"COMMUNITY", ADAPTATION, AND
THE VIETNAMESE IN TORONTO

by

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A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
Graduate Department of Geography,
University of Toronto

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ABSTRACT

"Community", Adaptation, and the Vietnamese in Toronto
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In the late 1970s, in the midst of the “Boat People” crisis, Canada began accepting large numbers of Vietnamese refugees. Vietnam continued as one of the leading sources of refugees and immigrants arriving in Canada up until the early 1990s. This study is intended to provide a comprehensive overview of the adaptation of Vietnamese-origin individuals in the Toronto area. The research findings are organized into two main sections with the intention of focusing attention upon the intrinsic contributions of both the Vietnamese (as individuals and also as members of social collectivities) as well as the institutional actors of the host society within the process of adaptation as it has occurred in the spatial setting of the Toronto area. The first half of the study is concerned with the internal dynamics of the Toronto Vietnamese aggregate. The demography of the population, the internal social structure of the “community”, residential trajectories, the relationship between residence and institutional participation, and the functional significance of ethnic institutions in the lives of Vietnamese are topics of individual chapters. The latter half of the study is concerned with the relationships of the Vietnamese population with the institutions of the host society in Toronto. Chapters in this section address the insertion of the Vietnamese in the labour market, and the interactions between Vietnamese
individuals and ethnic community organizations with the mainstream media and criminal justice representatives.
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PART I
INTRODUCTION, RESEARCH FRAMEWORK, AND CONTEXTUAL FACTORS SHAPING THE ADAPTATION OF THE VIETNAMESE IN TORONTO
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

SETTING THE STAGE: THE TORONTO VIETNAMESE
AND THE RESEARCH LANDSCAPE

Small numbers of Vietnamese came to Toronto as students in order to attend area universities in the 1950s and 1960s. However, the vast bulk of the Vietnamese population arrived after 1978, when Canada began accepting large numbers of Indochinese refugees. Up until the early 1990s, Vietnam continued as one of the leading source countries for both refugees and immigrants coming to Canada. Persons of Vietnamese origin have come to constitute a numerically significant population in the Toronto area and Toronto has the largest Vietnamese population of any metropolitan area in Canada. Just over 41,000 persons of Vietnamese ethnic origin were enumerated in the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) by Statistics Canada in 1996. According to data collected by the Toronto Board of Education in the same year, Vietnamese was the third most commonly spoken home language of students enrolled in the City's elementary and secondary schools, after English and Chinese. Within North America, only six other metropolitan areas possessed Vietnamese populations larger or similar to that counted in the Toronto CMA, according to U.S. Census figures published in 1992. These metropolitan areas were Los Angeles (with approximately 136,000 Vietnamese counted), San Jose (54,000), Houston (32,000), San Francisco/Oakland (nearly 29,000), Washington D.C. (23,000) and San Diego (21,000), (Hung and Haines, 1996).
1996 census data indicate that persons of Vietnamese origin reside in locations throughout the Toronto CMA but strong and notable concentrations are found in certain neighbourhoods. The Vietnamese aggregate in Toronto possesses the variegated social structure that has been identified in many other ethnic "communities". Since their arrival, the Vietnamese have developed a rather complex set of formal ethnic institutions, while developing a new internal social structure in a Canadian setting. It is equally significant that the Vietnamese are a "visible minority" and have received much public attention in Toronto and Canada since the time of their arrival. Persons of Vietnamese origin were required to interact as newcomers of minority status with the major institutions of the dominant society in Toronto including the housing market, the labour market, government bureaucracies, the school system, the criminal justice system, and the mainstream media.

Thus, over the past two decades, persons of Vietnamese ethnicity have found themselves situated in the Toronto landscape as refugee and immigrant "newcomers". In the history of North American cities, this is a common phenomenon. Immigrants must adapt to the context of the larger society, while at the same time host society institutions react to the new arrivals. In a seminal work, David Ward (1989) summarizes the way this reciprocal relationship has played out within large North American cities over the past century. He notes that representatives of the host society have always attempted to regularize or normalize relationships with members of new immigrant groups by setting up studies of recently arrived populations, hypothesizing about their behaviour and
organizing initiatives intended to help them “assimilate” into the mainstream. Examples of these efforts include both the philanthropist era and the reform movement led by urban professionals in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The growth of the social sciences in American and Canadian universities over the past century has been strongly intertwined with the attempts to study, better understand and theorize about immigrants, as well as give advice to those who educate and provide social services to immigrant populations. Perhaps no perspective related to immigrant adaptation has been more influential than that associated with the Chicago School of Sociology. The Chicago School approach is significant not only for its immensely influential contribution to the social sciences and the reform movement in the first half of the 20th century but also for its enduring legacy both in and out of academia as a model of thinking about the city and the newcomers’ place within it.

The Chicago writings have directly influenced how we think about many aspects of immigrant adaptation, including residential location, institutional life, and the trajectory of upward social mobility among ethnic group members. We continue to expect that immigrant newcomers will initially settle in the older, central city neighbourhoods of a metropolitan area. It is in these inner city neighbourhoods where they are expected to establish enclave institutions and commercial establishments. Gradually, with time and subsequent generations, we anticipate group members will disperse outward to residences in suburban districts. We assume, as this process of spatial assimilation takes place, concomitant processes of social and cultural assimilation will occur. Ethnic
group members will enter the higher status occupations of the host society in increasing numbers and earn greater incomes. At the same time, as they move to outlying neighbourhoods, group members will abandon their own institutions and join those of the host society. It is especially significant that as a result of the Chicago School’s enduring influence, our image of ethnic community life has a strong spatial component. We still tend to think of ethnic “communities” as largely cohesive and unified immigrant populations and institutional substructures contained within neighbourhoods and possessing dense concentrations of group members, ethnic associations, houses of worship, and businesses. Any deviation from this pattern (i.e. the settlement of fairly recent immigrants in scattered suburban areas) is assumed to be indicative of the rapid integration of the group into the host society and a barometer of the decreasing relevance of ethnic community institutions to individual group members.

Over the past several decades, the Chicago School conceptualizations have been contested and rival paradigms of immigrant adaptation have arisen because the situational environment has been altered. The nature of immigration has changed especially in terms of source regions. After the 1960s, ‘visible minority’ immigrants were a far greater proportion of the flow to the U.S. and Canada compared to earlier decades, when newcomers were primarily of European origin. After the 1970s, refugees from regions such as Southeast Asia, Latin America, and Sub-Saharan Africa became a significant component of the American and Canadian intake. Many of these persons were accepted as refugees and did not possess the same background skills and resources as those
individuals admitted as agricultural settlers or independent immigrants. At the
same time, the host societies and their cities have changed. The economy, the
housing market, and the transportation and communications infrastructure
greeting new immigrants arriving in contemporary North American cities
obviously differ markedly from that encountered by new arrivals earlier in the
century. Furthermore, the institutional context of immigrant reception has
changed. Today, for example, Toronto and Canadian policymakers are proud of
an institutional environment informed by a multiculturalism ideology – in which
resources are provided to encourage integration with the host society while the
continuation of ethnic cultural practices is tolerated and even encouraged.

These situational differences and epistemological as well as ideological
considerations have stimulated the development of several alternative
approaches, in addition to the assimilation perspective, which influence the
contemporary scholarly analysis of immigrant group adaptation. These theories
include the cultural pluralism paradigm, which emphasizes the continuing
salience of ethnicity for subsequent generations of group members within
modern society. Structural perspectives focus upon the role of larger societal
actors, including corporations and employers and the state and its representatives
as they impact the trajectories of ethnic group adaptation. In the past few
decades, a group of scholars has synthesized the cultural pluralism and structural
approaches to emphasize the situational character of ethnic identity. These social
scientists have drawn attention to the ways in which a hostile host society may
provoke immigrant group members to use their ethnicity as a means of collective
organization and advancement. Another school of social scientists influenced by structuralist theories have devoted considerable time to studying the ways in which race and ethnicity is socially constructed as a means of perpetuating minority group inequality within a given host society. These scholars have also emphasized the practices of resistance by which members of minority groups attempt to challenge and overcome the representations of themselves prevailing within the dominant society.

**QUESTIONS OF INTEREST AND CONSIDERATIONS IN THE DESIGN OF THE STUDY**

The Vietnamese began arriving in significant numbers at a special juncture in time for North American cities, including Toronto. By the early 1980s, Toronto was a metropolitan area of already considerable but expanding ethnocultural diversity. The city had outwardly embraced multiculturalism, and the ideology was reflected in the supposedly immigrant-friendly policies and practices of its institutions including the city government, and the local school systems (Stasiulis, 1982; 1989). Frictions between the larger society and minority groups were also apparent, however. Advocacy organizations voiced public concerns about police mistreatment and harassment of ethnic minority group members (Henry, 1995). Some scholars and race-relations specialists identified a pattern of immigrant-bashing and harmful ‘racialized’ portrayals of minorities in certain sectors of the mainstream Toronto media (Ginzburg, 1987, Henry, 1995). Like other large North American urban centres, the city possessed an increasingly bipolar labour market of ‘primary’ and ‘secondary’ sector jobs. Members of several ethnic minority groups seemed to be differentially inserted in
the lower status and less compensated positions in manufacturing and services associated with the secondary segment of the city’s occupational structure (Boyd, 1992; Richmond, 1992).

In this study, I am interested in learning how the Vietnamese as a 'visible minority' group have come to fit into the larger social entity of the Toronto metropolitan area. How did the Vietnamese survive and cope in this new setting?, How did they go about creating a 'community' in a contemporary city? How were they received by the host society and its institutions? Unlike many other studies of the adaptation of ethnic groups, this is not intended primarily as a study about one particular facet of social existence such as the housing market, the labour market, or the institutional life of a given group. The study is consciously designed to be a broad exploration of several selected and interrelated aspects of the adaptation process as experienced by persons of Vietnamese origin residing in Toronto in the 1980s and 1990s.

Historians and social scientists have long conducted detailed investigations of the adaptation of individual ethnic groups within particular urban settings. There is an impressive roster of community studies which address the experiences of immigrant and minority populations in Canadian and American cities. A sizable and growing number of studies have focused upon given ethnic "communities" residing in Toronto itself. Scholars have published historical and more contemporary community studies of a broad range of groups living in Toronto including Italians (Jansen, 1988; Iacovetta, 1992), Poles (Radecki, 1979), Portuguese (Anderson, 1974; Teixeira, 1995), Chinese
(Thompson, 1989), the Caribbean population (Henry, 1994), Ghanaians (Owusu, 1996) and South Asian ethnic groups (Stasiulis, 1982)

The primary foci of these scholarly investigations of ethnic populations have differed to a significant extent. Many of the authors of community studies have devoted most of their attention to the internal organization of the group in question – focusing on such aspects of ethnic community structure as the demographics of the population, processes of chain migration and enclave development in neighbourhoods, social differentiation and political and class cleavages in the community as well as dynamics of family life, the utilization of co-ethnic social networks, and the role of ethnic institutions such as mutual assistance associations and churches in the lives of immigrants (Anderson, 1974; Radecki, 1979; McClellan, 1992; McClellan, 1993)

Other scholars who have researched the adaptation of given ethnic populations in urban settings have chosen to focus the bulk of their attention upon the relationships of the group in question with the institutions of the mainstream society. The experiences of ethnic groups in the housing and labour market have been favourite topics of geographers and sociologists (Hiebert, 1993; Murdie 1993; Murdie 1994; Texeira, 1995; Preston and Giles, 1997; Owusu, 1998). Many social scientists have also investigated the interactions of particular groups with other sectors of the host society including the education system, the criminal justice system, the mainstream church hierarchies, as well as the mass media (Stasiulis, 1982; Nagata, 1987; Stasiulis, 1989; Jackson, 1993; Henry, 1994; Jackson, 1994).
Scholars in the social sciences have consistently struggled with the issue of how to best account for the tension between "structure" and "agency" within the context of their own research (Chouinard, 1998). It may be generalized that those ethnic scholars who have devoted most of their attention to the internal organization of given ethnic "communities" have tended to focus upon the "agency" aspect. Conversely, many, but certainly not all social scientists who have emphasized the influence of larger societal structures upon the experiences of individual ethnic groups have for the most part, consciously or unconsciously, downplayed the contribution of group members to their own adaptation. Recognition of both the strengths and weaknesses of these two dichotomous but not necessarily mutually exclusive approaches to ethnic community study has informed the design of this study. The topics chosen for research consideration have been selected not only for their relevance to key theoretical questions in the ethnic adaptation literature but also for their potential usefulness to illustrate both the internal character of the Vietnamese population and the external interactions of this group with host society institutions. I believe that such a research design offers the best potential to adequately account for the role of both larger institutional structures as well as the personal agency of group members in the adaptation experiences of the Vietnamese within the localized spatial setting of the greater Toronto region. Considerable attention has been devoted in the design of this study to capturing the mutual interplay existing between the internal organization of Vietnamese "community" life and the institutions of the mainstream host society. In various ways, mainstream institutional actors have
influenced the internal dynamics of Vietnamese community institutions while at the same time, persons of Vietnamese origin have exercised “voice” as both individual and collective actors and engaged representatives of the host society in order to facilitate the adaptation process for themselves and the larger ethnic aggregate.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

The issues chosen for consideration in this study have been selected for their utility in presenting a broad framework to facilitate an understanding of the adaptation of persons of Vietnamese origin to life in Toronto. The questions were also formulated with the intention of assessing the relevance of several key paradigms of immigrant adaptation to the experiences of a relatively recently arrived ethnic minority population of substantial size within a contemporary city.

Chapter Two contains a summary of the major paradigms of immigrant group adaptation which have influenced the organization of the study. This literature review is followed by an articulation of the research questions guiding the analysis chapters as well as a description of the major data sources and a section chronicling some personal introspections on the conduct of the fieldwork, which comprises the basis for much of the data contained in the study. Chapter Three presents a brief overview of Vietnamese history, social structure, and cultural values. This chapter is intended to provide readers with contextual information pertaining to the background and cultural influences persons of Vietnamese origin have brought with them to Toronto. Also to provide a context for the larger study, Chapter Four discusses the social demography of the
Vietnamese population and compares its distribution on a range of variables to the total population and other major minority groups in the Toronto CMA.

