countries". He spent two years in Canada as a visa student prior to becoming a landed immigrant. Initially, his family planned to go to Calgary. During a March break, he made a trip to Calgary. His parents also visited there. Based on what they "saw", the conclusion arrived at by their family was that "Toronto would be a better place to go".

He used to think that there would be less pressure in the school here - which he later finds out to be untrue. He considers his teachers to be very helpful. His ESL teachers are particularly understanding. He likes the school here because he can move up to the next level of a course if he obtains a passing grade. In Hong Kong, one will have to repeat the same courses again if the overall average of all the course taken is not satisfactory. He believes that the multicultural day that his school organizes is helpful merely to those who are willing to participate.

Kent has made some Canadian friends, but finds it easier to socialize with people from other foreign countries (such as Blacks, Indians, or South Americans). He says this may in part be due to the immigration experience that they all share. He believes that language is the major factor explaining why many Chinese students are not being able to mingle with Canadians. Students with higher English proficiency should find it a lot easier to make friends with Canadians.

Kent will not encourage his friends and relatives to come, but will tell them what they will expect to encounter. Specifically, he will tell them that the houses here are big and the prices are "cheap". If they do not drive and have to use public transportation, they will find it rather inconvenient. Kent identifies himself as a Chinese-Canadian. He feels a stronger sense of belonging to Canada - as he has chosen Canada to be his country of residence. When he completes his university program, he will attempt to look for employment opportunities in Canada. However, he will also consider going elsewhere, such as the United States. He remarks that as he has already come all the way to Canada, "it's no big deal to relocate again".

Case 3: Caroline, Hong Kong

Caroline came to Canada two years ago with her mother, elder sister, and younger brother. Her parents were divorced many years ago. They came under the entrepreneurial class. Her mom, at the time of this study, was still uncertain as to the type of business she would start in Canada. In fact, Caroline's sister spent two years in Toronto as a visa student prior to their family's emigration. This was precisely why Toronto was chosen. A few years ago, she also visited Canada, and spent the entire summer in Vancouver. Her impression of Canada at that time was "there is not much one can do there". The fear of 1997 and more educational opportunities in Canada prompted their family's decision to emigrate.

Her impression of the Chinese government is not particularly positive. She thinks that those in power (i.e., government officials) are extremely "unreasonable" people. But she claims that

she personally has nothing to be afraid of as 5 to 6 million people will still be living in Hong Kong after the change of sovereignty. She treasures the opportunity to further her studies in Canada. Upon arrival, she was surprised to see so many Chinese people in Toronto - she didn't see that many Chinese in Vancouver two years ago.

Caroline is delighted to have more chances to improve her English. She has a large circle of friends as she gets to meet different people in different classes. But she says it's quite difficult to develop intimate relationships with her fellow schoolmates. In Hong Kong, she was with the same group of classmates for four years, from Form 1 to Form 4. Her best friends here are also from Hong Kong. She mainly hangs around with people from Hong Kong, China, Taiwan, and Japan. The difficulty she has in making friends with Canadians is due principally to her inadequate command of English.

She has completed Form 4 in Hong Kong. Academically, she did not do very well in Hong Kong. She knew that she might not be able to obtain satisfactory results in the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination (HKCEE) to continue her studies there. At present, she is doing fine in school, although her marks are not exceptionally high. She likes the educational system here very much - "much more relaxing". She finds her teachers to be very different from those in Hong Kong - they are both friendly and extremely approachable. She doesn't find racial discrimination to be a problem in the school. Students, in general, get along with one another quite well.

Caroline complains about the slow pace of life in Canada and people's "lax" attitude. She notes that people in Hong Kong are always "very active and always seem to be full of energy". As regards her advice for prospective immigrants: "Canada is a huge country with a very nice environment ... and a lot of fresh air. Canadians are quite friendly. But it is cold in winter. People won't be able to survive without a car".

Caroline is more inclined to identify herself as a "Chinese" or "Hongkonger". In fact, she still maintains close contacts with her friends in Hong Kong and considers Hong Kong her

"home". On average, she still receives five or six letters from her former schoolmates and close friends every month. Caroline is not sure as whether she will return to Hong Kong upon the completion of her university education. Before a firm decision can be made, she has to find out "what Hong Kong will be like after 1997". Surely she maintains very close ties with Hong Kong. Although she came to Canada last August, she returned to Hong Kong four months later during the Christmas holidays. As Caroline has already been offered a summer job in her auntie's studio, she plans to return to Hong Kong again this summer.

Case 4: Charlie, Hong Kong

Charlie's family was admitted to Canada under the independent class. It was because of 1997 that his family decided to emigrate. His father, the deputy principal of one of the training schools of the Hong Kong Fire Department, took an early retirement at the age of 45.

After completing the first semester of Form 1, Charlie was sent to study in a boarding school in Britain for about two years. His father wanted him to learn better English. Since his father was a civil servant, his education was partly subsidized by the government. He was entitled to five free one-way air tickets every year. The few years that he spent in a boarding school in Britain was considered very valuable. There were only very few Chinese students in the school, and he picked up the English language really fast.

Charlie feels that most Chinese students do not mingle with Canadian students in his school. As the Chinese students constitute a significant proportion of the student population, they can easily find friends within this circle. He observes that people from other countries have more "incentives" to mingle with Canadian students as their cohorts are smaller.

He identifies himself as a "Hongkonger" and emphasizes that "a label is only a label" - it does not necessarily have any significant meaning. He claims that he is strongly attached to Hong Kong. He adds that one's childhood is special and important. His childhood was spent in Hong Kong - a place where he was born and thus considered it as his "motherland".

Case 5: Hugo, Hong Kong

Hugo came with his family to Toronto because his uncle (dad's brother) was here. The family did not give consideration to other countries. Their family's immigration application was approved in 1989 and their application was not directly related to the June 4th massacre. He has had no prior experience in any foreign country other than Japan.

When he arrived, he was admitted to a junior high school at Grade 8 level. His felt that students from different racial and ethnic backgrounds were mixed together. However, when he began to attend high school, he observed a noticeable difference. Chinese students seem to socialize mainly with Chinese students. He does not take the initiative to make friends with Canadians, pointing out language and different interests as two key factors.

He identifies himself as a Chinese. He does not want to be called a "Chinese-Canadian". He finds it intriguing that students from Taiwan prefer to distinguish themselves as "Taiwanese", and most of his Taiwanese schoolmates consider themselves superior to the "Chinese".

Hugo prefers to return to Hong Kong or to go to other countries in East Asia when he finishes university or college. He believes that being a Chinese in Canada, it would be rather difficult to seek employment opportunities: "Chinese employees do not stand a good chance of being promoted to senior positions". He reiterates that his comment is strictly based on his realistic expectation of what the host country (predominantly white society) will accept.

Hugo considers this study to be a useful one. He is quite delighted to be given the opportunity to participate in the questionnaire survey and to be interviewed. This is in fact his first interview experience. He says he is happy that immigrant students' voices can be heard. Nevertheless, he remarks that the findings of this study may not have significant impacts - he simply can't believe that the schools or the boards of education will be willing to pay special attention to the needs of Chinese students as they merely constitute a very small proportion of the total student population.

Case 6: Annette, Hong Kong

Annette's family left Hong Kong mainly because of the imminent change of sovereignty. Her family wanted to prepare for an "emergency exit" [to obtain a foreign passport]. Annette comes from a well-off family. She lives in a very decent house in North York. At the time of the interview, her parents have both returned to Hong Kong. She lives with her younger brother and grandmother. She may drive any of the two family cars - a Mercedes Benz and a Volvo. Her parents have promised to buy her a car when she goes to university. A private home tutor [a native speaker of English] was hired when she had language difficulties upon arrival. She visited Canada twice prior to her immigration. She visits Hong Kong twice a year. She could spend over HK$100,000 (approximately Cdn. $1= HK $6.0) for fashionable clothing during a single visit. She admits that she is quite extravagant, but claims that her brother is even "worse". Interestingly, she will sometimes remind her brother not to squander.

As she has just completed high school, she plans go to visit Europe with her parents this summer. In terms of her social life, she hangs around mainly with friends from Hong Kong. She mentions that two of her best friends, both of whom are children of her parents' friends (who are also from relatively well-to-do families), have emigrated to Toronto. During her spare time, she will go out with her friends to karaoke bars or to have dinners together.

Her life has not been changed significantly after immigrating to Canada. She claims that she is just like living in Hong Kong as she has access to (i.e., purchase) all kinds of Hong Kong newspapers and magazines. She watches Chinese T.V. programs, and rents Chinese videos [Cantonese soap operas]. She likes Cantonese pop songs very much, and spends a lot of money on CDs. She possesses CDs of almost every pop singer in Hong Kong.

She expresses that she has been greatly influenced by the Canadian culture and is now very open-minded and liberal person. For example, she couldn't stand seeing male and female students being so "intimate" (i.e., kissing) in the hallway in school. Now she does it herself.

After the summer holidays, she will be attending the University of Toronto. The area in which she wishes to specialize is business administration. She is uncertain as to whether she will return to Hong Kong. She is worried about the political situation in Hong Kong after 1997. She points out that China does not accept dual nationality. As she was not born in Canada, she is not sure whether she will still be protected by the Canadian government if she resides in Hong Kong and runs into problem with the authority. As regards the advice that she will give the prospective immigrants, Annette says she will recommend Canada as a good place for students to pursue further studies.

Case 7: Marlon, Jamaica

A grade 10 student in a downtown high school, Marlon's grandmother sponsored his mother to come to Canada in 1990. He came to Canada alone as a visitor in 1992 and subsequently applied for landed immigrant status as he wanted to be close to his mom. And he thought Canada would be a better place to live. His mother used to be a machine operator in a factory in Jamaica. Now she works as a salesperson. His parents are not married. His father is still living in Jamaica.

Marlon's first impression of Canada was that it looked very different from Jamaica. In his words: "I have seen things that I have never seen before, like the CN Tower and Niagara Falls". He was quite surprised to see that there were so many different people from different countries and was very much intrigued by the different cultures.

Marlon enjoys school very much. The workload in school, however, is much heavier than what he used to have in Jamaica. He also notices the lack of discipline here. His only and major complaint is the lack of friends in Toronto. He admits that his shyness may be a major barrier. Racial discrimination is not considered by him as a problem in the school. The teachers in his school are very helpful and are very willing to communicate with students. When he completes high school, he plans to attend university and to pursue a career in the medical profession.

Based on his experience in Canada, he will encourage his friends and relatives to immigrate to Canada. He says Canada is a "great country". Although the economic situation in Canada is not very promising, he notes that the situation in Jamaica is even worse. Crime is a serious problem in his homeland. His major concern is the "coldness" in the winter. He tends to identify himself as a West-Indian Canadian or Jamaican-Canadian. He considers Canada as his home now. He is not very likely to return to Jamaica except for occasional visits. Overall, his immigration experience has been relatively positive.

Case 8: Reesha, Trinidad

Reesha came with her family (parents and a younger brother) from Trinidad. Her family was sponsored by her aunt (mother's sister). She emphasized that her aunt "kind of encouraged" her family to come, particularly as her country was "going down" [crime rate was on the rise]. Prior to coming to Canada, she didn't know much about this country, and "didn't have any expectations of it either". Her parents thought it would be the best option for her to come to Canada as "there would be more educational opportunities" and that "things look easier to for them to come up here to provide for us". She felt that she did have some input into the decision-making process.

The school system is quite different from the one in her homeland - "less restrictions, more freedom". Although she admits that she enjoys the freedom here, she thinks it's bad that students can easily skip classes. In school, she encounters people from many different racial and ethnic backgrounds. She complains that she sometimes can't understand her classmates' spoken English because of their accent and that many students also communicate in their ethnic language in school. At times, she has difficulties in understanding what some teachers say because of their accent. Students generally get along with one another quite well in her school. Compared to her school experience in Trinidad, she feels that the school work here is "neither easier nor harder, but the workload is heavier".