The research findings themselves are organized into two main components with the goal of highlighting the intrinsic roles of both the Vietnamese (as individuals and also as members of collectivities) as well as the institutions of the host society in influencing the process of adaptation as it has occurred within the social and physical setting of the Toronto area. The first half of the research project is devoted to the internal dynamics of the Vietnamese aggregate residing in Toronto. Chapter Five makes reference to competing models of ethnic community organization as it outlines the internal social structure and formal institutional structure of Vietnamese “community” activities in Toronto. Chapters Six and Seven examine some of the spatial dimensions of Vietnamese “community” life in Toronto. Chapter Six looks at the changing residential geography of the population in the Toronto area since the initial arrival of larger numbers of Vietnamese in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The applicability of the ecological model of spatial assimilation to the Vietnamese experience is assessed. Chapter Seven tests ecological notions linking ethnic institutional participation and residential proximity as it investigates the relationship between residence and membership participation within Vietnamese institutions. Examining in further detail the functions of Vietnamese institutions, Chapter Eight utilizes case studies to assess whether Vietnamese ethnic associations and churches and temples primarily serve integrating or identity maintenance functions in the adaptation process.
The second half of the study assesses the relationships of the Vietnamese population with the institutions of the host society in Toronto. It would obviously be very worthwhile to study the interactions of persons of Vietnamese origin with a number of major societal institutions. It is not my intention to downplay the gravity of the important role of such institutional sectors as the education system and the social service delivery system in the adaptation process. Both of these are topics which are very worthy of research investigation. However, due to limitations of time and resources, relationships of the Vietnamese with three host society sectors have been chosen as areas of particular emphasis. Chapter Nine addresses the insertion of the Vietnamese in the Toronto labour market, paying attention to the relevance of conventional explanations of immigrant labour market incorporation to the Vietnamese experience. Chapter Ten focuses upon interactions between Vietnamese individuals and ethnic community organizations with the mainstream media and the criminal justice system in Toronto. Considerable attention is paid in this chapter to socially constructed imagery of Vietnamese-origin individuals within the dominant society discourse on 'race' and ethnic-based crime in Toronto and Vietnamese responses to these representations. The study concludes with Chapter Eleven in which the key findings of each data chapter are summarized, possible implications of the results for the larger ethnic adaptation literature are posited, and avenues for possible future research are suggested. To provide further context, an appendix chapter compares the demography and labour market experiences of the Vietnamese
residing in Toronto to their co-ethnic counterparts living in nine other Canadian metropolitan areas as well as Ontario and Canada as a whole.
CHAPTER TWO
PERSPECTIVES ON ETHNIC GROUP ADAPTATION: RESEARCH ISSUES AND QUESTIONS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter explains the content of my study. Decisions in regard to the content have come about as a result of both my personal experience interacting with persons of Vietnamese origin and also as I have reviewed the literature on immigrants and ethnic groups in North American cities. Selected theoretical perspectives to the study of immigrant adaptation are the focus of Part I of the chapter. This section is not intended as a traditional literature review. It is primarily an overview of scholarly approaches to understanding the relationship between immigrant newcomers and the host society in North American urban settings in the late 20th century. More detailed assessments of scholarly work pertaining to specific research realms are included in the introduction of the individual chapters discussing various components of the adaptation of the Vietnamese in Toronto.

Part I of the chapter is further broken down into three sections. The first of these defines the process of immigrant adaptation, this is followed by a discussion of models suggested by social scientists for understanding the relationship between immigrants and the host society in which they are situated. The final portion of the first part of the chapter examines in more detail scholarly writing pertaining to a central question framing the larger research study: what is an ethnic community and how is such an entity constituted in space over the physical territory of a given city?
The second part of the chapter provides an account of how the study itself came about. It discusses the relationship between the larger theoretical issues and my own interest in the adaptation of Vietnamese individuals in Toronto. This leads into a discussion of the major research questions guiding the study followed by an overview of the major sources of data utilized. In the final section, I discuss how my personal biography affected my interactions with my research subjects as well as the collection and analysis of data.

PART I: DISCOURSES ABOUT IMMIGRANTS AND ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE CITY

THE ADAPTATION PROCESS

Adaptation is a concept used quite broadly in the study of ethnic groups residing within host societies. For the purposes of this particular research project, the term is conceived along the lines of the seminal definition posited by Richmond and Goldlust (1974): “the mutual interaction of individuals and collectivities and their response to particular physical and social environments” (p. 195). Adaptation is a bilateral process. Individual immigrants and larger ethnic collectivities are influenced and transformed by the host society and vice versa (Richmond and Goldlust, 1974; Berry; 1987).

Richmond and Goldlust (1974) point out that the adaptation of immigrant group members is affected by both their pre-migration characteristics and conditions in their homeland of origin, as well as situational determinants within the host society itself. Pre-migration characteristics include the immigrant population’s level of education and technical training, the existence or nonexistence of prior experiences with urbanization, demographic characteristics
of the immigrant group (including age distribution and gender balance), and the auspices or motives for migration (refugees fleeing persecution as opposed to family-sponsored or independent immigrants who come to the new country for primarily economic reasons). Richmond and Goldlust also identify several situational factors within the receiving society which may influence the trajectory of adaptation. Among these are the existing demography of the host society (which is especially relevant to the process of labour market incorporation), trends of urbanization and industrialization impacting the society as a whole, government policies (for example "multiculturalism" and other policies directed toward the integration of immigrants and minority populations), and the degree of pluralism and the level of stratification in the receiving society.

The process of adaptation itself may be broken down into several dimensions, each involving a different component of interaction between the migrant and the larger society. Categories of the adaptation process identified by scholars include both "objective" or external components, as well as "subjective" or socio-psychological aspects. Objective dimensions include economic, cultural, social and political components. Economic adaptation is related to the socioeconomic trajectory of the immigrant in the host society. Cultural adaptation includes among other things language learning, exchange of cultural symbols between immigrants and the new society, as well as changes in religious or moral beliefs and practices. Social aspects of adaptation involve the integration of immigrants into networks of primary relationships with relatives, co-ethnics, individuals belonging to other ethnic groups, and majority group
members, as well as participation in formal co-ethnic institutions or those of the host society. The process of immigrant adaptation also involves political aspects, including voting behaviour and the possible formation of new parties and ethnic subgroups within existing parties as well as attempts to bring about change in host society institutions (Richmond and Goldlust, 1974). Finally, ethnic group adaptation involves important socio-psychological or subjective dimensions. Subjective aspects identified by scholars include changes in group identification, attitudinal and value changes, as well as the level of satisfaction of the individual immigrant with his or her life in the host society (Richmond and Goldlust, 1974; Berry, 1987). While subjective elements are not completely ignored, the primary focus of this study is upon "objective" aspects of Vietnamese adaptation (socioeconomic, cultural, social, and political) to life in Toronto.

Many Vietnamese have come to Canada as refugees. It should be noted that scholars usually distinguish refugees from immigrants by making reference to the differential circumstances of their migration. Immigrants are most often conceived by scholars as having voluntarily migrated for primarily economic reasons. Alternately, refugee migration is usually conceptualized as involving a coerced or forced departure for the purpose of fleeing political persecution tied to such personal characteristics as race, ethnicity, religion, nationality, and/or political beliefs (Black and Robinson, 1993). It should be noted, however, that this rather simplistic dichotomy does not adequately account for the complexity of the migration process experienced by many contemporary refugees and immigrants.
Zolberg (1991) argues that most refugees from the developing world today are motivated to leave their home country by an inextricable mixture of both economic and political factors. At the same time, many persons admitted as immigrants into receiving societies leave in part as a result of the political situation in their countries of origin. Haines (1996) distinguishes the experiences of refugees from other migrants in several ways. This scholar notes that the exodus of a refugee usually involves a rupture of cultural and social relations far more severe than the experience of other immigrants. This rupture may include a loss of relatives and friends. Flight is often chosen rapidly, making social and financial losses necessary. As a result, the resettlement process of the refugee usually does not involve the advance preparation and preexisting ethnic community structures in the new society that are typically available to immigrants.

Haines (1996) also notes that the psychological impacts of the refugee experience are also more severe than those felt by most immigrants during the migration process itself. Exodus from the country of origin is usually risky and clandestine, with family members left behind or lost enroute. Psychological manifestations from this trauma may be serious and multiple. A number of studies have documented the long-term mental health difficulties experienced by many Vietnamese, as well as members of other refugee groups, after resettlement. These problems include grief, depression, anxiety about the welfare of separated family members, panic over an uncertain future, confusion, feelings of remorse and guilt, and a sense of bitterness, disappointment, and anger. Haines points out that these emotional burdens are often intertwined with the problems individual refugees may
have adjusting to the host society in their country of adopted residence. Many refugees experience difficulty in finding well-paying stable employment. Disappointment with their economic situation in the United States and a perceived loss of personal status may generate mental health problems including depression. These problems, in turn, may make it difficult for refugees to find employment and hinder their general integration into life within a new society.

MODELS OF ETHNIC GROUP ADAPTATION

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, there are a number of approaches which have been posited by social scientists to account for the immigrant adaptation process in North American cities. The following is a brief discussion of the tenets and propositions of several perspectives influential in contemporary scholarly accounts of ethnic group adaptation.

The Assimilation Model

In part due to the writings of the Chicago School sociologists, the assimilation model dominated scholarly writing pertaining to immigrant adaptation in the first half of the 20th century. The assimilation model takes it as virtually inevitable that ethnic minority group members will eventually conform to and adopt the cultural standards of the dominant population and integrate into the social structure of the larger urban, industrial modern society (Hune, 1991; Heisler, 1992). The assimilation model posits that all ethnic groups, regardless of national origin or ethnic or racial background, tend to be drawn into the economic mainstream over a period of time, gaining social acceptance in the larger society through the educational and occupational achievements of individual members. Thus, it is
argued, distinctive ethnic cultural traits will disappear with time in the host country (Hirschman, 1982; Morawska, 1990). Ethnic group activities may serve the short-term function of easing adjustment to a new society but in the long-run will disappear as the inevitable processes of assimilation occur among individual group members. The assimilation paradigm has been particularly influential for scholars studying ethnic residential patterns and the relationship between residence and group institutional life. The human ecologists posit that with time in the host society and increasing socioeconomic mobility, ethnic group members will move out of central city enclaves to suburban neighbourhoods. As this residential dispersion occurs, it is hypothesized, group identity will diminish and ethnic institutions will flounder.

Certain scholars have maintained that with refinements, the assimilation model still offers a viable account of the adaptation process experienced by many contemporary ethnic groups (Massey, 1985; Alba 1990; Morawska, 1990; Morawska, 1994; Yinger, 1994; Alba R. and V. Nee, 1997; DeWind and Kasinitz, 1997; Gans, 1997). Over the years, many scholars have critiqued the various generalizations of the assimilation model. Social scientists have been particularly critical of the assimilation theorists' tendency to focus almost exclusively upon the adaptation of immigrants as individuals. Much of the research influenced by the assimilation model is concerned with the cultural, psychological, and socioeconomic changes that occur in the lives of ethnic group individuals with time in the host country. In these studies, little attention is paid to the collective dimension of adjustment among group members. Some critics have noted that
immigrants first and foremost belong to households, families and ethnic communities, and that analysis of their adaptation should pay attention to their use of the networks existing within these varied entities (Hein, 1995). In a related vein, certain social scientists have criticized the insufficient room the assimilation model allows for the personal agency of ethnic group members within the adaptation process. The assimilation theorists devote most of their attention to the impact of larger societal forces upon group members while not giving much consideration to the influence of individual group members upon their own adaptation (Hein, 1995).

A common criticism of the assimilation model is its implicit assumption that the host society has a unitary core culture for migrants to integrate into (Rumbaut, 1997a, Rumbaut, 1997b; Zhou, 1997). In the case of the U.S. and Canada, presumably this core culture is that belonging to white persons of European ancestry. This assumption, however, is inconsistent with the realities of contemporary urban North America, where a considerable number of ethnic minority groups make up substantial portions of the population. Indeed, in many U.S. urban areas, new immigrants move to inner city neighbourhoods where minority groups such as Hispanics and African-Americans are the majority of the population. These new immigrants, including several Asian and Hispanic groups, interact on a daily basis with other ethnic minority groups as opposed to persons of white European origin. In addition, defining a set of core American or Canadian cultural values is an extremely problematic if not impossible task to achieve. Ethnic pluralism and class inequality structure the populations of these nations. Given these facts, it may be very difficult to discern exactly what ethnic group members
should be assimilating to in these host countries. Another limitation of the assimilation model is its primary focus upon the immigrant group member and his or her ability to adjust and become incorporated into the host society. Scholars writing from an assimilationist perspective tend to ignore or downplay changes immigrant newcomers bring to the host society itself (Hune, 1991; Heisler, 1992).

**Cultural Pluralism**

For these and other reasons, scholars of ethnicity have come to question the very utility of the concept of assimilation. First postulated by author Horace Kallen early in the century, the cultural pluralism model of ethnic group adaptation arose in response to the presumed deficiencies of the assimilationist paradigm. Pluralist theorists have argued that ethnicity has persisting staying power both as a facet of personal identity and as a basis for collective organization (Hune, 1991; Omi and Winant, 1994). Ethnic communities are seen as providing a sense of physical and psychic security that comes from the familiar and dependable. Over time, despite socioeconomic mobility among individual members, ethnic groups may remain as bases of solidarity and primary interaction, allowing immigrant group members to meet expressive as well as more instrumental needs.

The pluralism model does not dismiss the possibility of integration into the social and economic institutional structures of the host society. It does, however, posit such integration to be difficult for many ethnic group members to achieve, especially for those who have been strongly socialized in their original culture. After the second and third generations though, it is believed that group members may turn away from traditional institutions and cultural values. Importantly,
however, this process is not necessarily associated with the loss of individual ethnic traits and cultural identity as presumed by the assimilation model (Zhou, 1992).

**Structural Theories**

The strongest criticisms of the cultural pluralism model have focused upon the almost exclusive attention it gives to the role of ethnic culture in the lives of immigrant group members. Like those of the assimilation model, cultural pluralism explanations turn to the distinctive cultural characteristics of particular ethnic groups to explain the social and economic trajectory of their members' adaptation (Li, 1990; Omi and Winant, 1994). Structural theorists believe this preoccupation with the realm of culture serves to obscure key factors explaining the continued salience of ethnicity in modern society. Structural explanations of ethnic group adaptation emphasize the intersecting roles of class inequality and racism in perpetuating ethnic group segregation in housing and the poorly compensated sectors of the labour market (McAll, 1990).

One school of structuralist-oriented scholars link racism to the needs of capitalist economies for significant quantities of inexpensive and docile labour. It is argued that some sectors of capitalist production (especially employers in the so-called secondary labour market) require the presence of large pools of cheap labour that can be drawn upon when labourers are needed and disregarded when they are not required. In a process of `racialization', superficial, biological, physical, and/or other cultural characteristics are used by employers or representatives of the state, to delineate group boundaries, structure the production process, and justify unequal treatment. Proponents of such a view often argue that racism is an ideology
imposed from above by capitalist employers with collusion by the state. Such a process of 'racialization', it is argued, has also served to polarize the working class as it functions to create class factions, which by their very existence, contribute further to the maintenance of the status quo. In sum, capitalists benefit from racial divisions because a working class which lacks unity will exercise less leverage over employers (Satzewich, 1991; Omi and Winant, 1994).

An influential version of the structuralist approach has been advanced by Edna Bonacich and other proponents of the so-called split-labour market theory. According to this perspective, racial and ethnic boundaries are salient in society as a result of interaction between high-priced and cheap labour. It is argued that racial or ethnic conflict takes place between dominant and subordinate workers. Differences in the price of labour mean that the higher-cost, white majority group workers feel threatened by the lower-cost minority group workers. The high-priced workers respond by pressuring various levels of government to restrict entry to the country or, failing this, seek to restrict entry to persons who will fill certain occupations (Bonacich, 1973; Satzewich, 1991; Bonacich, 1994; Omi and Winant, 1994).

Structural theories may be critiqued for their almost exclusive emphasis upon the influence of large societal structures for explaining the trajectories of ethnic group adaptation. Structural approaches tend to leave little room for the role of human agency, specifically the actions of ethnic group members themselves, in the course of their own adaptation. The most rigid structural theorists are also guilty of a form of theoretical determinism. Scholars writing from such a point of view tend to impose grand, all-encompassing theory upon their research subjects.
without adequately considering the possibility that ethnic group members may actively choose to assert their own ethnic identity for various reasons. The most rigid structural theorists seem to deny the possibility that ethnic culture itself may in and of itself possess a certain intrinsic value to some people in their lives. Instead, these writers tend to promulgate a view which considers ethnicity by and large to be a construct imposed by hostile external agents in order to further their own ends.

**The Ethnic Enclave Perspective**

Since the 1970s, a new approach to ethnic adaptation has emerged which combines elements of the cultural pluralism and structural theories. In effect, this perspective argues that ethnicity is a dependent variable, usually only emerging as an important basis for social identity and collective organization in the context of certain situations created by wider societal structures. This alternative approach emphasizes the interrelationships among inequality, conflict, and ethnic pluralism (Yancey, et al, 1976; Olzak, 1983; Olzak, 1992). Some of the most influential contemporary work utilizing this perspective has been concerned with the function of ethnic enclaves in group adaptation.

An ethnic enclave may be defined as an ethnic group population that supports an internal economy sufficient to provide members with jobs and investment capital without assistance from the larger society (Portes and Manning, 1986). In recent years, a plethora of scholars have shown that immigrants who work in these co-ethnic enclaves may receive better jobs and higher salaries given their skills, education, and knowledge than if they worked in the jobs of the larger society. Perhaps the most influential body of work in this area has been that
produced by Alejandro Portes and his associates. Based on case studies of the Cuban ethnic economy in the Miami metropolitan area, Portes and his colleagues claim that the economic, social, and political interests of ethnic group members are often best served by maintaining their ethnicity and emphasizing pluralism. Key to ethnic enclave theory is its emphasis on the roles of discrimination and disadvantage in situationally provoking immigrants to utilize their ethnicity as a means of collective advancement within the context of a hostile host society. It is argued that an inward turn to the ethnic economy and ethnic social networks may actually serve to facilitate the social mobility and status attainment of group members as co-ethnics provide assistance to one another not only in finding enclave employment but also in mediating interactions with host society institutions including the labour market, government agencies, the education sector, the criminal justice system and the media (Portes and Jensen, 1987; Portes, 1989; Zhou, 1992; Portes, 1995; Portes and Rumbaut, 1996; Portes and Zhou, 1996; Razin and Langlois, 1996; Portes, 1997).

The ethnic enclave perspective has been criticized for its strongly instrumental conception of ethnic identity. Gold (1992) argues that the enclave model's view of ethnic loyalties and affiliations as being primarily maintained by the underlying socioeconomic interests of group members offers a rather incomplete description of immigrants' collective lives. Gold believes the model fails to capture the ability of ethnicity to motivate feelings of group belonging and action in a way more fundamental than can be articulated by calculations of cost and
reward alone. Gold argues that primarily expressive, non-instrumental concerns may also provide a significant basis for ethnic solidarity.

The enclave model may also exaggerate the solidarity existing within ethnic group populations. Immigrants of the same ethnicity may vary widely in their social, political, and economic backgrounds. Extremely stratified and segmented ethnic populations may resist unification for economic and political goals. Furthermore, not all of the members of a particular group may benefit economically from the existence of an ethnic enclave (Sanders and Nee, 1987; Gold, 1992; Bonacich, 1994; Gold, 1994).

Finally, the enclave model may simply not be applicable to the situations of certain ethnic minority groups. Most of the studies offering support for the enclave perspective have focused upon immigrant groups such as the Japanese, Jews, Cubans, Koreans, and Chinese. Many members of these particular groups possess a combination of cultural, historical, educational, and economic characteristics that serve to promote an extensive degree of entrepreneurship. Other ethnic minority groups may not possess such human capital resources and it is unrealistic to expect members of these groups to generate the large numbers of successful business enterprises that the enclave model posits as the key to mobility and status attainment in a host society where discrimination is endemic (Gold, 1992).

**Social Construction Approaches**

In recent years, a group of scholars have focused attention upon the ways in which racial and ethnic identities are socially constructed and the subsequent impact of these social representations upon the adaptation process as experienced by
different minority groups. According to this perspective, racial and ethnic differences and patterns of racial and ethnic domination, conflict and accommodation are socially produced through group-level and institution-group interactions. These interactive practices establish the racial or ethnic identity of a group by specifying the nature of its relations with other groups. Racial and ethnic groups are seen as historically situated categories which are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed (Anderson, 1987; 1988; 1991; Smith and Feagin, 1995).

Social construction theorists link the formation of racial and ethnic categories to the evolution of hegemony - the ways in which society is organized and ruled. It is argued that racial and ethnic identities are locally constructed at particular historical times and places through a politics of representation in which the role of the state is crucial. State power is typically used to enforce relations of racial and ethnic domination-subordination. State policies, are, in turn, usually correlated with the cycles of the capitalist economy and its shifts in job creation and labour demand (Smith and Feagin, 1995)

Dominant representations of racial and ethnic minority groups are reinforced through the behaviour of institutional actors including politicians, the media, the criminal justice system, the sociocultural elite (including academics), the economic elite (including employers in the mainstream and ethnic economies), and state bureaucrats, who administer the census as well as entitlement and regulatory programs. Importantly, social construction theorists recognize that while subordinate group members often accommodate to the structures of domination,
they may also contest the dominant representations and possibly overcome the related structural constraints through the exercise of practices of resistance in their everyday lives. These widely varying practices may range from agitation and protest to the utilization of co-ethnic social networks and informal sector income for material support in an economy where the best paying jobs are not open to most minority group members. In sum, the social construction of racial and ethnic identity involves not only representations imposed by agents external to the group but also a dynamic mode of self-consciousness, which emerges as group members respond to the situational material condition and hegemonic power relations shaping the opportunities and constraints in a historically specific time and place (Smith and Feagin, 1995).

Social construction theorists may be critiqued for their rather limited conception of the experiences of minority group members. Quite simply, members of minority ethnic groups do not spend every moment of their daily lives consumed in a struggle to resist and overcome institutional oppression perpetrated by dominant group members. Furthermore, social construction theorists promulgate a view of ethnicity in which material interests are the prime motivation for the activation of personal ethnic identity. Social construction approaches tend to pay inadequate attention to the expressive, non-instrumental personal needs, which may be met by identification with a particular ethnic group and its cultural values and traditions.

In addition, it may be stated that many of the social scientists who utilize a social construction approach do attempt to incorporate aspects of both structure (the
influence of institutional actors of the dominant society upon subordinate group adaptation) and agency (the strategies of resistance practiced by members of subordinate groups) in their work. However, in practice, much of the literature from a social construction perspective focuses most heavily upon the impact of societal institutions on the experiences of particular minority groups while paying only marginal or token attention to the efforts of subordinate group members to facilitate their own adaptation to the host society.

What Can We Do With These Models?

In the preceding section, five paradigms of ethnic group adaptation were presented. Each of the approaches reduces the complex process of adaptation to a few fundamentals. These perspectives are not mutually exclusive but they do differ significantly in the social phenomena they emphasize as well as their explanation of the adaptation process. The question begs itself of how I as a researcher looking at the adaptation of a primarily immigrant population should use each of these influential theoretical perspectives in my study, or indeed if I should utilize them at all. I could reject each of them on ideological grounds. Many scholars have found the assimilation model objectionable for its seemingly inherent presumption that ethnic group members should strive to adopt the norms and values of the host society. The cultural pluralism approach can be faulted for its almost exclusive emphasis on the culture of the ethnic group in question as the determining factor in the adaptation process. Scholars influenced by structural-based theories (including those who have articulated the ethnic enclave and social construction models)
present a conflictual view of society, which many other social scientists have found unpalatable.

I myself believe that each of these theoretical perspectives makes a significant contribution to understanding the experiences of immigrant newcomers in North American cities. With several generations of residence in Canada and the United States, many ethnic groups have exhibited patterns of residential dispersion and cultural and social integration not altogether unlike that posited by the assimilation model. The cultural pluralism approach addresses a major deficiency of the assimilation paradigm by emphasizing the continuing relevance of ethnic culture to many descendants of immigrant groups. Structural perspectives direct needed attention to the role of larger societal institutions in the trajectories of the adaptation process. The ethnic enclave model shows how situations of discrimination and disadvantage experienced in the larger society may provoke immigrant groups to utilize ethnic institutions for the purposes of collective support. Social construction theorists point out how the identities of certain ‘racial’ and ethnic groups are constructed among the institutional actors of the dominant society and the ways in which members of immigrant minority groups resist the representations of themselves advanced within the mainstream media, the criminal justice system, the state bureaucracy and other societal institutions.

In this study, I have chosen to judge these models on empirical as opposed to ideological grounds. I do not believe any of them address a sufficiently wide range of issues in the immigrant adaptation process to be used in isolation. For this reason, unlike many researchers, in this study I have not chosen to primarily adopt
one approach to determine the relevant questions and interpret data at the exclusion of the others. I believe each of the major paradigms may have utility for understanding certain aspects of the adaptation process. While the extent to which they were used differed significantly, all of these models were considered in the design of the study and the interpretation of findings.

DEFINING AN “ETHNIC COMMUNITY” AND ITS SPATIAL EXPRESSION

The term community tends to be used quite ambiguously in the ethnic studies literature when referring to the population of an immigrant group residing in a given city. Social scientists, including those who write from the perspectives reviewed above, commonly assume persons of a given ethnic origin residing in particular cities constitute communities. Few scholars of ethnicity have attempted to unambiguously clarify the concept of the ethnic community as it pertains to the context of their own research. Social scientists writing from the assimilation perspective have had the most to say about the spatial component of ethnic communities, while theorists promoting other models of adaptation have been largely silent on this issue, although their writing may contain implicit suggestions. What might be called the ecological and romantic view of the ethnic community is still quite pervasive in many scholarly and journalistic accounts of ethnic neighbourhoods and institutional life. Recent immigrants are still assumed to live in spatially cohesive enclave neighbourhoods, in which primary relationships with fellow co-ethnics and participation in ethnic institutions is promoted through a high level of residential clustering. Decreasing interaction with fellow co-ethnics and ethnic institutions and integration with the social and
cultural norms of the host society is assumed to be correlated with residential
dispersion to outlying neighbourhoods located throughout the metropolitan area.

This classical perspective on the ethnic community serves as the
centrepiece for Fitzpatrick’s seminal conceptual article. Assessing the social
science literature, Fitzpatrick writes of the ethnic community concept:

There is agreement that the basic elements of the community are the
conscious sharing of common ends, norms, and means which give the
group a ‘consciousness of kind’, an awareness of bonds of membership
which constitute their unity. It is also widely agreed that interaction in a
primary group is required. And since this can generally not take place at
too great a distance, some kind of area limits are necessary to define a
community. Thus, area, primary group interaction, and consciousness of
kind in the possession of common ends, norms, and means appear to be
indicators of community. (Fitzpatrick, 1966, p. 10)

Fitzpatrick explicates his definition further. He argues that when attempting to
identify a particular ethnic community, the scholar must determine the variables
that constitute the boundaries of the community. These boundaries are defined as
the ends, norms, attitudes, and values – in sum a subculture – which gives a
particular form or style to the interactions of members. According to Fitzpatrick,
the boundaries of the ethnic community are perpetuated by ethnic institutions,
both formal and informal. Kinship and family relations are important informal
institutions. However, formal institutions can also serve to preserve the
boundaries of the ethnic community. These may include the church, the parochial
school, social, political, and civic associations as well as some commercial
establishments.

One of Fitzpatrick’s primary prerequisites for the existence of an ethnic
community is the presence of a consciousness of kind among group members.
His definition posits unity and solidarity as key features tying individuals together into an entity which might be called a community. In many if not most observable situations, however, urban ethnic populations possess substantial divisions pertaining to numerous aspects of social differentiation among constituent members. Fitzpatrick himself acknowledges that the investigator must make a decision whether to define the community in terms of the harmonious possession of common values and attitudes, or whether to allow the presence of some conflict within the community.

In an influential study of Koreans in New York City, Illsoo Kim (1981) describes the internal organization of a fairly recently arrived ethnic population within the context of a contemporary metropolitan area. Ultimately, based on his evidence, Kim concludes that it may not be possible for ethnic groups in the modern city to create the "Gemeinschaft"-type community described in the literature. He writes: "In the classic sense, community is based on a deep commitment to shared values, a unique culture, and autonomous institutions within which members of a purported community can live most of their lives." (Kim, 1981, p. 305) However, the organizational landscape Kim describes as the Korean community is actually quite fragmented. Korean ethnic solidarity is maintained through the activities of hundreds of geographically scattered churches of different denominations. Even more segmented is class-selective membership in Korean professional, occupational, artistic, recreational, and alumni associations. In New York City, no centralized Korean organization or
leadership has emerged to integrate, coordinate, and direct various ethnic-related activities.

In sum, Kim argues that what persons of Korean origin have initiated in New York City is a special modern type of ethnic community. The New York City Korean community articulated by Kim lacks any real cohesion, it is composed of many different interest groups. Similarly, its spatial expression differs markedly from the “Gemeinschaft” model. Rather than living in enclave neighbourhoods composed of clusters of Korean residents and co-ethnic institutions, in this community residentially dispersed members maintain some semblance of ethnic solidarity by participating in a variety of activities taking place at spatially decentralized and uncoordinated ethnic institutions. Kim’s work has particular relevance for researchers studying fairly recently arrived immigrant groups in contemporary cities as it contradicts the conventional ecological assumptions linking social interaction among ethnic group members to residential concentration in enclave neighbourhoods.

PART II. SHAPING THE STUDY OF THE TORONTO VIETNAMESE APPROACH TO SELECTION OF ISSUES CHOSEN FOR RESEARCH CONSIDERATION

This study has been shaped by both my personal experiences interacting with Vietnamese as well as my reading of the scholarly literature and “theory” related to immigrant groups in North American urban settings. As I have engaged in both my M.A. work in Philadelphia as well as my Ph.D. research in Toronto I have made considerable effort to make acquaintance with Vietnamese individuals and learn about their experiences in attempting to adjust to life in a new society.
While studying in Philadelphia, I volunteered teaching English at both a Vietnamese Buddhist temple as well as a Vietnamese Catholic congregation. In Toronto, I have tutored members of several Vietnamese families who attend a Catholic church and have also shared a home with a Vietnamese family for about a year and half.

Many social scientists, including geographers, focus upon narrow fragments of the overall immigrant experience in their studies of adaptation (e.g. investigations of group residential behaviour or labour market incorporation). My everyday interactions with Vietnamese have suggested to me that the adaptation experience is not as segmented as it may appear in the scholarly literature. Most of the Vietnamese I have met struggle to find meaningful and well-compensated employment and fairly regularly must confront negative stereotypes and attitudes within the host society. However, these same individuals also value attendance at a church or temple, interact informally with fellow Vietnamese (often these individuals are fellow members of particular religious or other ethnic associations), and have long-run goals to improve their family's housing situation. I believe these and other aspects are all important components of the overall adaptation process. My goal in designing this study has been to investigate several dimensions of Vietnamese adaptation to life in Toronto. Ideally, I wanted to conduct a broad, multidimensional and in some respects "holistic" study but there were, of course, practical considerations related to both time and resources which restricted the number of components of social experience I could hope to investigate. Given these conditions, I settled on
several aspects of adaptation suggested by my familiarity with the lives of Vietnamese persons as well as the larger body of social scientific research. Dimensions of adaptation selected for research included the organization of ethnic community life and utilization of ethnic institutions, trajectories of residence, as well as the interactions of Vietnamese individuals with host society institutions including the labour market, the mainstream media, and the criminal justice system.