Reesha also laments the lack of friends in Canada. She says that she used to have many friends in her home country. Most of the people she now hangs around with in school are from the Caribbean, primarily from Guyana and Jamaica. Basically she has no problems in making friends with Canadians. During her spare time, she usually stays home to do household chores (such as cleaning) and to watch television.

She finds the food here to be very "different". She claims that her favourite dish, curry chicken, tastes very different here - "the curry tastes different" and "the chicken meat here is somehow very soft". She is eagerly looking for a part-time job. If she gets a job, she will have her own money and that her parents will give her more "freedom" [to go out with her friends]. Her dad, a mechanic in Trinidad, has not been able to get a job in Toronto. She explains that it is because jobs in Canada require "more skills" and "more experience", and uses her dad's case as an example: "to be a mechanic, you have to able to do mechanic work, as well as some other work along with it".

She misses her country very much. Since "it's not that wonderful here", she will not encourage her relatives and friends to immigrate to Canada. She reiterates at the end of interview that she didn't really want to come here in the first place. Now her plan is to attend community college to study psychology. She remains uncertain as to whether she would eventually return to her country.

Case 9: Tamara, St. Vincent

Tamara and his mother were sponsored to Canada by her stepfather. Her stepfather met her mom in St. Vincent and later they got married. They came to Canada because they thought there would be more opportunities in Canada.

In St. Vincent, Tamara used to be very active in the community. She went to a Baptist church, where she taught Sunday school, served as usher, and involved in a singing group. Her major complaint is the lack of friends in Toronto - "people that I can go out with and talk on

the phone often". In her spare time, she usually stays home - writing poems and short stories and watching T.V..

With respect to her experience in school, she points out that the major difference is the "subjects" that she is required to take. In her home country, the students have more discipline and more respect for the teachers. She thinks that the teachers should act as students' role model. She does not enjoy the so-called "freedom" here in the school. She is pleased with the facilities in the school because there wasn't a single computer in her school in her home country.

She is more inclined to identify herself as a "Vicentian". She claims that this is her nationality. When she receives her citizenship, she may prefer to be called an "African-Canadian". She intends to settle in Canada permanently, and may return to St. Vincent for occasional visits. Basically she wants to stay here because of the better environment. And she believes that this is a good place to raise kids.

Case 10: Diane, Jamaica

At the time of the interview, Diane has been in Canada for only about three months. Her mother has been in Canada for 12 years. Her biological parents are not married to each other. They are married separately. During the past 12 years, her mother has returned to Jamaica to see her only twice. And last summer was the only time that she came to visit her mom in Canada. Emigration to Canada was basically her personal decision. She claims that she came to Canada for her own benefit.

Diane has no problem making friends with the students in her schools. She has friends belonging to different racial and ethnic groups. Until she came to Canada, she was not aware that she would be called a "visible minority". She realizes that racial discrimination is very subtle in Canada. She has heard about various discriminatory incidents but has thus far not encountered any discrimination problem.

If she had not emigrated to Canada, she would still have come to Canada or gone to the States to further her studies as a foreign student. As there is only one university in Jamaica (University of West Indies), she believes that it will be better to go to other countries where more educational opportunities at the tertiary level will be available. She plans to attend university and study business administration.

Diane prefers to call herself a Jamaican. Eventually Diane will return to Jamaica. She says her decision to come here is primarily educationally-oriented - more universities in Canada. Therefore, when she completes her university education, she may work in Canada for a while and will then probably go back to her home country. Her view is that "a home is the place where a person was born". Diane will always consider Jamaica her home as she believes that she will always been seen as a native Jamaican regardless of her place of residence.

Her advice for prospective immigrants is that Canada is "different from home" [Jamaica]. They must learn to accept the fact that "there will be changes". And they should "try to learn to adjust and accept the facts". If they are going to school, then they should be prepared to work hard. Do not think that "it will be all that easy".

Case 11: Mahalia, Guyana

Mahalia is now 16. She has been in Canada for 5 years and 3 months. She was sponsored to Canada by her aunt (mom's sister), who had been here for over 10 years. She came with her grandparents. She was raised by her grandparents in her country. She lived in the rural area in her home country. Her aunt sponsored two of her brothers (uncles) to come to Canada as well. She was excited to have the chance to come here. The high-rise buildings really impressed her when she first arrived. There was "not much places to go and not much to do in her back home".

Her home country is a "small place" and "people basically knew one another". She says it's quite "strange" that "people don't say hi to one another in the streets". In terms of school work, she finds it a lot easier here. She likes the teachers here as "they explain to you more, take time to teach you ... so it's up to you if you want to learn or not".

Although she has no problems in getting along with Canadians, she emphasizes that she feels more comfortable making friends with "coloured people". Many of her friends are Chinese, Spanish, and Filipinos. She says she has never "had any dealings with them" [don't hang around or go out with them]. She thinks that most white students are okay. Some are nice as when she doesn't understand something in class, the white students are willing to give her a helping hand. She has heard about racial discrimination incidents in school but has no personal experience.

Mahalia has a part-time job in a discount store. The major reason to work is to have her own money. Her grandparents are very strict. They want her to stay home all the time and don't want her to talk on the phone for long. She is not usually allowed to go to malls with her friends. But her relations with her uncles and grandparents are very close. They usually go to the "Indian Club" [restaurant] for dinner on Saturdays. Very often they go shopping together.

Although she now considers Canada her home, Mahalia prefers to be called a West Indian. She has no intention to return to her country. She explains that she can only be a housewife if she goes back. But in Canada, it's "a whole new world". She plans to study business administration in university when she completes high school. She will definitely encourage her friends and relatives to come here. In fact, the people in her country "just die to come to Canada". Mahalia's overall immigration experience has been very positive.

CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION, SUMMARY, AND CONCLUSION

This chapter summarizes and discusses the findings of the present study, highlights the importance of its results, and suggests topics and directions for future research.

7.1. SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

This study represents an attempt to explore the adaptation experiences of recent high-school-age immigrant students from Hong Kong. A total of 368 students attending 26 different public high schools under the jurisdiction of 6 school boards in Metro Toronto were involved. A small number of Caribbean immigrant students (N=63) from 10 schools under the jurisdiction of 3 school boards was included as a comparison group.

As noted in Chapter 4, the samples' size and structure, and the difficulties experienced collecting them, imposed a limitation on the generalizability of this study's findings. Despite these shortcomings, the present study sought insights into the socio-cultural, educational, and linguistic aspects of adaptation of immigrant students at the high school level, an area of analysis which has been largely ignored. As well, this study has delineated the key dimensions of adaptation using factor analysis and disentangled the major determinants (i.e., socio-demographic and background variables) of adaptation using multiple regression analysis.

7.1.1. Motivations for Immigration

Any discussion of the "causes" of emigration, as argued by Sturino (1981:148), is likely to seem somewhat presumptuous because of the matrix of factors that converge to "cause" any one individual to emigrate. It is understandable that the number and complexity of factors - economic, social, educational, political, and personal - as well as their specific combination that influence any individual or set of individuals is often so

varied and indeterminate that any effort to discuss causation is bound to seem incomplete. The examination of the immigrants' motives for immigration should, however, never be under-estimated. Richmond's (1988:111) remark is rather pertinent:

> ... original motives and intentions do influence the propensity of the migrant to learn the language of the receiving society, the types of social network developed, the degree of participation in the formal organization of the receiving society and the commitment to that country, including attitudes towards citizenship and political involvement.

A multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) yielded significant group effect on the five reasons. Univariate F-tests of MANOVA demonstrated that the Hong Kong immigrant students were more likely than their Caribbean counterparts to indicate their major reason for immigration as being politically-oriented, whereas the Caribbean students were more concerned with educational, economic, and personal factors.

This result is not surprising as Hong Kong students were facing an uncertain political future in their place of origin. It should also be mentioned that some Hong Kong respondents indicated explicitly the fear of 1997 and the need to purchase an insurance policy (i.e., to obtain a foreign passport) prompted their family's decision to leave; a few expressed their dissatisfaction with the educational system in Hong Kong as another important reason.

These findings seem to be in accord with those of a recent survey of Chinese immigrants in Edmonton, Alberta. In particular, Lin-Yuan and Kosinski (1994) demonstrated that political stability and children's education topped the list of various reasons that drove them away from their original countries or regions. In a study of the settlement of 25 Hong Kong immigrant families in Toronto, Lam (1994) found that the overriding reason for their emigration was being politically-oriented. With respect to the Caribbean group, their emphasis on educational, economic and personal factors by the Caribbean students appeared to be in line with the arguments presented by researchers

investigating out-migration from the Caribbean (e.g., Diaz-Briquets, 1985; Henry, 1994; Palmer, 1990).

7.1.2. Adaptation Experiences

Adaptation was viewed as a multi-dimensional concept. To uncover the lived experiences of the immigrant students, this study used 13 scales in an attempt to shed light on the following key aspects of their adaptation: academic performance, frequency of participation in community activities, degree of satisfaction with various aspects of school life, degree of satisfaction with life in general, perception of value differences, degree of identification with Canada and homeland, experience in making friends with Canadians, and the use of the English language. This approach acknowledges that the level of adaptation achieved with respect to one aspect does not necessarily correspond to that achieved with respect to other aspects.

The MANOVA results revealed significant group effect on the 13 measures of adaptation. Univariate F-tests of MANOVA demonstrated that immigrant students from Hong Kong, as compared to those from the Caribbean, were less satisfied with the various aspects of school life, perceived a greater cultural difference, being less active in the participation of community activities, more dissatisfied with their English ability, indicated a lower degree of exposure to various English media, considered it more difficult to make friends with Canadians, and rated their academic ability lower.

Caribbean students' greater exposure to English media, perception of a greater similarity between their culture and the Canadian culture, and higher degree of satisfaction with their English language ability can be attributed to a common Anglo-Saxon cultural heritage. The experience of making friends with Canadians is an issue which is closely related to students' language ability. A number of studies (e.g., Chow, 1990; Mickle, 1984; Wong 1977) have shown that close friendships with Canadians appeared to be difficult for Chinese students. Language barrier has been regarded a crucial factor. The fact that

Chinese students tended to be less active in community or extra-curricular activities, can be explained by their inadequate command of English and the "mismatch" between their interests and those of the Canadians.

It is peculiar to note that Hong Kong immigrant students scored higher on the two scales measuring their sense of belonging to Canada and sense of belonging to homeland. The concept of belonging described by Capra and Steindl (1991:14) is quite noteworthy:

> Belonging has a double sense. When I say, "This belongs to me," I mean that I possess something. But when I say, "I belong," I don't mean that something possesses me, but that I take part in, am intimately involved with a reality greater than myself, whether it's a love relationship, a community, a religion, or the whole universe. So "I belong" means "Here I find my place", "That is it" and at the same time, "Here I am."

The seemingly ambivalent results could perhaps be attributed to the eagerness of Hong Kong students to "find a place" where they belong. As shown by both the questionnaire survey and interview data, many of these immigrant families chose to leave Hong Kong because of the 1997 problem. The immigrant students were "uprooted" by force of circumstances. The plight of these immigrants has indeed been captured well by the title of a book published recently on the Hong Kong emigrants entitled The Reluctant Exile? Migration from Hong Kong and the New Overseas Chinese (Skeldon, 1994). Many of these British subjects[1] decided to leave reluctantly as they had been "abandoned" by Britain. More specifically, they were not granted the right of abode in the United Kingdom and being "forced" to become Chinese nationals of communist China, the motherland where many of their parents fled a few decades ago.

The remaining scale on academic performance was not found to be statistically significant level at $p < 0.05$ (only at $p = 0.075$); however, the average mark of the Hong Kong sample (mean = 76.97, SD = 11.09) was higher than that of the Caribbean sample (mean = 73.98, SD = 10.41). It should be reiterated that the self-reported average grade was based on the courses completed in the previous term, and that the level of difficulty of

the courses taken by the students was not taken into account. Based on the fact that only 40.0 per cent of the Caribbean students planned to enter university upon completion of their high school education, as compared to 90.0 per cent of the Hong Kong students indicating a similar intention, it could be reasonably assumed that students from Hong Kong were more likely to have completed advanced-level courses. Hence, univariate F-test of group difference failed to reach the minimum statistical significance level at $p < 0.05$.