The models of immigrant adaptation discussed above helped me focus research questions pertaining to the dimensions of adaptation selected for investigation. Conceptual issues related to the composition of ethnic "communities" as well as their spatial expression suggest an examination of issues related to the internal organization of the Vietnamese "community" as well as the relevance of the still influential ecological approach to understanding the residential patterns and institutional life of a contemporary ethnic group such as the Vietnamese in a contemporary city. The assimilation and cultural pluralism paradigms with their diverging accounts of the role of ethnic institutions in the lives of immigrants provide the premise for a set of research questions related to the functional significance of Vietnamese associations and churches and temples. Structural-oriented theories (including the ethnic enclave model) posit an explanation which might be useful for understanding the experiences of Vietnamese individuals in the mainstream Toronto labour market. Social construction approaches imply that a process of 'racialization' may negatively affect the interactions of a "visible minority" group (such as the Vietnamese)
with the institutions of the host society including the mass media and the police
and courts.

My primary aim in choosing these research questions was to understand
as holistically as possible the adaptation of persons of Vietnamese origin who
have moved to Toronto. My secondary goal was to achieve some measure of the
applicability of the existing conceptualizations and models of the immigrant
experience to a fairly recently arrived immigrant group residing in the
contemporary setting of a large North American urban area. Topics chosen for
research consideration were also selected in part for their utility in illustrating the
agency of Vietnamese as individuals and as members of collectivities as well as
the influence of the host society’s institutional structures in the adaptation
process.

OUTLINE OF STUDY: RESEARCH ISSUES, QUESTIONS,
AND DATA SOURCES

1. CONTEXTUAL VARIABLES SHAPING THE ADAPTATION OF
THE VIETNAMESE IN TORONTO

An Overview of Vietnamese History, Culture, and Social Structure

It is obviously very difficult to understand the adaptation of Vietnamese
origin individuals without making reference to the life histories they brought with
them from Vietnam. Gender roles, ethnic identity, religious identity, region of
origin, and class differences originating in Vietnam but recontextualized within a
new society all shape the internal dynamics of the Vietnamese population as well
as its relationship with the host society in Toronto. With the goal of facilitating
the analysis throughout the entire study, this chapter attempts to clarify
Vietnamese cultural values, family structure, the social structure in the country during the Vietnam War era and immediately after, as well as the roles of the Chinese ethnic minority and the major religions in both the nation's history and more contemporary times.

Social Demography

The demography of the Toronto Vietnamese aggregate has strong implications for every facet of adaptation examined in the larger study. The demographic characteristics of the population is strongly influenced by the fact that many Vietnamese arrived in Canada as refugees as opposed to immigrants. This chapter discusses the distinctive waves of migration of Vietnamese to Toronto and the largely disparate social characteristics of individuals who came to the city in these different time periods. The analysis also compares the enumerated Vietnamese population to the entire Toronto CMA population and other major “visible minority” groups in terms of its 1991 distribution on the variables of age and gender composition, immigrant status, period of arrival in Canada, educational background, knowledge of official languages, birth rates, mobility, and religious affiliation.

2. INTERNAL DYNAMICS OF THE VIETNAMESE AGGREGATE IN THE TORONTO AREA

Community Structure: Fragmentation and Cohesion

Two very different conceptions of an ethnic community exist in the literature. One school of thought holds than an ethnic community, like communities generally, is characterized by a general sense of unity as well as overarching sense of common interest among its members (Fitzpatrick, 1966;
Davies and Herbert, 1993). Other scholars have argued that many ethnic populations in North American cities display significant social cleavages and that such fragmentation in terms of social status, political philosophy, organizational prerogatives, and political philosophy among members may serve as essential indicators of a dynamic and functioning ethnic community (Breton, 1991). The issue of community structure needs to be addressed empirically and it begs the following interrelated research questions: How is the Vietnamese ethnic “community” constructed internally by the Vietnamese in the Toronto CMA? Which aspects of social differentiation seem to most strongly influence participation in community-based activities among the Toronto Vietnamese?

Some scholars have argued that while ethnic communities are often characterized by social differentiation, segmentation, and conflict, typically some degree of interaction, shared social relations, as well as collective interests and goals serve to bind ethnic groups into a common, definable entity which might be considered a community (Breton, 1991). Dorais et al. (1987) argue that this is the case among the very small Vietnamese population in Quebec City. Gold (1992) is somewhat more hesitant in his findings. He observes scant evidence of extensive interaction or collective organization among the many Vietnamese religious, social welfare, occupational and political institutions which have arisen in Southern California. The issue of cohesiveness provides the framework for another set of research questions: Are there institutions and/or possibly certain events and occasions where members of the sub-groups in the
Vietnamese "community" come together for the purpose of common interaction? Is there any evidence of communication and cooperative activities among the majority of the groups?

**Residential Experiences and Institutional Location**

The assimilation paradigm and the closely related ecological model of ethnic group residential behaviour still strongly influence the work of geographers and sociologists. In brief, this perspective argues that immigrants initially settle in low-rent districts located in the central city. The interrelated processes of chain migration and ethnic institutional development stimulate a clustering of the immigrant group in certain inner city locales. Over time and with improving socioeconomic status, the model predicts, individual members of ethnic groups become increasingly dispersed in higher status neighbourhoods located throughout a metropolitan area including the suburbs (Massey, 1985).

In the chapter on Vietnamese residence in the Toronto area, the following research issues will be addressed: To what extent do the temporal patterns of Vietnamese residence resemble the predictions of the classic ecological hypothesis? In which respects do the trajectories of Vietnamese settlement in the Toronto metropolitan area differ from those posited by the ecological model of ethnic residential patterns? Given the disproportionate numbers of Vietnamese who arrived in Toronto as refugee and immigrant newcomers, how have other factors not typically accounted for in the conventional literature including the decisions of institutional actors (refugee and immigrant reception counsellors), influenced residential settlement? To
what extent does the distribution of Vietnamese institutions diverge or converge with the residential patterns of the group?

**The Relationship between Residence and Participation in Vietnamese Ethnic Institutions**

There is considerable debate in the social science literature concerning the issue of the spatial character of ethnic communities. Those scholars coming from the ecological or spatial assimilation perspectives tend to emphasize the importance of residential propinquity in the formation and survival of institutions among group members (Driedger and Church, 1974; Darroch and Marston, 1987; Darroch and Marston, 1994). Another group of social scientists has argued that in the modern North American city, residential concentration is no longer necessary for the establishment and maintenance of vital institutions among ethnic group members (Agocs, 1981; Goldenberg and Haines, 1992). The logic of the cultural pluralism model suggests that group institutions are manifestations of ethnic identity which may remain relevant to co-ethnics several decades after arrival in the host society and regardless of the extent of residential dispersion among group members in a given metropolitan area. The spatial character of Vietnamese community-based activities will be addressed utilizing the following interrelated research questions: Is residential proximity strongly related to membership and participation in Vietnamese ethnic institutions? Do Vietnamese ethnic institutions tend to possess memberships which are primarily derived from spatial catchment areas encompassing nearby areas of the city or conversely do members come to institutions from sites of residence located throughout much of the metropolitan area?
Ethnic Institutions and Adaptation

There is disagreement in the scholarly literature over the functional significance and impact of ethnic institutions in the adaptation of immigrant group members. One school of social scientists has argued that formal ethnic associations for the most part work as agencies of cultural integration or "assimilation" with the institutions of the host society (Ward, 1989). On the other hand, another group of writers has emphasized the role of such associations in perpetuating the maintenance of an ethnic identity among group members. This chapter will focus attention on a set of research issues influenced by this larger debate which parallels the dichotomy in the literature between the assimilation and cultural pluralism paradigms of ethnic group adaptation. The research topics to be considered in this chapter are as follows: To what extent do the ethnic institutions of the Vietnamese residing in Toronto seem to facilitate the integration of members with the host society? By what means, if any, have the leaders of Vietnamese ethnic institutions attempted to further cultural integration among their members? Conversely, to what extent do Vietnamese ethnic institutions serve to promote the maintenance of a "Vietnamese" ethnic identity among their participants? In what specific ways, if any, do the leaders of Vietnamese ethnic associations attempt to stimulate and/or reinforce an ethnic identity on behalf of their members?
3. RELATIONSHIPS OF THE VIETNAMESE POPULATION WITH THE HOST SOCIETY IN THE TORONTO METROPOLITAN AREA

Incorporation in the Toronto Labour Market

Scholars have observed that many Vietnamese-Americans tend to experience only a marginal relationship with the mainstream economy in the U.S. Researchers have found that structural explanations of labour market integration seem to have some relevance for the experiences of the Vietnamese. These scholars have observed that like many "visible" minority groups, persons of Vietnamese origin are overrepresented in the jobs of the "secondary" tier of the economy, particularly in manufacturing and the service industries as well as the "informal" sector. Conversely, they are very much underrepresented in jobs of the so-called "primary" tier, including the professions and commerce, as well as the corporate world (Kibria, 1993; Gold and Kibria, 1993). Subsequently, the types of occupations in which Vietnamese-Americans are concentrated are often of unstable and only temporary duration, lack benefits, and are typically associated with very small, non-unionized employers who pay salaries close to the minimum wage. U.S. scholars have also pointed out that the income of the Vietnamese population is significantly lower than the norm, and unemployment rates among the Vietnamese-origin individuals are much higher than the average for the entire population (Rumbaut, 1989a; Rumbaut, 1989b; Ong and Azores, 1994; Kitano and Daniels, 1995; Rumbaut, 1995; Cheng and Yang, 1996; Hung and Haines, 1996; Espiritu, 1997). Canadian scholars have noted similar socioeconomic patterns among Vietnamese populations in certain Canadian
metropolitan areas, including Quebec City and Montreal (Dorais et al., 1987; Lam, 1996).

The labour market chapter will address the experiences of the Vietnamese population in the mainstream Toronto economy through the following set of research questions: How did the Vietnamese ethnic origin population enumerated in 1991 compare to the total population of the Toronto CMA as well as other major “visible” minority groups in terms of its representation on a range of socioeconomic variables including occupational and income distribution, income composition, and unemployment rates? What are some of the factors which might help account for the labour market incorporation of the Vietnamese ethnic origin population? Which other strategies have Vietnamese-Canadians used to achieve subsistence as well as advance socio-economically given their status in the mainstream Toronto labour market?

Interactions with the Mainstream Media and the Criminal Justice System in Toronto

Social construction theorists have devoted considerable attention in recent years to the intrinsic role of the mass media in producing and perpetuating harmful ‘racialized’ stereotypes of certain minority groups (Anderson, 1991; Smith and Tarallo, 1995). Indeed, it may be stated that the mainstream media may play a crucial role in influencing general public attitudes of acceptance, or conversely, intolerance towards individuals identified as belonging to a minority group.

The first set of topics for research consideration in this chapter address the interactions between persons of Vietnamese origin and the mainstream
Toronto media: What have been the major themes of the portrayals of the Vietnamese in the Toronto print media since their initial arrival in large numbers during the “Boat People” crisis in the late 1970’s? What possible implications have these portrayals had for the perceptions the larger Toronto public possesses of Vietnamese-Canadians generally? How have community activists attempted to bring about change in reporting practices and improve overall portrayals in the mainstream Toronto newspapers?

Interactions between representatives of the criminal justice system and minority populations have increasingly attracted the attention of social scientists. In a seminal work, Hall et al. (1978) focused scholarly attention upon the interrelationship between the law enforcement officials and crime beat reporters in producing and sustaining stigmatizing ‘racialized’ imagery of minority groups within the host society. Cultural misunderstanding and mistrust, and in some cases systemic prejudice, racism, and discrimination have characterized the relationships between the police and certain minority groups (Hall et al., 1978; Jackson, 1993, Henry, 1995). In some cities, where considerable tension exists between particular racial and ethnic minority groups and law enforcement, perceived incidents of discrimination and mistreatment have provoked community activists to engage in a variety of means to try to improve relations with the police and/or affect systemic change in the criminal justice system apparatus. In Toronto, ethnic community leaders have expressed concerns over how perceived negative and stereotypical imagery of group members may influence the interactions of criminal justice officials with minority populations.
(Stasiulis, 1982; Jackson, 1993; Henry, 1994; Jackson, 1994). The second portion of this chapter will focus upon the relationship between the Vietnamese population and representatives of the criminal justice system in Toronto as it addresses the following set of research questions: What types of issues and concerns have characterized the experiences of persons of Vietnamese origin with the police and the courts? By what means have Vietnamese community organizations as well as individual Vietnamese attempted to alleviate police-community tensions and facilitate change in the practices of law enforcement?

MAJOR DATA SOURCES USED FOR STUDY

A variety of methodologies have been used to compile information for this study. These methods of data collection were chosen with the goal of facilitating analysis through a “triangulation” approach. Information derived from a variety of data sets and gathered through disparate means was combined to produce the insights presented across the larger study. These include: an analysis of census data, a cross-sectional assessment of telephone directory listings over four different time periods, the mapping of addresses derived from church and temple membership lists, semi-structured interviews with “expert” key informants, an examination of the documents of ethnic associations, an analysis of articles appearing in the mainstream Toronto print media, as well as personal observations derived in the course of everyday interactions with Vietnamese persons residing in Toronto. Within each chapter, the specific data collection methodologies utilized are outlined in detail. The following is a brief
discussion of the most important data sources used and their relative contribution to the study.

Census Data

Two main sources of census data were used for this study. These included a "Target Group Profile" data set for the Vietnamese ethnic origin, single response population in Canada, Ontario, Toronto, and nine other Canadian metropolitan areas. These special tabulations were compiled from a 20% sample of the 1991 enumerated population and consist of a wide range of demographic and socioeconomic variables. For comparative purposes, an employment equity data set published by Statistics Canada was also analysed. The employment equity profile also consisted of a 20% sample based on the 1991 census. Included in this profile are enumerations of several "visible minority" groups in the Toronto CMA, including Chinese, South Asians, Blacks, Koreans, Japanese, Filipinos, West Asians/Arabs, and Latin Americans as well as the total population on a range of demographic and socioeconomic variables.

In general, social scientists must be very careful when using census data to make generalizations about the demographic and socioeconomic profiles of immigrant and minority populations. Throughout the course of this study, I encountered strong doubts among informants concerning the accuracy with which the census enumerates Vietnamese-Canadians. Representatives of Vietnamese community organizations argue the census significantly undercounts persons of Vietnamese origin. Scholars and Vietnamese community workers have posited several explanations as to why Vietnamese populations tend to be
undercounted in government census enumerations. One factor has to do with the fact that many Vietnamese do not speak English or French very well or at all. For this reason, some Vietnamese are not aware of the census, and others have difficulty understanding the census form. In addition, some Vietnamese may be reluctant to provide personal and family information to representatives of the government because of past negative experiences with government officials in Vietnam or because they are fearful of compromising the position of family members still in Vietnam. Furthermore, Vietnamese households with members receiving illegal government transfer payments as well as untaxed income from informal sector employment may be hesitant to fill out forms accurately or to participate in the census at all (Yu and Lui, 1986; Nguyen Dinh Phuong, personal interview, April 30, 1997). In sum, the researcher must be very careful when drawing conclusions from census enumerations of the Vietnamese population. It is very likely that systemic biases, which result from the data collection process, may have resulted in substantial undercounts among segments of the population who have arrived in Canada relatively recently. These persons may not possess much facility in English or French, and being less established in Canadian society, they may be disproportionately represented at the lower end of the socioeconomic spectrum.