The discrepancy between the students' actual grade and their self-rated academic ability was noteworthy. This may perhaps be attributed to the high educational aspirations of the students and the high expectations of their parents. Indeed, as observed by Wong (1990), a frequent topic of scholarly interest and discussion in the field of education in the United States has been the extraordinary educational attainment of the Asian population, including the Chinese (e.g., Chen and Stevenson, 1995; Mizokawa and Ryckman, 1990; Stevenson et al., 1985). According to a cross-cultural study of psychological maladjustment and academic achievement of Japanese, Chinese, and American high school students, Crystal et al. (1994) revealed that Asian students reported higher levels of parental expectation and lower levels of parental satisfaction concerning academic achievement than their American peers. Other studies (e.g., Endo, 1980; Wong, 1990; Youn, 1993) also demonstrated that Asian parents had a significant influence and place considerable pressure on their children to achieve academically. The lack of superior academic performance by Asian students, as argued by Wong (1990:370), may lead to feelings of personal guilt that they are failing or not living up to parental expectations.

7.1.3. Dimensions of Adaptation

The original 13 scales measuring the adaptation experiences of immigrant students were subjected to a factor analysis. This statistical procedure delineated five key dimensions of adaptation, including (a) frequency of English usage; (b) academic performance; (c) sense of belonging to Canada; (d) ethnic language retention; and (e)

general gratification with life. These dimensions were named by paying particular attention to the items that loaded most significantly on them. As well, the factor scores derived from the analysis were subsequently used in the multiple regression analyses.

a. English Language Usage. Facility in English is surely a prime consideration in the necessity, the rapidity, and the ease with which immigrants adapt to an English-language-dominated environment. It is required for communication and for the acquisition of information about the new society. Immigrant students' attendance at and, in particular, the successful completion of a course of study in an educational institution where English is the medium of instruction would require a minimum level of English language skills.

b. Academic Performance. Educational success can be regarded as one of the major goals for immigrant students to attain. Academic performance is an early indicator of success for immigrant students and serves as a preparation for the future in a career. English proficiency and academic performance are two inter-related variables. Immigrant students who may be able to cope with scientific English or mathematics with skill will still very likely be at a loss when faced with intuitive and emotive contexts as required in other courses.

c. Sense of Belonging to Canada. New immigrants are expected to gradually develop a sense of belonging to the host country. Traditionally, one frequently used measure of immigrants' identification with the host country is their readiness to become naturalized. This may not apply to the case of the recent Hong Kong immigrants as most of them are quite eager to acquire Canadian citizenship. Thus, this dimension will be more aptly measured by immigrants' interests in the affairs of the Canadian society, the frequency of participation in various institutions, and degree of identification with Canada.

d. Ethnic Language Retention and Use. Although it is a cultural right to retain one's own language in Canada, English is still the dominant language. Ethnic language retention is an important issue as it is often seen as vital to ethnic cultural survival. In fact,

according to Reitz and Ashton (1980:44), ethnic language retention has found to be correlated with various indicators of ethnic community participation, including ethnic identification, endogamy, maintaining group networks.

e. General Gratification with Life. People migrate because of their desire to seek a better life. Migrants' subjective feelings of life satisfaction is therefore an important adaptation issue. In terms of immigrant students, their degree of satisfaction with both academic and non-academic aspects of life, such as living arrangement, possessions, family, school, friends, community, recreation, and life circumstances, needs to be assessed.

7.1.4. Determinants of Adaptation

Adaptation of immigrants is a complex process involving variables at the individual, family, societal, and institutional levels. Various researchers have focused on factors affecting the adaptation of immigrants (e.g., Richmond and Kalbach, 1980; Scott and Scott, 1989). Noticeably, the Canadian Task Force on Mental Health of Immigrants and Refugees (1986-88), as pointed out by Disman (1988), identified three areas of strong influence on the process of immigrant adaptation: socio-demographic variables (age and gender), conditions of exodus (pre-migration stress, composition of the migrating unit), and post-migration variables (government policies, socio-economic status achieved, composition of the ethnic community, and length of residence).

The present study has also investigated the relationships between students' adaptation experiences with the following 5 sets of socio-demographic and background variables: (1) major reasons for immigration; (2) personal characteristics; (3) family characteristics, (4) socio-economic status, and (5) other control variables, such as location of school and language of instruction in homeland.

The results of the ordinary least square and logistic regression analyses have disentangled a number of statistically significant socio-demographic and background variables affecting the adaptation experiences of immigrant students. The following discussion focuses only on the Hong Kong group because the small sample size of the comparison group precluded separate statistical analysis.

7.1.4.a. Synopsis of the Multiple Regression Models

Multiple ordinary least square regression was used to predict the five dimensions of adaptation delineated from the original 13 scales. The significant predictors found in the five regression models are summarized below. The strongest factors in order of strength for the different dimensions of adaptation (i.e., the standardized regression weights or betas) are presented.

- *English language use:* cultural reason for immigration (beta = 0.185, $p < 0.01$), mother's occupation in homeland (beta = 0.178, $p<0.001$), highest grade completed in homeland (beta = 0.162, $p < 0.01$), and prior experience in Canada (beta = 0.145, $p < 0.01$) .

- *Academic performance:* presence of father in Canada (beta = 0.194, $p < 0.001$), social reasons for immigration (beta = -0.188, $p < 0.01$), personal reasons for immigration (beta = -0.155, $p < 0.05$), political reasons for immigration (beta = 0.154, $p < 0.05$), self-rated socio-economic status (beta = 0.136, $p < 0.05$), and language of instruction used in homeland (beta = 0.105, $p < 0.05$).

- *Sense of belonging to Canada:* age at immigration (beta = 0.259, $p < 0.01$), political reasons for immigration (beta = 0.150, $p < 0.05$), prior experience in Canada (beta =-.106, $p < 0.05$), and cultural reasons for immigration (beta = 0.063, $p < 0.001$).

• *Ethnic language retention and use:* location of school (beta = -0.181, $p < 0.01$), personal reasons for immigration (beta = -0.177, $p < 0.01$), discrimination experience (beta = -0.151, $p < 0.01$), and presence of father in Canada (beta = 0.131, $p < 0.05$).

• *General gratification with life:* discrimination experience (beta = -0.116, $p < 0.05$)

Multiple logistic regression was used to predict the 2 measures of overall adaptation experiences of the immigrants students as the outcome variables were dichotomous. Both the unstandardized coefficients and standard errors relating to the predictors are presented. The logistic regression coefficients indicate the change in the log odds of one outcome versus another outcome associated with a one-unit change in the independent variables.

• *Immigration decision based on lived experience:* age at immigration b = 0.255, s.e. = 0.128, $p < 0.05$), economic reason for immigration (b = 0.527, s.e. = 0.244, $p < 0.05$), and discrimination experience (b = 0.454, s.e. = 0.229, $p < 0.05$).

• *Recommendation of Canada as choice of destination:* economic reasons for immigration (b = 0.867, s.e. = 0.345, $p < 0.05$), political reasons for immigration (b = 0.938, s.e. = 0.325, $p < 0.01$), cultural reasons for immigration (b = -0.874, s.e. = 0.398, $p < 0.05$) immigration category (b = 0.609, s.e. = 0,280, $p < 0.05$), employment status (b = -0.669, s.e. = 0.330, $p < 0.05$), and discrimination experience (b = 0.649, s.e. = 0.296, $p < 0.05$).

7.4.1.b. Significant Predictors of Adaptation

Socio-demographic and background variables, which emerged as significant predictors of adaptation, are discussed in the following section.

a. Motivation for immigration. The decision to move can be regarded as a resultant of attractive features of the new and old locations, balanced against their disadvantages (Lee, 1966). Students in this study whose immigration reason was more culturally-oriented were significantly more likely to develop a stronger sense of belonging to Canada and to exhibit a higher frequency of English language use. On the other hand, they were significantly less likely to encourage their relatives and friends to emigrate to Canada, suggesting that the respondents were cognizant of the fact that a new cultural experience might not be the desire of every prospective immigrant.

Respondents whose emphasis was on political reasons were perhaps those who were more determined to leave. Their commitment to settle in this country would thus be greater, and hence a higher academic performance, a greater sense of belonging to Canada, and a greater likelihood of encouraging relatives and friends to come.

Those whose reasons were more economically-oriented were significantly more likely to state that based on their lived experiences in Canada, they would still have emigrated if a choice were given, and that they would encourage their relatives and friends in Hong Kong to emigrate to Canada. Being a densely-populated territory, most people in Hong Kong live in apartment units and make use of the relatively efficient public transportation system. The possession of a house and a car, for example, which is common in Canada, might considered by immigrants as a significant improvement in the economic aspect of lives. In fact, the ownership of property is relatively high among the families of the Hong Kong immigrant students (68.6% live in houses purchased and 11.9% in an apartment unit purchased). The corresponding figures for the Caribbean group are 11.5 per cent and 1.6 per cent respectively.

b. Age and age at immigration. Age at the time of migration is considered to be vital for the course of adaptation. Scott and Scott (1989:64) pointed out that young people are deemed to be more flexible than the aged, better able to absorb the shock of change and to modify their living patterns accordingly. The regression analysis has found

that older students tended to express a stronger sense of belonging to Canada. With respect to age at immigration, those who came as a more mature adolescent (i.e., older) were significantly more likely to indicate that they would still immigrate to Canada based on their lived experiences in this country thus far. Apparently, older students might have had greater input into the decision-making process and were more determined to make Canada their permanent home.

c. Prior experience in Canada. Immigrants' adaptation to the new culture will certainly be aided by prior familiarity with it. Prior exposure both to diverse cultures and to cultures similar to the new one, according to Scott and Scott (1989:64), have generally favourable effects on various aspects of adaptation. Prior to immigration, 26.2 per cent of the Hong Kong immigrant students had visited Canada, 5.8 per cent had studied in Canada on student authorization, and 0.6 per cent had both experiences. It is, therefore, not surprising that those who had prior experience in Canada exhibited a higher frequency of English usage.

d. Highest level of education completed in homeland. Students who had completed a higher level of education in Hong Kong prior to immigration were associated with a higher frequency of English usage. As the English language is a subject taught in all Hong Kong secondary schools and is the medium of instruction in some schools, students who had completed a higher level of education would generally correspond to a higher degree of English proficiency. Hence, they would have a jump-start advantage on the acquisition of the English language.

e. Medium of instruction used in homeland. The medium of instruction being English in place of origin was found to be significantly related to higher academic performance. This is understandable as language is a tool of learning. A higher proficiency in English will serve as one of the crucial factors in facilitating immigrant students' academic success.

f. Socio-economic status. The self-rated socio-economic status was found to be significantly predictive of academic performance. The higher the students' self-rated socio-economic status, the higher their academic performance. The relationship between these two variables may be explained by the fact that those with a higher socio-economic status had greater access to academic resources. For example, parents with more financial resources can afford to hire private tutors or send their children to education centres for courses or tutorial classes. Private tutoring service is, in fact, now a burgeoning business in the Chinese community in Toronto.

This finding is in accord with the results of a study which examined the effects of social class, ethnicity, and gender on educational and occupational expectations of high school students from grades 9 through 12 in level five schools in the Ontario public school system. In particular, Calliste (1982:16) has found that higher social class students were likely to have higher academic achievement and higher self-concept of ability. She argued that where parents had high socioeconomic status, they were likely to have smaller families; their children would have a greater chance to complete their education and reproduce parental status than children with parents of lower socio-economic status would have to improve their position. As well, higher social class students were more likely to receive both encouragement and money to pursue higher education.

The racial-ethnic differentials in school performance, however, should not be reduced to merely class differences. Different ethnic groups have distinct values and attitudes related to schoolwork and use different socialization patterns to discourage or encourage academic performance. As argued by Fejgin (1995:28), the interactions among race-ethnicity, parents' financial and human capital, parents' attitudes and actions, and students' attitudes and actions are some dimensions of the social capital of families that may enhance the development of human capital.

g. Employment status. Students' employment status appeared to be a significant predictor of their recommendation of Canada as a choice of destination. In particular, those who held a part-time job were less likely to recommend their friends and relatives to immigrate to Canada. Further cross-tabulation analysis with other academic (e.g., academic performance and pressure from school work) and non-academic variables (e.g., family income and self-rated SES) failed to reveal any significant association. It is plausible that the significant relationship found may be due to factors such as difficulties in job search in view of the depressed economic condition and dissatisfaction with their employment experience.

h. Admission category. Those who came under non-business class were more likely to recommend their relatives and friends to immigrate to Canada. Their standards of living have perhaps been improved. The better living environment and material possessions (such as a house and a car) might have been perceived by the immigrants as a significant improvement in their standards of living.

i. Presence/absence of parents in Canada. The presence of mother in Canada was found to be significantly related to student's higher frequency of English language use, whereas the presence of father was significantly associated with higher academic performance and ethnic language retention and use. Of course, the presence of a parent would increase one's use of ethnic language in the family as the Chinese language would be the medium of communication among family members. The significant relationships between the presence of a parent and the two academic-related dimensions of students' immigration could certainly be understood within the context of parental expectations as discussed previously.

j. Location of school. Students who attended school in the downtown area were found to exhibit a higher degree of ethnic retention and use. Perhaps this is due to the high concentration of the Chinese population in the downtown area and the higher degree of

institutional completeness. Students would thus have greater accessibility to services in the ethnic community and greater exposure to ethnic media.

k. Discrimination experience. The adaptation of immigrants certainly does not proceed as though this process takes place in a vacuum completely unaffected by the reactions and views of the host society. Discrimination experience was found to be significantly related to a lower degree of gratification with life, a small possibility of immigrating to Canada if a choice were given, and would be less likely to recommend their relatives and friends to immigrate to Canada. It is peculiar to note that this was also associated with a higher degree of ethnic language retention. Immigrants who experience discrimination on account of their race, language, or nationality may perhaps be more likely to develop a conviction that their ethnic group matters a great deal. The natural response to being discriminated against is, therefore, to claim pride in one's identity. Hence they are more likely to demonstrate a higher degree of ethnic language retention and use.

In fact, a study of visa students attending high schools in Metro Toronto has found that students from Taiwan (33.3%) and Hong Kong (14.9%) were most likely to have experienced discrimination (Chow, 1990). Similarly, a study of the cross-cultural adaptation of Hong Kong visa students attending York University and the University of Toronto has concluded that "lack of discrimination", "ease in making friends with Canadians", and "finding Canadians kind" were among the most significant predictors for their positive adaptation experience (Mickle, 1984).

7.1.5. Overall Immigration Experience

Respondents' responses to the following two questions (1) whether they would still immigrate to Canada, based now their lived experiences thus far, if a choice were given and (2) whether they would encourage their friends and relatives to immigrate to Canada were used to assess the overall immigration experiences of the Hong Kong and Caribbean immigrant students. With respect to the former question, 31.1 per cent of the Hong Kong

students said they would prefer to stay, as compared to 51.6 per cent of the Caribbean students. As regards the second question, 23.6 per cent of the Hong Kong and 45.9 per cent of the Caribbean students indicated that they would encourage their friends and relatives to immigrate to Canada. Clearly, the overall immigration experiences of the Caribbean students appeared to be more positive than the Hong Kong counterparts.

It is worth noting that relatively few Chinese immigrant students appeared to be certain at the time of the study that they would make Canada their permanent home. With the passage of time, however, these immigrant students may develop a deeper commitment to Canada. Stated differently, the length of residence may act as an intervening variable affecting the adaptation and future plans of the students. In fact, it is rather likely that their future plans will be contingent upon three socio-economic and political factors: the Canada factor (economic conditions in the country when these immigrant students complete their post-secondary education), the China factor (political and economic developments in the mainland), and the Hong Kong factor (its political stability after the change of sovereignty and its demand for graduates from tertiary institutions in view of the rapid expansion of post-secondary education[2] in the territory).

7.2. A BRIEF SUMMARY OF INTERVIEW DATA

A total of 30 Hong Kong and 10 Caribbean students were willing to further participate in a personal interview. Those who participated have shared in detail about the circumstances of emigration, school life, social life, negative and positive immigration experiences, future plans, as well as their advice for prospective immigrants.

Hong Kong students shared the effects of the political instability in their homeland, whereas Caribbean discussed how better educational and economic opportunities in Canada prompted their families' decision to emigrate. They also explained why Canada was chosen and the decision-making process. With respect to school life, students in both groups talked about the differences between the educational system in Canada and in their place of origin (such as the schools being quite liberal and lax in discipline, teachers being more approachable, and curriculum being more flexible in Canada). They were generally satisfied with their school life in Canada. In terms of social life, the major problems encountered by the Hong Kong and Caribbean immigrant students appeared to be the "lack of close friends" and the "boredom of life". Hong Kong students' close contacts with friends from their place of origin were found to be related to their inadequate command of English and making friends with Canadian students.

As regards ethnic identification, since the present study focused on recent immigrants, most still considered their place of origin as being "home". Only very few respondents were willing to identify themselves as "Canadian" or "hyphenated Canadian". These two groups of visible minority students appeared to be aware of their minority status in Canada. Students generally recognized that they would be identified by the dominant society as "Chinese", "Caribbean", "Black", or "West Indians", whether or not they identified themselves as such. Particularly among the Hong Kong students, many were convinced that their ethnic membership (i.e., being Chinese) would restrict their employment opportunities and limit their opportunities for advancement in this country.

Students in both groups shared their future plans upon the completion of their post-secondary education, and offered some useful advice for prospective immigrant students.

7.3. CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE STUDY

It has been pointed out that research on the adaptation experiences of Chinese immigrant students has been surprisingly sparse in view of its complexity and importance. Previous studies tended to focus only on students attending post-secondary institutions. The present study has filled a gap in the study of Chinese immigrant students in Canada.

The results constitute the strengths of this study because they will be beneficial not only to the various Boards of Education and high schools, but to other educational institutions where a body of Chinese and Caribbean immigrant students are found. They can be used as basic information for developing academic and cultural programs and support services. In addition, they can provide the prospective immigrant students with valuable information concerning the various adaptation problems that they may expect to encounter when they immigrate to Canada. Of course, the findings should also be of interest to governmental departments which are responsible for formulating immigration policies.

Methodologically, the use of both quantitative and qualitative techniques in the quest to understand the adaptation experiences of immigrant students has also enabled the researcher to examine qualitative derived insights against a larger sample.

A new conceptual scheme for analyzing the adaptation experiences of immigrant students, adapted from Goldlust and Richmond's (1974) multivariate model of immigrant adaptation, has been proposed in this dissertation. This conceptual scheme takes into consideration of aspects that are pertinent to the adaptation experiences of immigrant students (e.g., degree of satisfaction with school life, English language proficiency, academic performance, and future study plans).

In particular, thirteen indices have been constructed to measure the various dimensions of adaptation. Patterns in the underlying factorial structure of these indices have also been identified. The factorial structure is parsimonious and congruent with other theoretical approaches to the study of immigrant adaptation (e.g., Kim and Hurh, 1993). This new conceptual scheme can surely be employed to examine the adaptation experiences of immigrant students belonging to various ethnic/racial backgrounds and age groups.

7.4. RECOMMENDATIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

When immigrant students arrive in this country, they must make a transition that is social, cultural, educational, linguistic, as well as psychological. These needs merit special efforts on the part of the school system. Given the findings in this study, a few recommendations are made.

a. Effective language training programs should be offered. It should be noted that even students from those ostensibly English-speaking countries of the Caribbean may in fact speak a Creolized form of English that is virtually a foreign language when the Creolization is deep. It should also be emphasized that although all students in Hong Kong either study in English-medium schools or study English as one of the academic subjects in Chinese-medium schools, the English language is largely used in academic contexts. It is not a tool that students will readily use in their daily lives. In particular, Chow (1990) has found that 77.0 per cent of the Hong Kong visa students studying in private high schools in Toronto expressed their "ability to express myself in English" as one of the major problems that they were encountering.

b. Small group sharing sessions should be organized for immigrant students to share their feelings and experiences of immigration. School psychologists, teachers, or counsellors could provide a comfortable atmosphere in which the immigrants could discuss any difficulties they are encountering as a result of their immigration. Such gatherings would allow these young immigrants to realize that others share their feelings,

fears, and hopes. As well, these groups would also provide a place for new immigrants to meet other immigrants of similar backgrounds.

c. In view of the significant statistical relationships between the presence of father and students' academic performance, the schools should pay special attention to students whose parents or guardians are not residing in Canada with them. These students may require counselling or other support services.

d. It is disturbing to find that racial discrimination was found to be an area of concern to a significant proportion of both the Hong Kong and Caribbean samples. Nearly 25 per cent of the Chinese students and 17 per cent of the Caribbean counterparts indicated personal discrimination experience in both school and non-school settings. The interview data further identified the concerns of some Chinese students who held the view that their minority status would adversely affect their full participation in the broader society, particularly in terms of getting jobs in the labour market. This has, in fact, been one of the frequently mentioned reasons for their intention to return to their homeland or to go elsewhere upon the completion of their post-secondary education. Discrimination on the basis of ascribed characteristics (such as race, ethnicity, and skin colour) is both unfair and irrational. Strenuous efforts must be made to eradicate discrimination at the personal, institutional, and societal levels.

e. At a time of social dislocation, immigrants students have the urgent need to build and consolidate a social network. Support groups or buddy system may be developed. These groups and network can serve as a vital source of emotional support and a source of information.

7.5. DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The findings of this study point in a number of directions for further research. First of all, the instrument used for the present study could be further refined so as to better understand the adaptation experiences.

Secondly, as this study has shown that while 90 per cent of the Chinese immigrants planned to enter university upon the completion of their high school education, 80 per cent of the Caribbean counterparts intended to attend community college. If these two groups of students had different educational aspirations, further studies may attempt to provide the answer. If such a difference was due to the misplacement of Caribbean students into the technical or vocational stream, the differential treatment must be properly dealt with.

Thirdly, it has been noted that 29.0 per cent of the fathers of the Hong Kong immigrant students were still working in Hong Kong at the time of this study. In fact, a survey of Chinese immigrants conducted by the Chinese Information and Community Services has found that the unemployment rate among the survey participants was 13.0 per cent, nearly 25.0 per cent higher than the province-wide rate of 10.6 per cent released in April 1992 (Lau, 1992). It is crucial, therefore, to examine whether their decisions to continue their work in Hong Kong were due to structural barriers, such as their qualifications and experiences not being recognized, or the economic situation in Canada.

Fourthly, in view of the significant impact of the presence of parents in Canada on the various aspects of immigrant students' adaptation experience. Future studies should explore the exact nature of parents' impact (such as parental expectations and parental involvement in terms of support and assistance) on students' adaptation.

Finally, longitudinal studies of immigrant students will be useful in terms of identifying the factors that tend to promote or hinder the adaptation process and understanding how length of residence will affect the various aspects of their adaptation experiences and future plans.

7.6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The essence of Canadian life is that it is composed of different groups, cultures, races, religions, attitudes, interests, and ideologies. All these differences give this country its distinctiveness. Immigrants, regardless of their place of origin, can be an asset to their "adopted" country, for they are able to extract the best from both their original and host cultures to their own benefits, and make Canada a more colourful and interesting country to live in. Upon the completion of their studies, the potential contributions that these immigrant students could make to the various spheres of Canadian society, including social, economic, and political, can hardly be under-estimated. Every effort must, therefore, be made to assist all newly-arrived immigrant students to be better and more quickly able to adapt during the transition into a new culture and to become a full participant in our society.