Key Informant Interviews

Interviews with key informants associated with Vietnamese ethnic institutions and social agencies servicing a large Vietnamese clientele constituted a primary source of data for each of the chapters. Due to a limitation of time and resources, it was decided that these “expert” informants would be the most
accessible source of information in regard to a broad range of topics including community structure, Vietnamese residential trajectories, the relationship between residence and institutional participation, utilization of ethnic institutions, incorporation in the labour market and interactions with the media and criminal justice system. The sample was derived from ethnic directory listings of associations and agencies offering social services in the Vietnamese language as well as through a “snowball” approach in which key informants were asked to provide names of potentially helpful subjects for interviews. The interview schedule was semi-structured. Research questions were fine-tuned at the interview site and elaborations were sought from informants after initial responses to particular issues. Most of the interviews were not tape recorded. Detailed notes were typed up within a few hours of each interview. Tape-recording was abandoned not long into the interview process as it became apparent otherwise helpful informants were reluctant to speak at length on tape in part because of their fear of comments being misinterpreted due to their struggles with the English language.

Overall, 55 informants of Vietnamese-origin were interviewed. Individuals interviewed included leaders and staff of Vietnamese mutual assistance associations, employees of social services agencies who work with a Vietnamese service population, clergy and lay elders of Vietnamese religious institutions, and publishers and staffers of Vietnamese-language print and broadcast media outlets in Toronto. In total, the personal interviews included ten individuals associated with mutual assistance organizations, twenty employees of social service agencies, eighteen representatives of churches and temples, and seven spokespersons for
ethnic media outlets. The mutual assistance organizations represented in the interview sample included ethnic Vietnamese associations located in the metropolitan area, a Chinese-Vietnamese association, a panethnic Southeast Asian organization, as well as elderly, professionals’, artists’, and physicians’ associations. The social service organizations represented included settlement counselors employed by neighbourhood organizations situated in the Parkdale, City of York and Downsview sections of Metropolitan Toronto, as well as Mississauga, and Brampton, which are all areas of Vietnamese residential concentration. The service agency personnel in the sample also included employees of an ethnic-specific legal aid clinic, the City of Toronto Board of Education, two refugee reception centres, and several health-related organizations. Religious institutions represented in the sample included four Buddhist groups, two Catholic congregations, eleven Protestant churches, and a Cao Dai temple. Lastly, Vietnamese-language media outlets represented in the sample included four weekly newspapers, one bimonthly magazine, one weekly radio broadcast, and one weekly television program. Appendix II provides details of the interview sample.

I am confident that the sample is with a few exceptions representative of Vietnamese institutions and Vietnam-origin personnel employed by social service agencies in the Toronto area. Of the secular ethnic associations, organizations with a primarily political orientation are underrepresented. There are at least six of these groups active in the Toronto area but my efforts to schedule interviews with the leaders or members of each these groups were unsuccessful. I was able to achieve a high participation rate with other segments of the formal Vietnamese “community”.

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For example, I interviewed representatives of eighteen of the twenty-four Vietnamese religious institutions active in Toronto and the surrounding region including Hamilton and Kitchener-Waterloo. Representatives of each major Vietnamese denomination were included in the sample. Similarly, I was able to schedule interviews with seventeen out of a total of twenty-five individuals listed in a City of Toronto-funded directory of Vietnamese-origin social service providers working for agencies in the metropolitan area.

A few things should be said about the social characteristics of my sample compared to the Vietnamese population as a whole in the Toronto area. The sample is almost entirely composed of South and Central Vietnamese who have resided in Canada for fifteen to twenty-five years. Given their duration of residence and occupations, many of my informants are better established in Canadian society than the majority of Vietnamese. While fairly evenly distributed in terms of age or generation (early twenties to around fifty years of age and fifty or older), the sample is also structured by gender (forty-four out of fifty-five informants were men reflecting the fact that Vietnamese public life is dominated by males) and ethnicity (forty-six ethnic Vietnamese and nine Chinese-Vietnamese were interviewed).

Perhaps the influence of the social composition of the sample was felt most strongly as I attempted to analyze the intersecting roles of social class, time of arrival, and region of origin as they structure interaction among segments of the Vietnamese population. Several of my informants made rather harsh generalizations linking fairly recent refugee and immigrant arrivals (both ethnic Vietnamese and Chinese-Vietnamese) from North Vietnam with crime, poverty, and other indicators of
social dysfunction in certain Toronto neighbourhoods. Most of the informants who made these comments were older ethnic Vietnamese men originating from the South or Central regions of the country and the social distance they felt from this other portion of the population undoubtedly coloured their comments.

**Agency Documents**

Documents provided by Vietnamese ethnic associations based in Toronto were another source of data utilized throughout the course of the study. Most of these documents were in the form of annual executive reports which listed the services and activities, service population composition, funding sources, and expenditures of given organizations. Other documents used included copies of speeches given by agency representatives at meetings with representatives of mainstream institutions as well as copies of programs from public events sponsored by individual ethnic associations.

**Personal Observations/Fieldwork**

A considerable amount of data used in this study was derived from observations I have made during the course of my considerable interactions with persons of Vietnamese origin in Toronto over a two and a half year period. As noted above, in January 1996, I initiated an English tutoring service for Vietnamese members of a Catholic congregation based in the Downsview section of North York. Consequently, over the past two years, I have periodically assisted both Vietnamese high school and university students with homework questions on an on-call basis. Through my volunteer work, I have also met a Vietnamese Catholic family, who invited me to move into the basement of their
newly purchased Downsview home in May 1997 to provide supplemental income in order to help pay off a mortgage. The tutoring work along with this residential situation has provided me with many opportunities to visit the homes of Vietnamese families residing in Downsview. As I have developed a friendship with several Catholic Vietnamese families, I have received invitations to attend various formal and informal social gatherings including family dinners, wedding parties, fishing trips, visits to karaoke bars, a banquet for a local group agitating for political change in Vietnam, as well as an annual pilgrimage of hundreds of Vietnamese Catholics to a shrine located in Midland, Ontario. In the course of my extensive interactions with working class, fairly recently arrived Vietnamese Catholics, most of whom originate from South Vietnam, I have learned a great deal about the perceptions of these individuals in regard to a broad range of issues, including various aspects of ethnic community life, as well as concerns about mainstream institutions, including the employment market, the criminal justice system, the education sector, and the mass media.

As I have made acquaintance with numerous key informants, I have also been invited to many community events on a regular basis including weekly religious services, cultural and religious festivals, Vietnamese New Year celebrations sponsored by mutual assistance organizations and churches and temples, as well as events honouring high-achieving Vietnamese youth in the Toronto schools. Throughout these more informal interactions with both Vietnamese families and in the course of regular attendance at a wide range of community functions, I have made a point of writing a weekly and often daily
journal consisting of personal observations. I have made frequent reference to these
ing to all of the chapters which comprise this study.

'REFLEXIVITY'/PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE CONDUCT OF
RESEARCH UTILIZED FOR STUDY

Social scientists from a variety of disciplines have argued that individual
scholars should engage in a process of "reflexivity" in order to enhance their
understanding of the give and take between researcher and informants. Reflexivity
may be defined as self-critical, sympathetic introspection and the self-conscious
analytical scrutiny of the self as a researcher. Proponents of such an approach note
that fieldwork directed towards human subjects is a dialogical process, which is
structured by both the researcher and the people being researched. Implicit in this
point of view is a rejection of the positivistic orientation so influential in the social
sciences, which assumes a researcher can and should remain impartial, "objective",
and distant from the population under study (England, 1994).

Scholars arguing for reflexivity note that a given researcher may be
positioned by his or her gender, age, "race"/ethnicity, and sexual identity among
other personal characteristics as well as his or her specific biography. These
individual characteristics may work to both inhibit or enhance interactions with
research subjects and the analysis of field observations. Reflexivity may also enable
the social scientist to become more aware of asymmetrical and possibly exploitative
relationships with human subjects, as it exposes the partiality the investigator brings
to the research process. The following section consists of my own introspective
comments on some of the key situational circumstances which impacted on the
conduct of the research throughout the course of this study.
To begin, I should state that I think the opportunity to live with a Vietnamese family and share in the lives of several others through my volunteer work opened certain doors to segments of the “community” that might have been largely closed to other researchers possessing my outsider status. Throughout these informal interactions, persons of Vietnamese-origin have on many occasions related to me their expectations, joys, frustrations and disappointments with life in Canada. I have been invited to many community functions including religious gatherings, cultural celebrations, and political events as a consequence of these relationships. I have developed a deep respect for the efforts of Vietnamese to improve their lives in Canada, while at the same time holding on to key aspects of their culture, including family roles, the continued use of the ancestral language among young people, as well as the maintenance of the family religion.

Personal observation and the ongoing informal comments of Vietnamese acquaintances have endowed me with a significant degree of empathy for the very difficult time many Vietnamese have experienced in their attempts to find satisfactory and well compensated employment in the Toronto labour market. I have seen first-hand how years of underemployment intertwined with bouts of unemployment can take its toll on the self-esteem and mental health of Vietnamese persons who came to Canada as refugees or family-sponsored immigrants years ago. Again and again, Vietnamese have related to me in conversations their perceptions of harmful caricatures of Vietnamese individuals in the mainstream media and the negative consequences these portrayals may have for the interactions of persons of Vietnamese-origin with the education and employment sectors. Over
time, I have also heard a range of comments which are indicative of a general wariness and mistrust of the criminal justice system in Toronto. Observations made possible as a result of my informal relationships with individual Vietnamese have clearly stimulated my interest and informed my analysis of the Vietnamese population's relationship with mainstream institutions including government and nonprofit grant-making agencies, the educational sector, law enforcement, and the mass media.

I do believe my outsider status has profoundly affected my data collection and analysis in certain important ways. This was especially the case as I conducted my semi-structured interviews with key informants. I think that my age combined with my status as a non-Vietnamese impacted the information I was able to receive from several informants. Middle-aged or elderly leaders and staffers of organizations (usually 50 years or older) were very reluctant to talk to me at length about certain topics. In several cases, older informants who spoke at considerable ease and in detail about the activities of their own agencies or ethnic associations exhibited discomfort when asked more general questions about the interactions of persons of Vietnamese origin with host society institutions in Toronto. This group of older staffers and organizational leaders were particularly reluctant to speak at any length about the relationships between the Vietnamese population and the criminal justice system and, to a lesser extent, the mainstream media. Questions in regard to these topics clearly made some of the informants ill at ease and it seemed as if they were reluctant to go on record with any opinions about such issues despite any concerns they might actually have held. It seemed as if many of these leaders
and social service workers preferred to keep a low profile in relation to these potentially controversial matters.

It is interesting to note that I generally had the opposite experience as I interviewed younger staffers of social service agencies. Most of the younger informants (in their late 20s-mid 40s) were more than willing to talk about most these same issues, including the experience of Vietnamese individuals in the education system, interactions with the criminal justice system, and portrayals in the mainstream media. In fact, in numerous cases, interview questions in regard to these topics provoked younger informants to relate several minutes of anecdotes and forcefully argued pleas for systemic change among institutional sectors of the host society. On a variety of occasions, younger interview subjects commended me for addressing these concerns in my research. Clearly, some of these informants felt that I was a useful conduit for increasing awareness in the larger society of what they perceived to be pressing social issues. A few of these individuals even told me that they were particularly pleased that I had chosen these topics for study because as an "unbiased" non-Vietnamese there was a greater likelihood that attention would be paid to my analysis of such matters.

One area where my outsider status definitely had an impact on the cooperation and extent of information I received from various potential informants was in the realm of activities organized by Vietnamese in Toronto to protest the Communist regime in Vietnam. There seemed to be a general reluctance to share information of this nature with me. Attempts to set up interviews with the leaders of several primarily political organizations and publications were for the most part
unsuccessful. In our brief phone conversations, these potential interview subjects seemed wary of what I would do with any information they might share with me. This all seemed somewhat unusual since there are at least five primarily political Vietnamese language newspapers and magazines published in the Toronto area. The agenda of several local organizations which oppose the current Vietnamese government are clearly articulated in these advertiser-supported publications – some of which contain small English-language sections. It seems plausible that these organizational leaders and newspaper publishers may have been hesitant to share information with a non-Vietnamese researcher because of their fear that other Canadians might not approve or condone the continued active involvement of Vietnamese in the political affairs of their homeland. As a final note on this subject, it should be pointed out that there were exceptions to the general difficulty I encountered in gathering information about these groups and publications. At an annual Vietnamese New Year celebration, I became involved in a lengthy conversation with a representative of a political organization who invited me to join his group as a member. On another occasion, through a personal friend I was invited to a banquet intended to raise funds for a primarily political Vietnamese-language newspaper. At this function, I met the publisher and learned a great deal about his publication and involvement in activities to bring about change in the current Vietnamese regime.

It is interesting to ponder whether an insider – a scholar of Vietnamese ethnic origin – would have been able to gain better access than myself to various community organizations and other sources of information. A Vietnamese
researcher would obviously not experience difficulties related to the language barrier. I have taken a few courses in the Vietnamese language but my working knowledge does not extend beyond some basic vocabulary and phrases. There is little doubt that my lack of facility in Vietnamese did inhibit my ability to communicate with and conduct substantive conversations with some older informants in relation to certain issues. A Vietnamese scholar would also of course possess a personal biography which would be of immense utility when analysing both the internal dynamics of the Vietnamese “community” and the relationships of the Vietnamese population with institutions of the mainstream society.

I believe, however, my status as an outsider may have actually assisted me in certain important ways. I would argue that investigators who come from both inside and outside a given research population carry a considerable amount of personal “baggage” which may have crucial implications for both the conduct and analysis of fieldwork. As will become apparent in later chapters, Vietnamese community life in Toronto is structured by many variables of social differentiation. Age, gender, time of arrival, religious affiliation, region of origin, political ideology and several other facets of personal identity might influence the response and cooperation of informants to a scholar of Vietnamese origin.
CHAPTER THREE
AN OVERVIEW OF VIETNAMESE HISTORY, CULTURE, AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE

Historians disagree concerning the precise origin of the Vietnamese people. Many writers have assumed that the Vietnamese are direct descendants of the Viets, a group of persons that inhabited land south of the Yangtze River in China. According to this theory, the various tribes of the Viets were gradually driven further and further south into the Red River delta of present-day North Vietnam by the expanding Chinese empire. Subsequently, it is argued, the first Vietnamese state was founded in the Red River region in the time period of 300 B.C. (Buttinger, 1968).

Some of the most prominent scholars of Vietnamese history have come to reject portions of this explanation. These historians have argued that the origins of the Vietnamese people reflect an amalgamation of persons from Southern China with the indigenous persons of the surrounding regions of Southeast Asia (Woodside, 1988; Jamieson, 1993; Chapius, 1995). Buttinger (1968) in his seminal history of Vietnam argues that a complex racial and cultural fusion occurred in the area of the Red River Valley. This fusion involved the Viet peoples from China, Thai peoples, as well as persons of Indonesian origin who for several centuries dominated the Red River Delta. In sum, Buttinger concludes that not only archaeological finds but language research as well confirms the mixed racial and cultural origins of the Vietnamese. He notes that while the Vietnamese do speak a
distinctly separate language, close analysis demonstrates that their language contains important elements from the Mon-Khmer and Thai languages. According to Buttinger, Chinese elements enriched the Vietnamese language at a later stage in the Vietnamese civilization.