NOTES

[1] About 5.0 per cent of the respondents were born outside Hong Kong. Unless these students have acquired some type of foreign passport or have become a British subject through naturalization, they should be holders of the Hong Kong Certificate of Identity (commonly referred to as "CI").

[2] Hong Kong's tertiary education has seen remarkable expansion in the past decade. As pointed out by Choi (1992:253), it was due to an extraneous political factor that the Hong Kong government pledged to undertake significant expansion of university education. More specifically, the Governor announced four months after the June 4 massacre in Beijing that the original provision for degree-level places would be increased by as much as 42.7 per cent to 15,000 in 1991-95, or over 18 per cent of the 17-20 age group.

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APPENDIX A
COVERING LETTER & QUESTIONNAIRE
(English & Chinese Versions)

The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
252 Bloor Street West, Toronto, Ontario M5S 1V6

Institut d'études pédagogiques de l'Ontario
252, rue Bloor Ouest, Toronto (Ontario) M5S 1V6

SURVEY ON ADAPTATION EXPERIENCES OF HONG KONG & CARIBBEAN IMMIGRANT STUDENTS

Dear Immigrant Student:

I am a doctoral student in the Department of Sociology in Education at the University of Toronto. As I am undertaking a study concerning the adaptation experiences of recent Hong Kong and Caribbean immigrant students, I am asking for your co-operation in filling out the attached questionnaire.

Please be advised that this project has been approved by the Research Committee of your School Board and by your School Principal. As well, it is being financially supported by the Federation of Chinese-Canadian Professionals (Ontario) and the Toronto Chinese Business Association. Your participation in this study is, however, strictly on a ***voluntary*** *basis.*

Most of the questions can be answered by circling the numbers which corresponds to your reply. Sometimes you are asked to respond in your own words. Please note that you may answer these questions in either English or Chinese.

Completion of the survey will take approximately 20 minutes. Since the data are being used for group comparison purposes only, there will be ***no*** *identification of individuals or schools in the completed report.*

As I would also like to interview you so as to better understand your experience as an immigrant student, please fill out the consent form which is attached to this questionnaire if you are willing to participate.

A summary of results will be available to all the participating students. Please contact me at (416) 365-0883 if you would like to receive a copy upon the completion of the final report.

Your participation in this study is much appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

Henry P. H. Chow

Henry P.H. Chow, B.A.(Hons.),M.A.,Cert.B.S.,
Ph.D. Candidate

TEL. (416) 923-6641 TELEX 06217720 FAX (416) 926-4725 Affiliated with the University of Toronto/Affilié à l'Université de Toronto

QUESTIONNAIRE

NOTE: Please read and answer all questions as accurately as possible. Indicate your response by circling the appropriate number or filling in your response in the space provided.

PART A: REASONS & DECISIONS FOR IMMIGRATING TO CANADA

01. Please circle number on each line to explain the role of each motive or influence at the time of your family's decision to come here.

1 = Very unimportant
2 = Unimportant
uc = Uncertain
4 = Important
5 = Very important

	Very unimportant	*Unimportant*	*Uncertain*	*Important*	*Very important*
1. SOCIAL FACTORS					
a. Poor housing condition in home country.	1	2	uc	4	5
b. Life is too tense or hectic in home country.	1	2	uc	4	5
c. Pollution problems in home country.	1	2	uc	4	5
d. My home country is too overpopulated.	1	2	uc	4	5
e. Better social welfare system in Canada.	1	2	uc	4	5
2. EDUCATIONAL FACTORS					
a. Better educational opportunities in Canada.	1	2	uc	4	5
b. More university or college places in Canada.	1	2	uc	4	5
c. A wider choice of fields in Canada.	1	2	uc	4	5
3. ECONOMIC FACTORS					
a. Better investment opportunities in Canada.	1	2	uc	4	5
b. Better job opportunities in Canada.	1	2	uc	4	5
c. Family owns business in Canada.	1	2	uc	4	5
4. POLITICAL FACTORS					
a. Uncertain political future of country of origin.	1	2	uc	4	5
b. Greater political freedom in Canada.	1	2	uc	4	5
c. Human rights are highly respected in Canada.	1	2	uc	4	5
5. CULTURAL FACTORS					
a. Canada is an English-speaking country.	1	2	uc	4	5
b. Communities of my own ethnic origin are well-established in Canada.	1	2	uc	4	5
c. Canada is a multicultural society.	1	2	uc	4	5

6. PERSONAL FACTORS	*Very unimportant*	*Unimportant*	*Uncertain*	*Important*	*Very important*
a. Recommended by immigration consultants or immigration lawyers.	1	2	uc	4	5
b. Recommended by friends or relatives.	1	2	uc	4	5
c. To join family members or relatives already in Canada.	1	2	uc	4	5
d. Unable to obtain landed immigrant status from other countries.	1	2	uc	4	5
e. To prepare the way for remaining family members or relatives to immigrate to Canada.	1	2	uc	4	5
f. Came to Canada before as a visitor or student.	1	2	uc	4	5
g. The prospects for personal advancement in Canada are better.	1	2	uc	4	5

7. OTHER FACTORS

a. Please indicate other important factors that may not have been included in the above list:

_____

_____

02. The decision to immigrate to Canada was mainly made by:
1. My parents
2. Family as a whole
3. Others. Please specify: _____

03. Under which immigration category was your family admitted to Canada?

1. Family class
2. Assisted relatives
3. Business immigrants (investor or entrepreneur)
4. Family business
5. Independent or self-employed
6. Overseas worker recruitment
7. Domestic labour
8. Retirement
9. Refugee
10. Other. Please specify: _____

04. How long have you been living in Canada?

_____ (# of Years) _____ (# of Months)

05. Before coming to Canada as a landed immigrant, had you visited Canada before?

1. Yes, as a visa student
2. Yes, as a tourist or visitor
3. No

06. Besides Canada and your home country, have you ever lived in any other countries?

1. Yes * 2. No

* If yes, please specify a) Name of Country: _____

b) Length of Residence: _____

07. At what age did you come you Canada as a landed immigrant? _____

08. How would you describe the place you lived in your country of origin before coming to Canada?

1. City or urban area
2. Suburban area
3. Rural area

PART B: EDUCATION & LANGUAGE ISSUES

01. Rate your ability to use the English language. Circle the appropriate number as it would apply to your self-rated ability.

1 = Very unsatisfactory
2 = Unsatisfactory
uc= Uncertain
4 = Satisfactory
5 = Very satisfactory

	Very unsatisfactory	*Unsatisfactory*	*Uncertain*	*Satisfactory*	*Very satisfactory*
a. Speak English	1	2	uc	4	5
b. Read English	1	2	uc	4	5
c. Understand English	1	2	uc	4	5
d. Write English	1	2	uc	4	5

02. Indicate the English language tests you have written and the highest score you have obtained.

			HIGHEST SCORE
a. TOEFL *(Test of English as a Foreign Language)*	a. Yes	b. No	_____
b. MELAB *(Michigan English Language Assessment Battery)*	a. Yes	b. No	_____
c. ELTS *(British Council English Language Test)*	a. Yes	b. No	_____

d. Other. Please specify both the test and score:

_____

03. What grade are you currently in?

Grade _____

04. In which of the following subject areas have you completed most of your credits?
(Choose the appropriate number from below)

a. in your home country: _____
b. in Canada: _____

1. *Arts* (language, geography, economics, history, etc.)
2. *Science* (math., physics, chemistry, biology, computer, etc.)
3. *Business* (accounting, typewriting, marketing, etc.)
4. *Technical* (design & technology, woodwork, metalwork, etc.)
5. *Combination* of the various fields (including Arts/Science/Business/Technical subjects)

05. Please indicate the type of English course that you have taken in the past two terms/semesters.
1. English as a Second Language (ESL)
2. Regular English
3. Both (1) and (2)
4. I am not taking any English course

06. How do you rate yourself in school ability compared with other Canadian students in your classes in school?
1. I am well above average
2. I am above average
3. I am average
4. I am below average
5. I am well below average

07. Approximately what was the average mark of all the courses you took last term/semester?
1. A (80-100)
2. B (70-79)
3. C (60-69)
4. D (50-59)
5. E (49 or below)

08. What is your mother tongue (or first language)? _____

09. When speaking to <u>each</u> of the following persons, what language do you use?

1 = English only
2 = Mostly English
3 = Both English & my ethnic or first language about equally
4 = Mostly my ethnic/first language
5 = Ethnic/first language only

	English only	*Mostly English*	*Both about equally*	*Mostly ethnic*	*Ethnic only*
a. Parents	1	2	3	4	5
b. Brothers and/or sisters	1	2	3	4	5
c. Best friends	1	2	3	4	5
d. Best schoolmates	1	2	3	4	5
e. Family doctor	1	2	3	4	5

10. How often do you do each of the following in your daily life?

1 = Never
2 = Rarely (once every few months)
3 = Occasionally (once every few weeks)
4 = Sometimes (once every few days)
5 = Very often (daily)

	Never	Rarely	Occasionally	Sometimes	Very often
a. Watch English T.V. programs or videos.	1	2	3	4	5
b. Watch T.V. programs or videos in your ethnic/first language.	1	2	3	4	5
c. Listen to English radio broadcasts.	1	2	3	4	5
d. Listen to radio broadcasts in your ethnic/first language.	1	2	3	4	5
e. Read English newspapers.	1	2	3	4	5
f. Read newspapers in your ethnic/first language.	1	2	3	4	5
g. Read English magazines or periodicals.	1	2	3	4	5
h. Read magazines or periodicals in your ethnic/first language.	1	2	3	4	5

11. Please indicate to what extent are you satisfied with the following aspects of your school life.

1 = Very dissatisfied
2 = Dissatisfied
uc= Uncertain
4 = Satisfied
5 = Very satisfied

	Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Uncertain	Satisfied	Very satisfied
a. My academic program.	1	2	uc	4	5
b. Helpfulness of my teachers.	1	2	uc	4	5
c. Friendliness of Canadian students.	1	2	uc	4	5
d. School facilities.	1	2	uc	4	5
e. My relations with other students.	1	2	uc	4	5
f. Grading and examination system.	1	2	uc	4	5
g. Counselling services provided.	1	2	uc	4	5
h. Teaching quality.	1	2	uc	4	5
i. Language training programs offered.	1	2	uc	4	5
j. Extra-curricular activities provided.	1	2	uc	4	5

PART C: SOCIAL & CULTURAL ISSUES

01. Following are a number of problems which new immigrant students in Canada may encounter. Which of these problems concerns you now?

1 = Very unimportant
2 = Unimportant
uc= Uncertain
4 = Important
5 = Very important

	Very unimportant	*Unimportant*	*Uncertain*	*Important*	*Very important*
a. Doing well in school.	1	2	uc	4	5
b. Discrimination against my race.	1	2	uc	4	5
c. Unpleasant treatment by teachers.	1	2	uc	4	5
d. Unfriendliness of Canadians.	1	2	uc	4	5
e. Getting used to the climate.	1	2	uc	4	5
f. Adjusting to Canadian food.	1	2	uc	4	5
g. Separation from friends/relatives in home country.	1	2	uc	4	5
h. Adjusting to Canadian culture.	1	2	uc	4	5
i. My family's adjustment to this country.	1	2	uc	4	5
j. Financial situation of my family.	1	2	uc	4	5
k. Pressure of school work.	1	2	uc	4	5

02. Have you ever been discriminated against in Canada because of your ethnic or cultural background?

1. Yes * 2. No

*If yes, please give a brief description of the worst experience you have encountered:

_____

_____

03. How would you describe your experience in making friends with Canadians who are NOT of your ethnic origin?
1. Very easy
2. Fairly easy
3. Uncertain
4. Fairly difficult
5. Very difficult

04. With whom do you spend most of your leisure time?
1. Family or relatives
2. Friends or schoolmates from home country
3. Canadian friends or schoolmates
4. Other. Please specify: _____

05. There are many customs in a new culture which are different from the culture in your country of origin. They may pose problems to you. Please indicate the extent to which each of the following is different by circling the suitable number.