After 300 B.C., the Vietnamese gradually moved southward from the Red River region. However, it wasn't until the 16th century A.D. that Vietnamese civilization expanded into present-day South Vietnam, down to the Mekong River Delta. Prior to this time, the Indianized cultures of the Funan and the Champa (or Khmer) Kingdoms controlled this territory. Persons of Khmer ethnic origin, known as Chams, still constitute a minority group within Vietnam (Buttinger, 1968; Woodside, 1988).

Regardless of the precise origins of Vietnamese civilization, it is indisputable that Chinese influences have strongly shaped the development of Vietnamese culture. The history of Vietnam has been profoundly affected by the imperialistic behaviour of its northern neighbour. The Chinese gained political control of Vietnam in 111 B.C. With the exception of a few brief interludes, Chinese rule continued in Vietnam until a series of uprisings in the 10th century. 939 A.D. is the year from which the Vietnamese commonly date the beginning of their national independence (Buttinger, 1968; Chapius, 1995). After the 18th century Vietnam's sovereignty was again challenged, this time by the imperialistic ambitions of the French. France gained effective political control of the nation with the 1863 signing of a treaty with the Vietnamese Emperor Tu Duc. This treaty
extended French authority over the whole of Vietnam. French control was the stimulus for the development of a strong nationalist movement. After decades of agitation by Vietnamese nationalists, the Geneva agreement was signed in 1954. This treaty stipulated that Vietnam would be divided at the 17th parallel into two military zones. The Communist Viet Minh forces were to retreat north of the dividing line, the French and Republic of Vietnam troops south of it (Buttinger, 1968). By the early 1960s, the United States had replaced France as the primary backers of the South Vietnamese government. Fighting between South and North Vietnamese forces for control of the entire country came to an end with the Fall of Saigon to the communist regime of the North in April 1975.

**VIETNAMESE CULTURAL VALUES, SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND FAMILY STRUCTURE**

After their introduction from China over the centuries as separate religious systems, Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism merged into a unique philosophical and religious perspective, often referred to as the Tam Giao. This basic system of common values is shared to a certain extent by most Vietnamese (Hanh, 1967; Thien-An, 1975; Rutledge, 1985; Jamieson, 1993). Central to the syncretic belief system of the Tam Giao is its conception of family relations. The family is the basic institution established by the Vietnamese to ensure physical, emotional, and social stability for its members and to promulgate societal norms and standards (Rutledge, 1992). Traditionally, the Vietnamese have regarded the patrilineal extended family as vitally important to the perpetuation of Vietnamese cultural values. The traditional Vietnamese family hierarchy is strongly influenced by Confucian ideals.
intended to explain and legitimize all social relations. Following the Confucian
tradition, the relations between the king and his people are similar to those linking
the father with his wife and children. The family is thus regarded as the entity upon
which the entire social system is modeled. A code of behaviour regulates all
relations within the traditional Vietnamese family and specifies the duties and
obligations of each family member. A set of rules guides the proper way of
addressing relatives, appropriate gestures and body positions in given situations,
and the order of precedence during family meals and religious ceremonies (Dorais
et al., 1987).

Reverence for ancestors is a key component of the Tam Giao ideology and
belief system. The Vietnamese family entity is conceived of as including
obligations to both the deceased as well as the living. The traditional Vietnamese
home includes an ancestral altar, where the spirits of deceased relatives are believed
to reside. Ancestors, including parents, siblings, and grandparents, are worshipped
annually in ceremonies commemorating the anniversary date of their death.
Ancestors are invoked during regular family prayers at the altar as well as on the
occasions of engagements, marriages, and funerals of family members. Ancestor
worship is also a key component in the formal religious ceremonies of the major
Vietnamese religions of Buddhism and Cao Daism (Dorais, 1989; Muzny, 1989).

The Vietnamese family ideology involves a set of role-based behavioural
ideals. These ideals instill in the Vietnamese a rigid code of conduct, a strong sense
of duty to other family members, and often a great deal of guilt. The primacy of
family ties is central to the traditional Vietnamese belief system. Crucially, in Vietnamese culture, the family is considered to be more important than the individual. The family is conceived of as the central means of economic and social support. All family members turn over their earnings for the usage of the entire family. The larger family also determines the acceptability of marriage partners (Muzny, 1989). Going against family obligations is perceived as being contrary to the natural order of the world. Behaviour that is in opposition to this natural order is perceived to inevitably result in negative consequences (or bad karma) not only for individuals but for their entire families as well (Jamieson, 1993).

The traditional Vietnamese family is patrilineal and extended in its organization. The parents, the sons and their wives, unmarried daughters, grandparents, and uncles and aunts may all reside in the Vietnamese household. The roles within the family are well-defined. The father is considered to be the head of the family unit and responsible for economic decisions, maintaining family traditions and leading the family in ancestor worship. The father is always to be accorded great respect. The eldest son is expected to never leave his parents and to continue living at the family home with his wife and children. After the death of his father, the eldest son becomes the head of the household, taking ultimate responsibility for decision-making and carrying on ancestral traditions. After marriage, other sons may create new households, preferably in close geographic proximity to the parents. However, unmarried daughters must always live with their parents (Muzny, 1989; Rutledge, 1992).
According to the traditional family ideology, the main duty of a Vietnamese woman is to care for her husband and his family. After marriage, the wife is expected to become a member of the husband's family with obligations to respect and care for her in-laws. Under the traditional Vietnamese family model, women are expected to engage in housekeeping, cooking, and rearing the children while depending on male household members to financially support the family. A Vietnamese woman is taught to submit to her father while under his care, obey her husband following marriage, and to listen to her eldest son in widowhood (Muzny, 1989; Rutledge, 1992). It should be noted that some scholars have questioned the extent to which such rigidly prescribed gender roles reflect the actual contributions of Vietnamese women to their families in Vietnam and North America. Hickey (1964) and Rutledge (1992) note that in the Vietnamese home, the mother is usually responsible for harmony among family members, coordinating the schedules of family members and managing the family budget. Indeed, all family members, including the male household head, typically submit their earnings to the mother, who makes financial decisions for the family as a unified whole. Haines (1986) and Woon (1986) observe that Vietnamese women have for centuries engaged in petty commerce outside of the household to support their families and during the war years of the 1950s to the 1970s, many families were broken up, at least temporarily, with men fighting in the military, and women joining the workforce and providing the primary financial support for their families.
Scholars have documented the continuation of collective family behaviour among Vietnamese immigrants and refugees in Canada and the United States (Woon, 1986; Rutledge, 1992; Hein, 1995). In her ethnographic study of Vietnamese families in Philadelphia, Kibria (1993) refers to these collective practices as "patchworking." She defines patchworking as a bringing together and sharing of resources among the divergent members of a household. Kibria observed that her research informants brought with them to the U.S, a collective, cooperative approach toward economic resources and activities among household members, which stressed and idealized the unity of family or kin group interests over that of the individual. Kibria notes that among her Vietnamese informants there was a strong belief that kinship ties could serve as a useful economic safety net. Kinship was perceived of as the most reliable source of support for the individual - the only institution that could be relied upon for assistance in all circumstances.

Kibria notes that in the U.S., Vietnamese persons quickly go about rebuilding and/or creating new kinship groups for the purpose of sharing economic as well as other resources such as child care, language skills, and information about the host society and its institutions. Importantly, Kibria points out that the rebuilding of kin groups among the Vietnamese is made easier by the existence of cultural kinship traditions that define the boundaries of the kin group in an inclusive manner. Distant relatives such as cousins as well as individuals unrelated by traditional criteria may be defined in familial terms such as "brother" or "sister"
for the purpose of economic exchange and resource sharing. Kibria provides examples of unrelated young Vietnamese "brothers" who formed households in order to collectively pool material resources and provide one another with social support.

Significantly, migration to North America has also led to role changes among men and women and some conflict within Vietnamese families. In North America, many Vietnamese women have become significant income earners for their families. While it was not uncommon for women to work outside the home in Vietnam, men were considered to be the primary breadwinners of the household. In Canada and the United States, the relative financial contribution of women to Vietnamese families has increased greatly. In pre-1975 South Vietnam, many Vietnamese immigrant and refugee men had held middle-class occupations in the government or as military officers. Upon coming to North America, many of these same men encountered unemployment or much lower status work in the lower tiers of the occupational structure as a result of language difficulties, a lack of transferable skills, and/or employment discrimination. At the same time, many Vietnamese women have also found jobs in the informal and secondary sectors of the labour market, earning equivalent incomes to Vietnamese men. This shift in the balance of resources among genders is a source of tension and change in the relations of Vietnamese men and women (Kibria, 1989; Kibria, 1990; Rutledge, 1992; Kibria, 1993; Kibria, 1994).
Importantly, Kibria (1993) points out that the shift in the balance of resources occurring between men and women has not resulted in a radical restructuring of gender relations within Vietnamese families. According to Kibria, Vietnamese-American women are exercising greater influence in the decision-making processes within their families because of their relatively greater control over resources in comparison to the past, but for the most part they have not utilized this increased power to challenge traditional Vietnamese cultural conceptions of gender relations and family life.

Overall, Kibria concludes that many Vietnamese immigrant and refugee women continue to support the ideology of the traditional family system. Women's support of this system reflects the power it affords them as mothers as well as the perceived necessity of the family system for personal economic support. Kibria notes that among her informants, both men and women saw the collective household economy as key to their ability to survive and attain socioeconomic mobility. This collective household economy was centred upon and legitimated by the traditional Vietnamese family ideology. Within the context of an uncertain economic environment, Vietnamese immigrant women valued the power of the traditional family system to support and uphold men's and children's obligations to the larger family unit.

In the traditional Vietnamese family, children are taught to have respect for their parents and elders in general. These principles of filial piety, respect, and duty to the family include a responsibility for providing for one's parents in their old age.
(Rutledge, 1992). The roles of children have also been changing in many Vietnamese immigrant and refugee families. Traditional Vietnamese family values are tested by the North American cultural emphasis on individualism. Many of the more acculturated Vietnamese young people resist turning over their earnings to the larger family. The freedom to date among young people of the opposite gender, which is especially frowned upon for females, is also a source of conflict between parents and children in Vietnamese families (Rutledge, 1992; Kibria, 1993). In many households, English language fluency and greater fluency and familiarity with the procedures of bureaucracies and state institutions has resulted in enhanced power and freedom for young people and a general decline in parental authority within Vietnamese families. In situations of interaction with the larger society, the parents often come to rely upon the children. This reliance creates a reversal from traditional Vietnamese roles and sometimes results in a form of intergenerational conflict within families as parents feel a loss of power and status and children do not feel they earn the respect they deserve from their parents given their everyday importance to the family (Rutledge, 1992; Kibria, 1993).

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN VIETNAM

Until the past few decades, the vast majority of Vietnamese lived an agrarian life-style. The village was the primary social system with which Vietnamese interacted outside of their immediate families. Village affairs were conducted in the communal house, where all official documents pertaining to the village were deposited. Individual villages possessed their own laws, which were a
mixture of administrative rules, customary laws, as well as religious guidelines associated with a village deity. In addition to the communal administrative centre, each village also had its own temple, market area, and social service delivery system. Individual villages typically negotiated economic arrangements with regional governments to export cultivated crops and bring income into the area (Hickey, 1964; Ho Tai, 1987).

Since the 1950s, the agrarian way of life and village superstructure has remained far more intact in the Northern portion of the country compared to the Central and especially Southern regions. As the Vietnam War escalated in the late 1950s and early 1960s, the United States contributed extensive funds and technical assistance to South Vietnam. With the help of U.S. financial contributions, the number of students attending school in the Republic of Vietnam doubled between 1955 and 1960 and doubled again by 1969. The number of radio sets in South Vietnam soared from an estimated 125,000 units in 1960 to 2,200,000 in 1970. Television was introduced to South Vietnam in 1966. By 1969, an estimated two million viewers were reached through nearly 300,000 privately owned sets and approximately 3,000 community sets. At the same time, rapid urbanization was taking place. In 1945, the population of Saigon was about half a million. By 1954, it was about two million. The size of the city approached three million in 1965 (Jamieson, 1993).

In South Vietnam, the growing U.S. presence under the regime of Ngo Dinh Diem in the late 1950s and early 1960s directly contributed to the strong influence
of American culture in the Southern portion of the country. The social and cultural environment in South Vietnam came to reflect an amalgamation of Vietnamese, French, and American values. Crucially, U.S. economic and technological assistance was the stimulus for the rise of an affluent middle class composed of government officials, military officers, professionals, and merchants (Duiker, 1995).

It was this new middle class which felt the most severe discomfort and hardship after the Fall of Saigon in 1975. Many South Vietnamese men were forcibly sent to "reeducation camps" created by the Communist regime for the purpose of indoctrinating and punishing those with ties to the former government. Poor living conditions and heavy labour were common in the camps. Some South Vietnamese were forced to move to the so-called "New Economic Zones." These were tracts of land that had been abandoned or damaged by the war. The "New Economic Zones" were designed to reduce the population burden on overcrowded urban centres in South Vietnam and to reintroduce cultivation to non-productive land. Many of the Vietnamese who were forced to relocate had led urban lifestyles before 1975. Conditions were difficult in these barren rural areas for Vietnamese who had little desire or propensity for agricultural work (Strand and Jones, 1985; Kibria, 1993)

The urban middle class residents of South Vietnam suffered severe losses in status after the rise of the Communists. Children of former army officers or governmental officials were often discriminated against and denied admittance to
the top educational institutions. After 1978, the government began a policy of nationalizing many private businesses. For many South Vietnamese merchants (including a large Chinese-Vietnamese mercantile class), business ownership severely declined in profitability. Unemployment became a serious problem as former army officers, bureaucrats, and businessmen lost their jobs. Compounding the above difficulties was a drought in 1977, followed by floods, which exacerbated already existing land cultivation problems caused by military mining and herbicides. Food became scarce. Given these conditions, many South Vietnamese, particularly the former urban elite and middle class, felt an acute sense of political persecution and financial desperation, which compelled them to attempt to escape the country (Strand and Jones, 1985; Kibria, 1993).

THE ETHNIC CHINESE MINORITY IN VIETNAM

The history of Chinese immigration into Vietnam goes back over two thousand years. In Vietnam, ethnic Chinese developed their own residential communities, each with its own institutions, including religious centres, schools, shops, and political organizations. Gradually over the years, the Chinese-Vietnamese came to accept a variety of Vietnamese cultural norms. However, while some inter-marriage did occur, most Chinese continued to consider themselves as ethnically separate and maintained usage of their ancestral language (Strand and Jones, 1985; Whitmore, 1985; Desbarats, 1986).

The maintenance of close ties with China, along with this distinct ethnic identity, created tensions between the ethnic Chinese and the Vietnamese majority. Conflict was exacerbated by the traditional “middlemen” occupations
held by significant numbers of ethnic Chinese in Vietnam. A disproportionate number of Chinese-Vietnamese resided in urban centres and worked as merchants and money lenders. As a consequence of Vietnamese resentment of ethnic Chinese wealth, the Chinese were over time subject to several repressive governmental measures designed to end their economic control over trade and retail activities. These actions were undertaken by several emperors, the Viet Minh in the North after the 1940s, as well as the Diem regime, which ruled the South in 1950s and 1960s (Strand and Jones, 1985).

Tensions between the Vietnamese government and the Chinese-Vietnamese population intensified following reunification in 1975. The Communist government attempted to integrate the sizable Chinese population in the heavily urbanized South with the rest of the nation. In early 1976, ethnic Chinese residents were required to register their citizenship. Those who retained Chinese status were subjected to heavy taxes, job discrimination, and reduction of food rations. In the Fall of 1976, all Chinese schools and newspapers were closed. In early 1977, those Chinese-Vietnamese who had registered as Chinese citizens were dismissed from their government jobs and prohibited from public enterprise and retail trade. Food rations were terminated and the free movement of Chinese-Vietnamese within Vietnam was forbidden. In addition, the property of many ethnic Chinese was seized and several thousand Chinese were expelled from the country (Strand and Jones, 1985).
By the summer of 1978, more than 160,000 Chinese-Vietnamese had fled into China. Several thousand more left the former South Vietnam by boat. Indeed, Chinese-Vietnamese constituted a disproportionate number of the "Boat People", who escaped from Vietnam in the late 1970s and early 1980s. As of 1980, at least 400,000 ethnic Chinese "Boat People" had escaped persecution in Vietnam. By the mid-1980s, the ethnic Chinese population of Vietnam was estimated to be practically non-existent (Strand and Jones, 1985).

It is difficult to find accurate estimates of the Chinese-Vietnamese population in Canada or the United States. It is likely that former ethnic Chinese residents of Vietnam identify themselves to census takers alternately as Chinese or Vietnamese. However, it is clear that the Chinese-Vietnamese should be considered a distinct ethnic group with a culture and history quite different from that experienced by the ethnic Vietnamese or other major subgroups of the Chinese population.

MAJOR VIETNAMESE RELIGIONS

Throughout Vietnam's history, religious affiliation has been a key factor influencing the social and class structure of the nation. All of the major Vietnamese religions have long carried strong connotations for the personal identity of their followers, given the unique development and important role of each in Vietnam's history. The following is a discussion of the some of the key characteristics and historic experiences associated with the largest religious subgroups found within Vietnam.
Buddhists - Prior to 1975, over 70% of the entire population of all regions of Vietnam was considered to be Buddhist (Canh, 1983; Rutledge, 1985). Mahayana Buddhism - the branch of Buddhism observed by over 90% of Vietnamese Buddhists - was introduced to Vietnam in the second century A.D. by the Chinese (Hanh, 1967). In almost every village in Vietnam there is a Buddhist pagoda (chua). In many villages, the village common house (dinh), which functions as a meeting site and a place for the worship of the village spirit protector, is also located in the pagoda complex (Hanh, 1967, McClellan, 1993). In addition to its religious functions, the Buddhist temple has also served as a centre for social interaction and the provision of mutual aid among villagers. Throughout Vietnam, Buddhist schools and universities were established as well as Buddhist-run orphanages and hospitals (Hanh, 1967).

Over the past two centuries, Vietnamese Buddhist identity has become strongly intertwined with a fervent nationalistic sentiment. These nationalist feelings have been fuelled by the antagonisms between Vietnamese Buddhists and Catholics. After the French conquest of Vietnam in the latter half of the 19th century, French officials accorded open support to the Vietnamese Roman Catholic Church. Catholic churches and missionaries were not restricted in their work, while other religionists were (Hanh, 1967). Most followers of Buddhism associated themselves with a variety of resistance forces, which fought the French colonizers. While a sizable number of Vietnamese Catholics also participated in the resistance, Catholics as a group were widely suspected of collaborating with the French.
Many Vietnamese, especially the rural villagers, believed that Buddhism and Confucianism were the proper religions of Vietnam, whereas Christianity was perceived to be the religion of the westerners, and the French in particular. In the perception of many Buddhists, to embrace Christianity meant to side with the colonizers. As French forces destroyed villages and burned down Buddhist pagodas and other structures, resistance leaders ordered the destruction and the burning of Catholic churches in reprisal (Hanh, 1967; Gheddo, 1970).

Buddhist nationalism and conflict with Catholics were key variables in the opposition movement to South Vietnamese president Ngo Dinh Diem in the early 1960s. Buddhists were angered by the perceived favouritism shown to Catholics by President Diem, himself a Catholic. Many of the most prominent positions within his South Vietnamese government and military were held by Catholics. In addition, President Diem's brother served as a powerful archbishop in the Vietnamese Roman Catholic church. Many Buddhists resented the disproportionate influence of the well-educated and prosperous Catholic elite.

Buddhist opposition to the Diem regime broke into the open in May 1963 at the city of Hue in central Vietnam. May 8 was the anniversary of the death of the Buddha and the Buddhist faithful were preparing to celebrate religious festivals in the city of Hue, the centre of Vietnamese Buddhism, and a city of ancient Buddhist tradition. A few days before the festival, the Diem government forbade the carrying of religious banners through the streets of Vietnamese cities. The government ordered the local police to enforce the law outlawing the display of religious flags.
On the day of the anniversary, 10,000 Vietnamese Buddhist clashed with the police. Eight died and twenty were wounded in the incident. Subsequently, in the summer of 1963, several Vietnamese Buddhist monks and nuns immolated themselves to show their opposition to the policies of the Diem government and its perceived persecution of Buddhists (Hanh, 1967; Gheddo, 1970). President Diem was assassinated and his regime overthrown in November 1963. After 1975, officials of the Communist regime took strong measures against Buddhists. Buddhist pagodas and other properties were confiscated throughout South and Central Vietnam and converted to government buildings. At the same time, thousands of Buddhist monks and nuns were put in prison or were forced to work in rural communes (Canh, 1983).

**Catholics** - Prior to 1975, Catholics constituted approximately 10-15% of the total population of Vietnam (Rutledge, 1985). The first Catholic missionaries to arrive in Vietnam were the Spanish and Portuguese in the 16th century. These first efforts at evangelization were renewed by the Jesuits in the 17th century. The French priest Alexander de Rhodes landed on the coast of North Vietnam in 1627 and he and his fellow Jesuits encountered great success in converting many Vietnamese in this region to Catholicism. By 1663 there were about 200,000 Catholics among the 2,000,000 Tonkinese. Missionaries met with somewhat less success in South Vietnam, but by the 1660s there were another 100,000 Vietnamese Catholics in the southern portion of the nation. Among other exploits, Father de Rhodes was also responsible for the romanization of the Vietnamese
language (Gheddo, 1970).

Subsequent Vietnamese emperors directed periodic violent persecutions against the Catholic population beginning in the late 17th century and lasting until the mid-19th century. In these waves of harassment, churches were destroyed and Catholic villages were burned as the faithful were commonly forced to trample on the cross and offer sacrifices to Buddhist and other traditional Vietnamese idols. In the two centuries of severe persecution, the Vietnamese Catholic church accumulated approximately 130,000 martyrs, several hundred of whom have been beatified by successive popes (Gheddo, 1970).

The collective memory of these indigenous martyrs and saints as well as that of other Vietnamese Catholics who were persecuted in later decades, constitutes a central component of the Vietnamese-Catholic identity. Vietnamese-Catholics have always perceived themselves as being a minority group within Vietnam. To escape persecution and to avoid requirements that they worship the village god, rural Vietnamese Catholics seceded from native villages and established new ones under the leadership of parish priests. Frequently, these new villages were founded adjacent to already existing ones. At times, however, priests led their parishioners into undeveloped areas and founded new villages. Catholics throughout Vietnam developed “super-village” enclaves, in which were based complex institutional systems of mutual assistance. Catholics established their own hospitals, newspapers, schools, universities, and military units (Gheddo, 1970; Ho Tai, 1987; Jamieson, 1993).
After the Geneva Conference in 1954, which divided Vietnam into two countries, the Communist government of the North began severe persecutions of predominantly Catholic villages in several regions of North Vietnam. At the end of 1954, nearly 800,000 Vietnamese, mostly Catholics, left their homes in North Vietnam as refugees to come to South Vietnam. The perceived special treatment given to these refugees by the South Vietnamese government of Ngo Dinh Diem, helped provoke the conflict between Buddhists and Catholics, which peaked with the overthrow of the Diem regime in 1963 (Hanh, 1967). Under Diem, Catholic refugees were resettled in the suburbs of Saigon and in Rural Development Centres in the Central region, in part to serve as a basis of support for the anti-Communist regime. Catholics were also given prominent positions in the government and the armed forces. Many Catholics took on major roles in commerce, the professions, and in cultural affairs (Duiker, 1995). After the Communist takeover in 1975, hundreds of priests and nuns were arrested, churches were seized or monitored, and the separate Catholic social, educational, and medical establishments were taken over by the state. Given their previous experiences with the Communists and strong association with the South Vietnamese regime, it is not surprising that Catholics constituted a disproportionate share of the refugees and immigrants who left Vietnam after 1975.

**Cao Dai** - Caodaism is an indigenous Vietnamese religion that originated in South Vietnam in the 1920s. Caodaism is syncretic in its organizational structure, philosophy, theology, and ritual practices. The primary influences are Mahayana
Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, and spiritualism, with some elements drawn from Christianity as well. The synthesis of elements adapted from other religious systems may be observed in the Cao Dai practices of priestly celibacy, vegetarianism, seance inquiry and spirit communication, homage to ancestors and prayers for the dead, meditative self-cultivation, and proselytism (Oliver, 1976; Phan Van Phuoc, personal interview, July 14, 1996).

The original Cao Dai Holy See was established at Tay Ninh, about 100 km north of Saigon. After its official establishment in 1926, Cao Dai quickly gained an impressive following of two million persons residing in portions of Southern and Central Vietnam. By the 1950s, by one estimate, approximately 1/8 of the South Vietnamese population practiced Cao Dai. Caodaism attracted significant numbers of followers from all classes of Vietnamese including nationalistic but anti-Communist civil servants as well as village peasants. In certain strongholds of South and Central Vietnam, Cao Dai adherents constituted a majority of the region's population and like Catholics in some regions, formed their own schools, hospitals, orphanages and social delivery systems within autonomous “super-village” social structures (Jamieson, 1993).

Cao Dai followers also came to represent a major political and military bloc in South Vietnam. From 1926 to 1956, the major elements of the Cao Dai armed forces were incorporated into the South Vietnamese army. The strength of the Cao Dai influence in political affairs may also be observed in the composition of the National Congress which was formed in the early 1950s to discuss the terms of a
Vietnamese independence treaty with the French. The Cao Dai were awarded 17 seats at this congress, the largest delegation of any of the major politico-religious groups operating in South Vietnam at the time, including the Buddhists and the Catholics (Oliver, 1976). After 1975, the Communist regime arrested and detained most of the Cao Dai leaders including the church's papal hierarchy. The Cao Dai's Holy See in Tay Ninh province was confiscated and village temples were shut down. The actions of the communists followed a long history of attempts by authorities to suppress the influence of Caodaism. In the 1930s, Cao Dai temples were closed and key personnel were imprisoned by the French for their perceived nationalistic activities (Oliver, 1976). During the second Vietnam War (1958-1975), the leaders of South Vietnam worked to reduce or eliminate the political and military power of Cao Dai leaders. As a result of this religious and political persecution many adherents of Cao Daism developed a strong minority identity, inhabiting close knit communities in regions where they were numerically concentrated, a factor which has helped stimulate the development of Cao Dai congregations in regions of Vietnamese resettlement and migration including Canada and the United States (Dorais, 1989; Phan Van Phuoc, personal interview, July 14, 1996).

Protestants - Protestant groups constitute a very small minority - less than one percent - of the population of Vietnam (Rev. Minh Ho, personal interview, May 21, 1997). The proportion of Vietnamese Protestants in North America is likely higher, though the numbers are difficult to estimate. Some of the Christian
churches involved in work at the refugee camps have attracted new Vietnamese adherents. In addition, some Protestant denominations in North America have actively targeted their evangelization efforts towards the Vietnamese population. The Christian and Missionary Alliance (CMA) has engaged in missionary work in Vietnam since the early part of the 20th century. The majority of Vietnamese Protestant congregations in Canada are affiliated with the CMA church. Vietnamese Mennonite, Baptist, and Lutheran congregations also have formed in a few Canadian cities (Rev. Binh Nguyen, Personal Interview, July 10, 1997).

**SUMMARY**

The Vietnamese people are united by a common language and a collective family system which has its basis in a coalescence of Buddhist, Taoist, and Confucian philosophical systems. However, numerous cleavages have long been present in Vietnamese society. Ethnicity, urban or rural residence, region of origin, and religious affiliation are sources of considerable social and class differentiation among the population originating from Vietnam. Persons of Vietnamese origin bring diverse family and personal histories with them to North America. This internal heterogeneity has important implications not only for the formation and composition of ethnic diaspora “communities” but also for the interactions of segments of the population with the institutional sectors of the host society including the housing market, the labour market, and the criminal justice system.
CHAPTER FOUR
DEMOGRAPHY OF THE TORONTO VIETNAMESE

INTRODUCTION

The following chapter will assess the social demography of the Vietnamese ethnic origin population residing in the Toronto CMA. Utilizing census data, the demographic distribution of the enumerated Vietnamese aggregate will be compared to that associated with the total population of the metropolitan area as a whole as well as several other significantly sized “visible minority” groups. This demographic profile is intended to provide a contextual basis to facilitate the analysis of Vietnamese adaptation in subsequent chapters.

This chapter discusses the movement of Vietnamese to Toronto in waves of migration and the varying social characteristics of individuals who came to the city in these differing time periods. The remainder of the chapter compares the Vietnamese population enumerated in the 1991 census to the entire Toronto CMA population in terms of its distribution among the variables of age and gender, immigrant status, period of arrival in Canada, immigrant and citizenship status, knowledge of official languages, educational background, birth rates, and religious affiliation.

WAVES OF MIGRATION

Scholars have identified several streams of Vietnamese migration to North America since 1975. Prior to 1975, only very small numbers of Vietnamese lived in the United States and Canada. Most of these individuals were representatives of the South Vietnam government or students who had studied at American and Canadian universities in the 1950s, 1960s or early
1970s. The first wave of refugees arrived in the immediate period following the Fall of Saigon in the spring of 1975. A second wave of refugees came to Canada and the United States after 1976 and continued to arrive through the early 1990s. Another sizable group of Vietnamese has been sponsored as refugees and more commonly as immigrants by family members already residing in North America since the mid-1980s.

The first wave of Vietnamese refugees were primarily army officers, middle-level bureaucrats, students, and professionals associated with the former South Vietnamese government. A good number of these people were well-educated and from middle to upper class economic backgrounds. Members of this initial group of refugees typically had lived in large population centres in Vietnam with regular exposure to western culture and the English language due to their contact with foreign officials during the French occupation and subsequent American involvement in Vietnam (Dorais et al., 1987; Gold, 1992; Rutledge, 1992).

In 1978, natural disasters and political persecution, as well as continued regional conflict in Indochina, precipitated a renewed exodus of refugees. Residents of the former South Vietnam continued to flee. Many of the Vietnamese who left the country in 1978 or later, escaped by sea, often in dangerously unfit vessels. The "boat people" who survived the trip sought asylum in refugee camps located in neighbouring nations including Thailand, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Malaysia. In response to the situation, a conference was held in Geneva, Switzerland, at which several western countries, including
Canada and the United States, agreed to step up their intake of Vietnamese and other Indochinese refugees. The second wave of Vietnamese migrants were a far more diverse group compared to the more homogenous first wave. A higher proportion of the latter arrivals came from rural as opposed to urban settings and persons from Central and North Vietnam were better represented in the second wave of refugees. In general, these latter-arriving Vietnamese possessed more limited educational backgrounds and English-speaking skills. In addition, the socioeconomic background of the second wave refugees was more diverse than that of their counterparts who were resettled earlier. A larger percentage of these Vietnamese had been employed in primary occupations such as farming and fishing, although significant proportions had also worked in professional jobs, the military, governmental positions or commercial enterprise in Vietnam (Dorais et al., 1987; Rumbaut, 1989a; Rumbaut, 1989b; Dorais, 1991; Gold, 1992; Rutledge, 1992; Rumbaut, 1989a; Hung and Haines, 1996).