1 = Very different
2 = Different
uc = Uncertain
4 = Similar
5 = Very similar

	Very different	*Different*	*Uncertain*	*Similar*	*Very similar*
a. Ideas about what is funny.	1	2	uc	4	5
b. Ideas about what is sad.	1	2	uc	4	5
c. Subjects which should not be discussed.	1	2	uc	4	5
d. The degree of friendliness and intimacy between unmarried men and women.	1	2	uc	4	5
e. Students' respect for their teachers.	1	2	uc	4	5
f. Children's respect for their parents.	1	2	uc	4	5
g. Attitude towards sex.	1	2	uc	4	5
h. Openness to new ideas.	1	2	uc	4	5
i. People's respect for the elderly.	1	2	uc	4	5
j. Tolerance of others.	1	2	uc	4	5

06. How often do you participate in activities organized by the following organizations? Please also indicate the language used in each of the organizations.

1 = Never
2 = Rarely (a few times per year)
3 = Occasionally (a few times per month)
4 = Sometimes (a few times per week)
5 = Very often (everyday)

	Never	*Rarely*	*Occasionally*	*Sometimes*	*Very often*	LANGUAGE USED
a. Religious organizations (e.g. church)	1	2	3	4	5	_____
b. Recreational organizations (e.g. sports centre)	1	2	3	4	5	_____
c. Community organizations (e.g. YWCA/YMCA, community centre)	1	2	3	4	5	_____
d. Political organizations (e.g. political party, lobby group	1	2	3	4	5	_____

e. Others. Please specify. _____

07. Circle the number that indicates your degree of agreement with each of the following statements.

1 = Strongly agree
2 = Agree
uc= Uncertain
4 = Disagree
5 = Strongly disagree

	Strongly agree	*Agree*	*Uncertain*	*Disagree*	*Strongly disagree*
a. I am very interested in issues, events, or affairs concerning Canada.	1	2	uc	4	5
b. I am very interested in issues, events, or affairs concerning my home country.	1	2	uc	4	5
c. I have a strong positive feeling about being Canadian.	1	2	uc	4	5
d. I have a strong sense of belonging to Canada.	1	2	uc	4	5
e. I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.	1	2	uc	4	5
f. I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly people of my own ethnic group.	1	2	uc	4	5
g. I find it easy to make friends with Canadians who are not of my own ethnic group.	1	2	uc	4	5
h. I seldom spend time with Canadians who are not of my own ethnic group.	1	2	uc	4	5

08. Do you consider yourself as

1. A Chinese
2. A Hongkonger
3. A Chinese-Canadian
4. A Canadian
5. A Black
6. A Caribbean
7. A West Indian
8. A West Indian Canadian
9. Other. Please specify:_____

PART D: FUTURE PLANS & OTHER MIGRATION-RELATED ISSUES

01. How often have you revisited your country of origin since coming to Canada as a permanent resident (landed immigrant or citizen)?

1. Yearly
2. Every two years
3. Less than every two years
4. Never
5. Other. Please specify: _____

02. What do you plan to do when you finish high school?

1. Go to university
2. Go to college
3. Get a job
4. Other. Please specify: _____

03. Do you plan to return to your country of origin eventually?

1. Yes * 2. No 3. Not sure

* If yes, when?

1. Upon the completion of my high school education.
2. Upon the completion of my post-secondary education.
3. Other. Please specify: _____

04. Would you encourage your friends and relatives in your country of origin to emigrate to Canada?
1. Yes (Reason:_____)
2. No (Reason:_____)
3. Uncertain

05. Based on your experiences in Canada so far, what would you prefer to do if you had a choice?
1. Stay in Canada
2. Return to country of origin
3. Immigrate to another country. Please specify:_____
4. No preference

SECTION E: FAMILY & INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS

(I) INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS

01. In what country were you born? _____

02. What is your age? _____

03. What is your gender?
1. Male 2. Female

04. What is your marital status?
1. Single
2. Married
3. Other. Please specify: _____.

05. What is your religion? (e.g., Roman Catholic, Protestant, ancestral worship, etc.)
_____

06. Please indicate the **highest** educational level you had **completed** before coming to Canada?
1. Primary school
2. Secondary school (Forms 1-5)
3. Secondary school (Forms 6-7 or Matriculation)
4. Technical institute/Commercial school
5. College or polytechnical institute

07. What was the **major** language of instruction used in the school you attended before coming to Canada?

_____

08. Do you work part-time?

1. Yes * 2. No

* If yes, please indicate

a. the type of work you do: _____

b. the average number of hours you work per week: _____

(II) FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS

09. Where were your parents born?

a. Father _____

b. Mother _____

10. Your **father's** occupation (Please be specific. Examples: textile merchant, accounting clerk, mechanical engineer, bank manager)

a. in country of origin _____

b. in Canada _____

11. Your **mother's** occupation (Please be specific. Examples: textile merchant, accounting clerk, mechanical engineer, bank manager)

a. in country of origin _____

b. in Canada _____

12. Please indicate the highest level of education <u>completed</u> by your parents? (Choose the appropriate number from below.)

a. Father _____
b. Mother _____

1. No formal education
2. Primary school
3. Secondary school
4. Technical institute or commercial school
5. College, polytechnic, or teacher's college
6. University (Bachelor's degree)
7. Graduate school (Master's or Doctoral degree)
8. Don't Know

13. Please indicate the marital status of your parents. (Choose the appropriate number from below)

a. Father _____
b. Mother _____

1. Married
2. Separated/Divorced
3. Widowed
4. Remarried

14. Are your parents currently residing in Canada?

a. Father _____
b. Mother _____

1. Yes
2. No. Returned to home country for a visit
3. No. Working in home country
4. No. (Reason:_____)

15. How many brothers and sisters do you have? (including yourself)

_____

16. How many of your brothers and sisters are now living in Canada? (including yourself)

_____

17. What type of accommodation do you currently have?

1. Apartment rented by my family
2. House rented by my family
3. Apartment bought by my family
4. House bought by my family
5. Other. Please specify: _____

18. In which of the following cities do you currently reside?

1. North York
2. East York
3. York
4. Scarborough
5. Toronto
6. Etobicoke
7. Other. Please specify: _____

19. Which of the following categories best describes your family's **total** yearly income?

1. Cdn. $ 20,000 or under
2. Cdn. $ 20,001 - 40,000
3. Cdn. $ 40,001 - 60,000
4. Cdn. $ 60,001 - 80,000
5. Cdn. $ 80,001 - 100,000
6. Cdn. $ 100,001 or over

20. On a five point scale, circle the number that indicates the socio-economic class to which you think your family belongs:

1----------	2----------	3----------	4---------	5
Lower Class		Middle Class		Upper Class

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR ASSISTANCE

****

PERSONAL INTERVIEW PARTICIPATION FORM

Dear Immigrant Student:

I would like to interview you so as to better understand your lived experience as an immigrant student in Canada. Please provide the following information if you are willing to be interviewed by me at a mutually convenient time. All information will be kept confidential.

Name: _____
Telephone Number: _____
Address: _____

01. Place where you prefer to be interviewed:

a. Your home
b. The researcher's office
c. No preference
*d. Other. Please specify:*_____

02. Language preference for the interview:

a. Cantonese
b. English
c. Other. Please specify: _____

****

The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
252 Bloor Street West, Toronto, Ontario M5S 1V6

Institut d'études pédagogiques de l'Ontario
252, rue Bloor Ouest, Toronto (Ontario) M5S 1V6

香港移民中學生
在加拿大之適應問卷調查

SURVEY ON ADAPTATION EXPERIENCES OF HONG KONG IMMIGRANT STUDENTS

(CHINESE VERSION)

本人爲多倫多大學安省教育研究院的研究生；現正進行一項有關香港移民中學生在加拿大適應之調查。此項研究已獲　貴學校及所屬的教育局批准。

問卷內的問題，大部份祇需圈上所選擇的答案，其它則可以中文或英文作答。這份問卷約需二十分鐘完成。所有資料，絕對保密，並毋需在問卷上填上姓名。

假若你願意進一步參予這項研究，接受本人個別的訪問，藉以更深入明白移民學生在本地的生活實況和困難，請填寫問卷內附的同意書，以便日後聯絡。

如你對這項調查仍有任何問題，或欲索取一份研究報告的話，請致電(416)365-0883 與本人聯絡。

周博恒 (Henry P.H. Chow)
社會學(教育)系博士候選人

注意(一)大部份問題祇需將答案圈上便可。其餘則可用中文或英文回答。
(二)除非你願意接受個人訪問，否則毋需在問卷內填上姓名。

第一部份: 移民加拿大之因由

01. 請圈出適當的號碼來表示下列各移民加拿大原因對你的重要性

1 = 非常不重要
2 = 不重要
uc = 不肯定
4 = 重要
5 = 非常重要

(一)社會因素	非常不重要	不重要	不肯定	重要	非常重要
a. 原居國家居住環境欠佳	1	2	uc	4	5
b. 原居國家生活節奏過份緊張	1	2	uc	4	5
c. 原居國家環境污染問題嚴重	1	2	uc	4	5
d. 原居國家人口過份稠密	1	2	uc	4	5
e. 加拿大提供更優厚的社會福利	1	2	uc	4	5
(二)教育因素					
a. 加拿大有更佳的教育機會	1	2	uc	4	5
b. 加拿大提供更多大學和專上學院	1	2	uc	4	5
c. 加拿大有更多不同學科供選擇	1	2	uc	4	5
(三)經濟因素					
a. 加拿大有更好的投資機會	1	2	uc	4	5
b. 加拿大有更理想的就業機會	1	2	uc	4	5
c. 家庭在加拿大經營生意	1	2	uc	4	5
(四)政治因素					
a. 原居國家政治局勢不穩定	1	2	uc	4	5
b. 在加拿大能享受更高度政治自由	1	2	uc	4	5
c. 加拿大是個尊重人權的國家	1	2	uc	4	5
(五)文化因素					
a. 加拿大是一個說英語的國家	1	2	uc	4	5
b. 我的族裔在加拿大已有健全的社區	1	2	uc	4	5
c. 很多僑胞聚居於加拿大	1	2	uc	4	5
d. 加拿大是個多元文化的國家	1	2	uc	4	5

(六) 個人因素	非常不重要	不重要	不肯定	重要	非常重要
a. 獲移民律師或顧問介紹	1	2	uc	4	5
b. 獲朋友或親戚介紹	1	2	uc	4	5
c. 與在加拿大的家人或親戚團聚	1	2	uc	4	5
d. 未能獲其它國家移民申請之批准	1	2	uc	4	5
e. 爲其他家庭成員或親戚將來移民而鋪路	1	2	uc	4	5
f. 曾以留學生或遊客身份到過加拿大	1	2	uc	4	5
g. 加拿大提供更多個人發展機會	1	2	uc.	4	5

(七) 其它因素: 假若還有其它因素的話, 請註明: _____

_____

02. 移民加拿大主要是誰作決定的?

1. 父母
2. 家庭所有成員
3. 其它, 請註明: _____

03. 移民類別:

1. 家庭移民 (直系親屬)
2. 親戚擔保移民 (受助親屬)
3. 投資或企業移民
4. 家庭生意信託移民
5. 獨立或自僱移民
6. 海外家庭傭工
7. 海外勞工僱用
8. 退休移民
9. 難民

04. 你已在加拿大居住的時間:

_____(年數) _____(月數)

05. 在你未成爲移民前, 曾否到訪過加拿大?

1. 有, 以留學生身份
2. 有, 以遊客身份
3. 沒有

06. 除了加拿大和原居國家外, 你曾否在其它國家居住?

1. 有 * 2. 沒有

* 若有的話, 請註明: i) 國家名稱 _____ ii) 居住年數 _____

07. 在你移民加拿大時的歲數: _____

08. 在你原居國家生活的地區是屬於那一類?

1. 農村 2. 郊區 3. 城市

第二部份: 語言及教育

01. 請對以下各英文方面的能力作自我評估。

1 = 十分不滿意
2 = 不滿意
uc = 不肯定
4 = 滿意
5 = 十分滿意

	十分不滿意	不滿意	不肯定	滿意	十分滿意
a. 交談	1	2	uc	4	5
b. 閱讀	1	2	uc	4	5
c. 聆聽	1	2	uc	4	5
d. 書寫	1	2	uc	4	5

02. 請圈出你所曾報考的英文試及所獲最高的分數:

			最高分數
1. 托福試 (TOEFL)	有	沒有	_____
2. 密芝根大學英文試 (MELAB)	有	沒有	_____
3. 英國文化協會英文試 (ELTS)	有	沒有	_____

其它英文試及所獲最高的分數: _____

03. 現在就讀的班級: _____

04. 完成最多學分的科目類別 (從下列類別中選出合適的數字):

a. 在原居國家_____
b. 在加拿大_____

1. 文科 (語文, 地理, 經濟, 歷史等)
2. 理科 (數學, 物理, 化學, 生物等)
3. 商科 (會計, 打字, 市場學等)
4. 工科 (設計與工藝, 木工, 金工等)
5. 多種類別的組合(即包括文、理、商、工各科)
6. 其它, 請註明: _____

05. 我在最近二個學期裡修讀的英文科類別是:

1. 英語爲第二語言(ESL)
2. 一般英語(Regular)
3. 同時選修(a)和(b)
4. 沒有選修英文科

06. 與校內同學的學業成積相比時, 你覺得自己是:

1. 成績優異
2. 水準之上
3. 一般水準
4. 水準之下
5. 成績惡劣

1. A級 (80—100)
2. B級 (70—79)
3. C級 (60—69)
4. D級 (50—59)
5. E級 (49或以下)

08. 你的母語是: _____

09. 你以甚麼語言與下列各人溝通?

1 = 祇說英語
2 = 英語爲主
3 = 英語及母語參半
4 = 母語爲主
5 = 祇說母語

	祇說英語	英語爲主	各參半	母語爲主	祇說母語
a. 父母	1	2	3	4	5
b. 兄弟姊妹	1	2	3	4	5
c. 最好的朋友	1	2	3	4	5
d. 最好的同學	1	2	3	4	5
e. 家庭醫生	1	2	3	4	5

10. 在日常生活中參予下列各活動的頻率:

1 = 從不
2 = 甚少(數月一次)
3 = 間中(數星期一次)
4 = 經常(數天一次)
5 = 每天

	從不	甚少	間中	經常	每天
a. 收看英文電視節目或錄映帶	1	2	3	4	5
b. 收看中文電視節目或錄映帶	1	2	3	4	5
c. 收聽英文電台廣播	1	2	3	4	5
d. 收聽中文電台廣播	1	2	3	4	5
e. 閱讀英文報紙	1	2	3	4	5
f. 閱讀中文報紙	1	2	3	4	5
g. 閱讀英文雜誌或期刊	1	2	3	4	5
h. 閱讀中文雜誌或期刊	1	2	3	4	5

11. 請表示你對下列各項有關學校生活的滿意程度

1 = 十分不滿意
2 = 不滿意
oc = 不肯定
4 = 滿意
5 = 十分滿意

	十分不滿意	不滿意	不肯定	滿意	十分滿意
a. 我所選讀的課程	1	2	oc	4	5
b. 老師們樂於幫助學生的程度	1	2	oc	4	5
c. 本地同學的友善程度	1	2	oc	4	5
d. 學校各項的設備	1	2	oc	4	5
e. 我和其他同學之間的相處	1	2	oc	4	5
f. 評分及考試制度	1	2	oc	4	5
g. 學校所提供的輔導服務	1	2	oc	4	5
h. 老師的教學質素	1	2	oc	4	5
i. 學校提供的語言訓練課程	1	2	oc	4	5
j. 學校所提供的課外活動	1	2	oc	4	5

第三部份: 社會及文化

01. 請表示以下各問題對你的嚴重性

1 = 十分不嚴重
2 = 不嚴重
oc = 不肯定
4 = 嚴重
5 = 十分嚴重

	十分不嚴重	不嚴重	不肯定	嚴重	十分嚴重
a. 取得理想的學業成績	1	2	oc	4	5
b. 對華人受歧視的問題	1	2	oc	4	5
c. 老師們不合理的對待	1	2	oc	4	5
d. 本地加拿大人的不友善態度	1	2	oc	4	5
e. 對氣候的適應	1	2	oc	4	5
f. 對本地食物的適應	1	2	oc	4	5
g. 與原居地的朋友和親戚的分離	1	2	oc	4	5
h. 適應加拿大的文化	1	2	oc	4	5
i. 家庭成員在加拿大生活上的適應	1	2	oc	4	5
j. 家庭經濟狀況	1	2	oc	4	5
k. 功課壓力	1	2	oc	4	5

02. 你曾否在加拿大因爲個人種族文化背景而受到歧視?

1. 有 *
2. 沒有

* 若有的話, 請簡述你最惡劣的一次經歷。

_____

_____

03. 你覺得和其他族裔的加拿大人交友是:

1. 十分容易
2. 容易
3. 不肯定
4. 困難
5. 十分困難

04. 在空餘之時, 你多與以下那類別的人渡過?

1. 家人或親戚
2. 來自原居地的朋友或同學
3. 本地加拿大朋友或同學
4. 其它, 請註明: _____

05. 請比較你和一般本地加拿大人對下列各項事情看法的差異程度。

1 = 十分不相同
2 = 不相同
uc = 不肯定
4 = 相同
5 = 十分相同

	十分不相同	不相同	不肯定	相同	十分相同
a. 視爲有趣的東西	1	2	uc	4	5
b. 視爲可悲的東西	1	2	uc	4	5
c. 不應該作爲談論的話題	1	2	uc	4	5
d. 未婚異性間的親密程度	1	2	uc	4	5
e. 學生對老師之尊重程度	1	2	uc	4	5
f. 子女對父母之尊重程度	1	2	uc	4	5
g. 對性的看法	1	2	uc	4	5
h. 對新思想的接受程度	1	2	uc	4	5
i. 對老年人的尊重程度	1	2	uc	4	5
j. 對別人容忍的程度	1	2	uc	4	5

06. 請表示你在下列各機構所舉辦之活動參與的程度，並請列明該機構所使用的語言。

1 = 從不
2 = 甚少（每年數次）
3 = 間中（每月數次）
4 = 經常（每週數次）
5 = 每天

	從不	甚少	間中	經常	每天	所用語言
a. 宗教團體(如教堂)	1	2	3	4	5	_____
b. 康樂活動團體(如體育中心)	1	2	3	4	5	_____
c. 社區團體(如青年會，社區中心)	1	2	3	4	5	_____
d. 政治團體(如政黨，權益組織)	1	2	3	4	5	_____
e. 其它，請註明						

07. 請表示你對下列各點的同意程度

1 = 十分不同意
2 = 不同意
uc = 不肯定
4 = 同意
5 = 十分同意

	十分不同意	不同意	不肯定	同意	十分同意
a. 我十分關注加拿大的時事新聞	1	2	uc	4	5
b. 我十分關注原居國家的時事新聞	1	2	uc	4	5
c. 作爲加拿大的人民，我覺得很榮幸	1	2	uc	4	5
d. 我對加拿大很有歸屬感	1	2	uc	4	5
e. 我對自己的種族有強烈的民族感	1	2	uc	4	5
f. 我很積極參與自己族裔的團體或組織所辦的活動	1	2	uc	4	5
g. 我很積極去結交非華裔的加拿大人爲朋友	1	2	uc	4	5
h. 我很少時間與非華裔的加拿大人在一起	1	2	uc	4	5

08. 我認同自己是一位:

1. 中國人
2. 香港人
3. 華裔加拿大人
4. 加拿大人
5. 其它, 請註明: _____

第四部份: 未來動向及其它移民問題

01. 成爲加拿大移民後, 你返回原居地的次數是:

1. 每年一次
2. 每兩年一次
3. 兩年以上才一次
4. 從沒有返回
5. 其它, 請註明: _____

02. 當你完成中學課程後, 你的計劃是:

1. 在加拿大升讀大學
2. 在加拿大升讀社區學院
3. 在加拿大就業
4. 其它, 請註明: _____

03. 你有否計劃將來回原居國家居住?

1. 有 *
2. 沒有
3. 不肯定

* 若有的話, 何時?
1. 完成中學課程後
2. 完成大專課程後
3. 其它, 請註明: _____

04. 你會否鼓勵在原居國家的親戚或朋友移居來加拿大?

1. 會(主要原因: _____)
2. 不會(主要原因: _____)
3. 沒意見

05. 基於你在加拿大生活的體驗, 假若你可以選擇的話, 你會:

1. 在加拿大定居
2. 返回原居國家
3. 移民到其它國家
4. 不肯定

第五部份: 個人及家庭狀況

(甲) 個人資料

01. 出生國家: _____

02. 年齡: _____

03. 性別: a. 男　　b. 女

04. 婚姻狀況:

1. 未婚
2. 已婚
3. 其它, 請註明: _____

05. 宗教信仰(例: 天主教, 基督教, 祖先拜祭等)

_____

06. 在移民加拿大前在原居國家所完成的最高教育程度:

1. 小學
2. 中一至中五
3. 中六至中七
4. 工業或商科學校
5. 專上、理工或師範學院

07. 移民加拿大前在原居地就讀學校授課的主要語言是: _____

08. 你現在有否兼職?

1. 有 *
2. 沒有

* 若有的話, 請註明 a) 工作類別: _____
b) 每星期工作的鐘數: _____(小時)

(乙) 家庭狀況

09. 父母出生之國家

a. 父親: _____
b. 母親: _____

10. 父親職業 (請註明性質: 製衣業商人, 會計文員, 機械工程師, 銀行經理)

a. 在原居國家: _____
b. 在加拿大: _____

11. 母親職業 (請註明性質: 製衣業商人, 會計文員, 機械工程師, 銀行經理)

a. 在原居國家: _____
b. 在加拿大: _____

12. 父母所完成的教育程度(從下列類別中選出合適的數字)

a. 父親: _____
b. 母親: _____

1. 沒有受正式教育
2. 小學
3. 中學
4. 工業或商業學校
5. 專上、理工或師範學院
6. 大學 (學士程度)
7. 研究院 (碩士或博士程度)
8. 不知道

13. 父母婚姻狀況(從下列類別中選出合適的數字)

a. 父親: _____
b. 母親: _____

1. 已婚
2. 分居或離婚
3. 寡居
4. 再婚

14. 你的父母是否現居於加拿大?
(從下列類別中選出合適的數字)

a. 父親: _____
b. 母親: _____

1. 是
2. 否: 返回原居國家工作
3. 否: 返回原居國家探親
4. 否, 原因_____

15. 兄弟姊妹人數(包括自己在內): _____

16. 居於加拿大的兄弟姊妹人數(包括自己在內): _____

17. 居住地方:

1. 租賃之柏文
2. 自置之柏文
3. 租賃之房屋
4. 自置之房屋
5. 其它, 請註明: _____

18. 居住地區:

1. 北約克 (North York)
2. 東約克 (East York)
3. 約克 (York)
4. 仕嘉堡 (Scarborough)
5. 多倫多 (Toronto)
6. 怡陶碧谷 (Etobicoke)
7. 其它, 請註明: _____

19. 家庭全年的總收入大約是:

1. 加幣 20,000或以下
2. 加幣 20,001至 40,000
3. 加幣 40,001至 60,000
4. 加幣 60,001至 80,000
5. 加幣 80,001至100,000
6. 加幣 100,000或以上

20. 你認爲你家庭的社會和經濟地位是屬那一類別(圈上適合的數字)。

— 多謝合作 —

接受個人訪問同意書

我願意進一步參予這項研究，接受個人專訪。

姓名: _____ 電話: _____

地址: _____

被訪地點選擇: a. 被訪者的住址
b. 研究員之辦公室(即在252 Bloor Street West 之安省教育研究院)
c. 任何地方均可
d. 其它，請註明: _____

被訪語言選擇: a. 粵語
b. 英語
c. 其它，請註明: _____

(注意: 被訪者會在兩星期內接獲電話聯絡，安排訪問時間)

APPENDIX B
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

I. Circumstances of Emigration

01. What were the major reasons for emigration?

(Hong Kong immigrant students were asked to express their views on the socio-political development in the territory during the transition period: the "one country, two systems" policy to be practised in Hong Kong after 1997; the Daya Bay nuclear plant to be built near Hong Kong; terms of the Joint Declaration; the Basic Law; stationing of the People's Liberation Army in Hong Kong after 1997; acceptability of the new British National (Overseas) Passport; June 4th massacre in Tiananmen Square).

02. Who made the decision?

03. Why was Canada chosen?

04. Did you feel that you had some input/control into the decision to emigrate?

05. Did your entire family emigrate at the same time?

II. Experiences and Impact of Immigration

01. Was the Canada you met the Canada you imagined or expected?

02. How has your life (social, personal, school, and family) changed since you moved to Canada?

03. Has your immigration experience enriched/impoverished you in any way as a person?

04. Do you notice any changes of relationships among your family members after immigrating to Canada?

05. What are some of the major difficulties that you are now facing in Canada?

06. Does the English language present any problems in your school work or social life?

07. Are you actively involved in your (ethnic) community?

08. With whom and where do you spend your leisure time?

09 Do you think of Canada as being "home" or your place of origin still "home"?

10. What do you think the various governmental agencies or school can do to help you adjust to this society?

11 What advice would you give to those prospective Chinese immigrants from your homeland?

III. Looking into the Future

01. Now, with all your experience and knowledge, if you were back in time, would you immigrate to Canada?
02. How do you see yourself in five years, where and how?

IV. About the Interview

01. Is there anything else that you would like to share with me about your experiences and feelings of having immigrated to Canada?
02. How did you feel about talking your feelings and experiences of immigration during this interview?
03. Have you talked about these experiences with someone else previously?
04. Are there any other comments that you would like to make regarding this interview?

APPENDIX C
PARENTAL CONSENT FORM
(English and Chinese Versions)

The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
Institut d'études pédagogiques de l'Ontario

SURVEY ON ADAPTATION EXPERIENCES OF HONG KONG
AND CARIBBEAN IMMIGRANT STUDENTS

PARENTAL CONSENT FORM

Dear Parent or Guardian:

As a doctoral candidate in the Department of Sociology in Education at the University of Toronto (OISE), I am undertaking a study concerning the adaptation experiences of recent immigrant students from Hong Kong and the Caribbean. This project has been approved by the Research Committee of the School Board and by the School Principal. As well, it is being financially supported by the Federation of Chinese Canadian Professionals (Ontario) and the Toronto Chinese Business Association.

Please be advised that participation in this study is strictly on a *voluntary basis*. All participating students will fill out a questionnaire which consists of questions focusing on the cultural, educational, and social aspects of adaptation experiences. Students may also choose to further take part in a personal interview which will take place at the convenience of the participants in both time and location. All students will require consent from their parents or guardians in order to participate in a personal interview.

All data provided by students will be treated with *strict confidentiality*. The anonymity of the identities of students and schools will be maintained. Also, students may withdraw from this project at any time. At the completion of the studty, a summary of results may be sent to you upon request.

It is believed that the findings of this study can be used by the School Boards as basic information for developing academic and cultural programs (e.g., orientation & ESL programs) and support services (e.g., cross-cultural counselling) which cater to the specific needs of immigrant students. As a result, immigrant students may be better and more quickly able to adapt during the transition into a new culture.

Please kindly fill out the permission slip below. If you have any further questions, please feel free to contact me at (416) 365-0883. Your support for this research project would be greatly appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

Henry P.H. Chow, *B.A.(Hons.),M.A.,Cert.B.S.,*
Ph.D. Candidate

PERMISSION SLIP

I give/do not give permission for _____ to participate
(Name of Student)

in a personal interview.

_____ _____
Signature of Parent or Guardian Date

_____
Telephone Number

The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
Institut d'études pédagogiques de l'Ontario

香港移民中學生之適應研究

參予個人訪問之家長/監護人同意書

PARENTAL CONSENT FORM

親愛的家長/監護人：

本人為多倫多大學安省教育研究院之研究生；現正進行一項有關香港移民中學生在加拿大適應之調查。 貴子弟亦被邀請參予這項重要的研究。

這個研究計劃已獲 貴子弟所屬的教育局和學校批准，並獲加華專業人員協會和多倫多華商會撥款資助。

所有參與這項調查的學生均屬自願性，參與者除了回答一份有關在加拿大生活上各方面適應的問卷外，更可選擇接受個人訪問（訪問地點及時間將由學生決定），以提供更多資料。凡參與個人訪問者均須獲家長或監護人書面允許。

學生所提供一切的資料絕對保密。這些資料將有助教育局在制定各項教育政策和提供服務時能顧及華人移民學生的需要。

若 台端同意 貴子弟參與個人訪問的話，請填妥下面的同意書，並儘快交回校方，以便這項重要的調查能得以早日順利進行。如有垂詢或欲索取一份將來完成後的研究報告，請致電(416)365-0883與本人聯絡。

周博恒(Henry P.H. Chow)
多倫多大學社會學(教育)系博士候選人

回 條

本人同意 _____ 參予個人訪問。
（學生姓名）

本人不同意 _____ 參予個人訪問。
（學生姓名）

_____ _____
家長/監護人簽署 簽署日期

（註：請儘速將回條，連同填妥的問卷交回班主任）

APPENDIX D
LETTER OF INFORMED CONSENT
(English and Chinese Versions)

The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
Institut d'études pédagogiques de l'Ontario

LETTER OF INFORMED CONSENT

STUDY ON ADAPTATION EXPERIENCES OF HONG KONG/CARIBBEAN IMMIGRANT STUDENTS

I, _____ (please print your full name), have been invited to take part in a study concerning the adaptation experiences of Chinese and/or Caribbean immigrant students under the direction of the researcher, Henry Chow, in which I voluntarily consent to be interviewed.

a. My voluntary participation in this study, its nature, duration and purpose, the methods and means by which it is to be conducted have been thoroughly explained to me by the researcher.

b. I understand that interview data is confidential. Any resulting documents will not contain real names and will be written so as to conceal identities. Only the researcher and members of his supervisory committee can see the full transcripts of the interview.

c. I understand that my participation in this study can be terminated at any time upon my request.

d. I understand that the research data will be used for purposes of scholarly writing and for articles in professional or research journals.

本人明白：

（一）這項個人訪問的性質、目的和所需之時間。

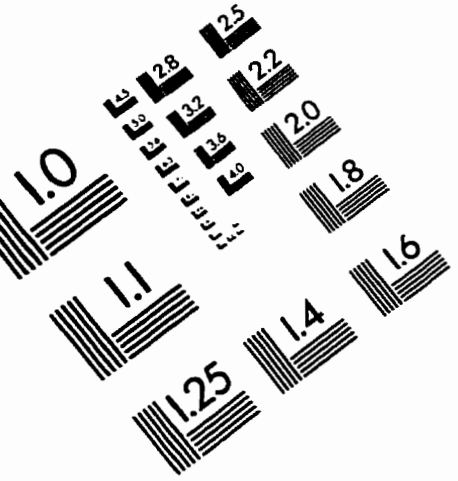
（二）所有資料絕對保密（祇供研究員及其指導教授作研究之用），被訪者之真實姓名亦不會被公開。

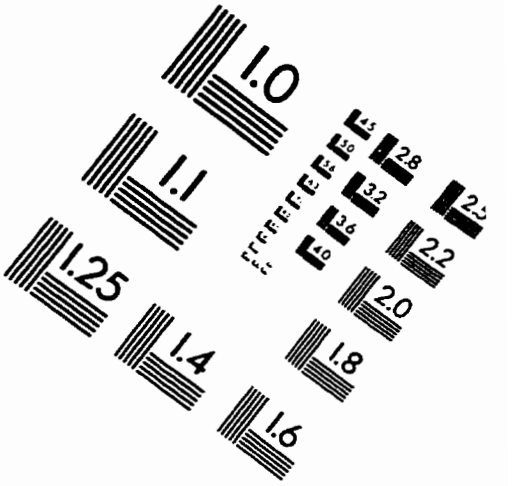
（三）被訪者可隨時終止參予這項訪問。

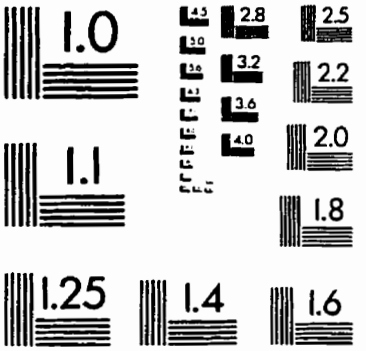
（四）資料將被刊載於學術性期刊或書籍。

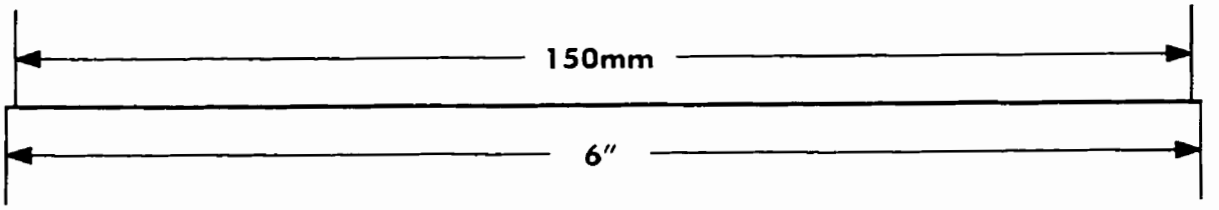
_____	_____
Participant's Signature	Researcher's Signature
_____	_____
Date	Date

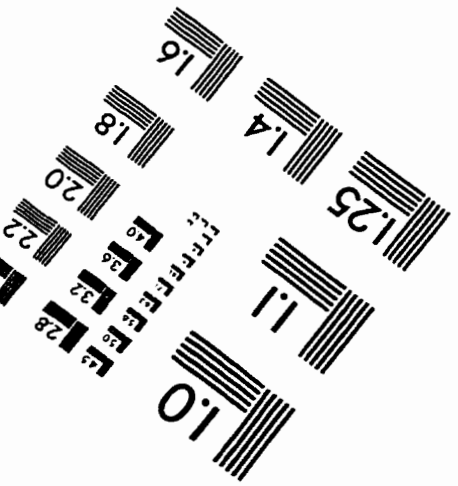
IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (QA-3)

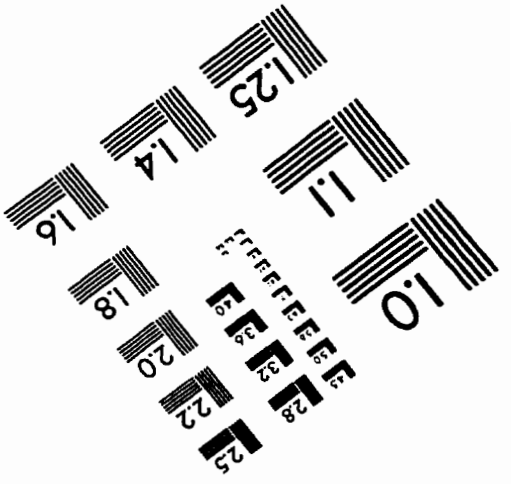












APPLIED IMAGE, Inc
1653 East Main Street
Rochester, NY 14609 USA
Phone: 716/482-0300
Fax: 716/288-5989