In Canada, the Vietnamese population is disproportionately composed of second wave arrivals compared to that in the United States. While 145,000 Vietnamese came to the U.S. immediately following the 1975 collapse of the Thieu regime in South Vietnam, only about 6,000 Vietnamese came to Canada at this time (Indra, 1987). Large numbers of Vietnamese began coming to Canada in 1978 following the Geneva conference organized to deal with the Indochinese refugee crisis, as federal officials substantially increased the number of Indochinese refugees they were willing to accept (Dorais et al., 1987; Indra, 1987; Wilson, 1995). The Canadian government's decision to increase refugee
quotas was supplemented by the establishment of a parallel private sponsorship system, which was encouraged by the federal government and coordinated primarily by church-affiliated organizations (Adelman, 1982; Lam, 1996). By 1982, more than 60,000 Vietnamese, Cambodians, and Laotians had been resettled through the means of both private and government sponsorship (Indra, 1987; Wilson 1995). Table 4.1 shows the number of permanent residents from Vietnam who arrived in Toronto annually from 1978 to 1993, according to Department of Immigration and Citizenship records. These figures obviously include both ethnic Vietnamese and ethnic Chinese who had resided in Vietnam. Several important trends are evident in the data. First, it is not surprising that the largest number of refugees arrived in the Toronto metropolitan area from Vietnam in 1979 and 1980 at the time of the “Boat People” crisis. The refugee intake decreased significantly in the early and mid-1980s. In the 1988-1991 period, the number of refugees coming to Toronto from Vietnam rose again, reflecting the renewed resettlement of Vietnamese who had been residing in camps located throughout Southeast Asia and Hong Kong in particular. While not shown in the data, persons originating from North Vietnam constituted a larger proportion of this latter wave compared to a decade earlier (Cam Chau Tran, Personal Interview, July 27, 1997).

In the 1990s, Vietnamese sponsored by family members have become by far the most significant component of the overall migration flow. This situation reflects the fact that many of the Vietnamese who arrived in Canada in the late 1970s through the early to mid-1980s have become relatively well established in
Canadian society and have subsequently sponsored the arrival of parents and siblings left back in Vietnam. The number of Vietnamese arriving in Toronto as Independent immigrants peaked during the mid-1980s. The rise in new arrivals in the Independent category in 1984 and 1985 appears to be something of an anomaly. In both the 1978-1983 and 1986-1993 periods those Vietnamese coming to Toronto as Independent immigrants constituted a much smaller proportion of the migration compared to those who either came as refugees or were sponsored by relatives.

SECONDARY MIGRATION

The location of private sponsors throughout Canada ensured an initially high degree of geographic dispersal of the Vietnamese throughout different regions of Canada. Subsequently, a range of factors have combined to stimulate the secondary migration of Vietnamese away from their initial sites of resettlement to the largest population centres in the country. Settlement services, such as English language training and employment training, were to be found mostly in the larger Canadian cities as opposed to rural locations or smaller towns and cities. In addition, employment opportunities for refugees and immigrants were perceived to be far greater in the larger urban centres. Furthermore, sizable Vietnamese population aggregations and the presence of family and friends as well as co-ethnic social services, commercial activities, and ethnic associations could only be found in the largest cities, also attracting Vietnamese resettled elsewhere in Canada. Finally, the extreme winter cold in some areas motivated many Vietnamese who were first placed in more remote
**TABLE 4.1**
PERMANENT RESIDENTS FROM VIETNAM, ARRIVING IN TORONTO
BY CATEGORY OF ENTRY, 1978-1993

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>SPONSOR-SHIPS</th>
<th>REFUGEE</th>
<th>INDEPENDENT</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
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<td>1978</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
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<td>1979</td>
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<td>27</td>
<td>2555</td>
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<td>1981</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>776</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>559</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>924</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>434</td>
<td>449</td>
<td>384</td>
<td>1267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
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<td>1990</td>
<td>763</td>
<td>814</td>
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</tr>
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<td>495</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>1747</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>1108</td>
<td>491</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>1777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>1249</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>1639</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8,222</td>
<td>13,767</td>
<td>3,734</td>
<td>25,723</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

regions to relocate to areas with more moderate climates including Southern Ontario, the Montreal area and the Vancouver region (Lavoie, 1989; Wilson, 1995).

**VIETNAMESE POPULATIONS IN CANADIAN METROPOLITAN AREAS AND WITHIN THE TORONTO CMA**

In 1996, Statistics Canada estimated that over 130,000 Vietnamese resided in Canada (Table 4.2). According to the 1996 census, Toronto possessed about 42,000 enumerated individuals claiming a Vietnamese ethnic origin either as a single or multiple response on the census form in 1996. Among the other metropolitan areas in Canada, Montreal was a distant second to Toronto with close to 28,000 enumerated Vietnamese. Vancouver was next with around 16,000 Vietnamese counted. Approximately 10,000 Vietnamese were tallied in Calgary and about 8,000 in Edmonton. Ottawa, Winnipeg, Kitchener-Waterloo, Hamilton, London and Windsor were other Canadian CMAs where more than 1000 Vietnamese were counted in 1996.

Comparisons of the Vietnamese mother tongue population in the major Toronto CMA municipalities clearly show an expansion of the proportion of Vietnamese living in suburban parts of the metropolitan area (Table 4.3). In 1986, just over 50% of all Vietnamese individuals enumerated in the CMA lived in the City of Toronto compared to just over 1/3 in 1996. Conversely, the population residing in the city of North York increased from about 15% to around 20% in the same time period. About 1/5 of the total Vietnamese population lived in the Peel Region municipalities of Brampton and Mississauga.
in 1996 compared to about 12% in 1986. At the same time, the percentage of Vietnamese in the CMA living in Metropolitan Toronto decreased from about 85% to just under ¾ of the total enumerated population. Table 4.3 also clearly shows that the highest growth rates of the Vietnamese population over the decade were in outlying portions of the metropolitan area including North York, Mississauga, and Brampton as opposed to central city Toronto.

**DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS**

**Period of Arrival**

In comparison to the total immigrant population and members of other minority groups residing in the Toronto CMA, the Vietnamese population was distinguished by the relative recency of its arrival within Canada in 1991 (Table 4.4). Just over 1/4 of the Vietnamese had come to Canada in the 1971-1980 decade, while over 70% of the tabulated population had arrived in 1981 or later. Of all the minority groups, the Vietnamese possessed the largest share of arrivals between 1981 and 1991. By contrast, only about 20% of the total enumerated immigrant population of Toronto had entered the country over the most recent ten year period accounted for in these census figures.

**IMMIGRANT AND CITIZENSHIP STATUS**

In 1991, the Vietnamese ethnic origin population exhibited the largest proportion of immigrants among any of the visible minority groups in the Toronto CMA (Table 4.5). The immigrant proportion of the Vietnamese population – 82% - outdistanced any of the other predominantly immigrant minority groups. In terms of citizenship status (Table 4.5), about 62% of the
### TABLE 4.2

**VIETNAMESE ETHNIC ORIGIN POPULATION**

**CANADA, ONTARIO, MAJOR CMAS, 1991 AND 1996**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Toronto CMA</td>
<td>24,550</td>
<td>41,740</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>70.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ottawa CMA</td>
<td>4,340</td>
<td>6,615</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>52.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitchener CMA</td>
<td>2,445</td>
<td>2,950</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>20.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamilton CMA</td>
<td>1,870</td>
<td>2,825</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>51.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London CMA</td>
<td>1,275</td>
<td>1,990</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>56.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windsor CMA</td>
<td>880</td>
<td>1,440</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>63.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>38,545</td>
<td>62,055</td>
<td>45.4</td>
<td>61.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montreal CMA</td>
<td>19,265</td>
<td>25,335</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>31.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver CMA</td>
<td>10,095</td>
<td>16,865</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>67.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calgary CMA</td>
<td>7,255</td>
<td>10,110</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>39.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmonton CMA</td>
<td>6,780</td>
<td>7,770</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winnipeg CMA</td>
<td>3,330</td>
<td>2,750</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>-17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>94,250</td>
<td>136,810</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>45.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1Ethnic Origin Population includes those enumerated individuals who listed Vietnamese as part of either a single or multiple response to the ethnic origin question on the census form.

### TABLE 4.3
**VIETNAMESE MOTHER TONGUE POPULATION**
**TORONTO CMA, MAJOR MUNICIPAL SUBDIVISIONS, 1986, 1996**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Toronto (City)</strong></td>
<td>4,580</td>
<td>51.6</td>
<td>11,170</td>
<td>34.6</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>North York</strong></td>
<td>1,390</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>6,655</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>York (City)</strong></td>
<td>655</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>3,125</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Scarborough</strong></td>
<td>455</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>1,465</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Etobicoke</strong></td>
<td>275</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>1,350</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>East York</strong></td>
<td>155</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metro Toronto</strong></td>
<td>7,510</td>
<td>84.7</td>
<td>23,945</td>
<td>74.2</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mississauga</strong></td>
<td>850</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>5,560</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Brampton</strong></td>
<td>240</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>1,270</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Peel Region(^1)</strong></td>
<td>1,090</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>6,830</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Toronto CMA</strong></td>
<td>8,665</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>32,290</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\)Peel Region numbers include cities of Mississauga and Brampton only

Vietnamese population tallied in the Toronto metropolitan area possessed Canadian citizenship in the last census. This figure, while significantly lower than the 84% enumerated among the population as a whole, was comparable to that tabulated among several other predominantly immigrant minority groups including Koreans, Filipinos, Chinese, and South Asians.

GENDER DISTRIBUTION

According to 1991 census figures, the Vietnamese population in the Toronto CMA exhibited a gender imbalance (Table 4.6). About 54% of the enumerated population were males in 1991. The existence of a disproportionate number of males as opposed to females in the Toronto Vietnamese population was also noted by several research informants, providing support for the census figures. The gender balance within the Vietnamese population contrasts with that of the total population and most of the other major minority groups within the Toronto CMA. The existence of a male majority among the Vietnamese population in Toronto likely reflects the fact that young men were disproportionately represented in the refugee flow which escaped from Vietnam in the late 1970s and through to the early 1990s (Rutledge, 1992; Hung and Haines, 1996).

AGE DISTRIBUTION

In terms of age distribution, both Vietnamese males and females were disproportionately represented in the 0-14, and 25-44 age categories when compared to the total population in the Toronto CMA (Tables 4.7 and 4.8).
TABLE 4.4
PERIOD OF ARRIVAL
VIETNAMESE AND OTHER VISIBLE MINORITY GROUPS
TORONTO CMA, 1991

By Period of Arrival, %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Imm. Population</td>
<td>57.4</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnamese</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>27.1</td>
<td>72.5</td>
<td>45.3</td>
<td>27.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>40.5</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Asians</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>37.3</td>
<td>53.4</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>26.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>58.8</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>31.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koreans</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>48.3</td>
<td>42.3</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>36.6</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipinos</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>38.3</td>
<td>54.1</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>31.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southeast Asians</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>67.7</td>
<td>41.8</td>
<td>26.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Asians/Arabs</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>39.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin Americans</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>31.9</td>
<td>63.0</td>
<td>31.1</td>
<td>31.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 4.5
CITIZENSHIP AND IMMIGRATION STATUS
VIETNAMESE AND OTHER VISIBLE MINORITY GROUPS
TORONTO CMA, 1991

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Canadian Citizenship</th>
<th>Other Citizenship</th>
<th>Immigrant Pop.</th>
<th>Non-Imm. Pop.</th>
<th>Non-Permanent Resident</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>84.3</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>59.4</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnamese</td>
<td>61.9</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>82.1</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>71.1</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>63.3</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Asians</td>
<td>60.6</td>
<td>39.4</td>
<td>68.8</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>64.3</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>74.0</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koreans</td>
<td>67.1</td>
<td>32.9</td>
<td>71.6</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>81.2</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>71.2</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipinos</td>
<td>60.8</td>
<td>39.2</td>
<td>69.6</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southeast Asians</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>80.3</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Asians/Arabs</td>
<td>54.4</td>
<td>45.6</td>
<td>66.9</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin Americans</td>
<td>40.3</td>
<td>59.7</td>
<td>70.0</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>20.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1991, just under 50% of Vietnamese males, and 45% of females were members of the 25-44 group. The figure for males was more than ten percentage points higher than that observed among the total population of the CMA as a whole. In addition, a greater percentage of Vietnamese males were represented in the 25-44 age category compared to any other minority group. The 45% of Vietnamese females who were members of this same age category was almost ten percentage points higher than the figure for the total female population of the CMA. Among other minority groups, only the Filipino women had a higher proportion in this age category. Notably, Vietnamese men and women were underrepresented in the older age categories of 45-64 and 65 and over. The Toronto figures parallel those observed among the Vietnamese in the United States. American researchers have reported that the Vietnamese population is considerably younger compared to the immigrant and total population of the United States (Rumbaut, 1995; Hung and Haines, 1996). The skewed age distribution of the Vietnamese in both the U.S. and Canada reflects the disproportionate representation of the younger adult cohorts in the refugee flow.

**KNOWLEDGE OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGES**

Of the visible minority groups in the Toronto CMA, the Vietnamese possessed the largest enumerated percentage speaking neither English or French – about 17% (Table 4.9). Without a doubt, this figure reflects the recency of arrival of many Vietnamese compared to those individuals belonging to the other
### Table 4.6

**Gender Distribution**

**Vietnamese and Other Visible Minority Groups**

**Toronto CMA, 1991**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% Female</th>
<th>% Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>1,966,225</td>
<td>1,896,880</td>
<td>3,863,105</td>
<td>50.9</td>
<td>49.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnamese</td>
<td>10,030</td>
<td>11,930</td>
<td>21,960</td>
<td>45.7</td>
<td>54.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>128,055</td>
<td>112,890</td>
<td>240,945</td>
<td>53.2</td>
<td>46.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Asians</td>
<td>114,470</td>
<td>120,950</td>
<td>235,420</td>
<td>48.6</td>
<td>51.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>121,930</td>
<td>120,325</td>
<td>242,255</td>
<td>50.3</td>
<td>49.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koreans</td>
<td>11,315</td>
<td>10,785</td>
<td>22,100</td>
<td>51.2</td>
<td>48.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>8,475</td>
<td>8,250</td>
<td>16,725</td>
<td>50.7</td>
<td>49.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipinos</td>
<td>42,625</td>
<td>27,720</td>
<td>70,345</td>
<td>60.6</td>
<td>39.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southeast Asians</td>
<td>14,445</td>
<td>16,480</td>
<td>30,925</td>
<td>46.7</td>
<td>53.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Asians/Arabs</td>
<td>32,880</td>
<td>40,675</td>
<td>73,555</td>
<td>44.7</td>
<td>55.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin Americans</td>
<td>22,050</td>
<td>21,765</td>
<td>43,815</td>
<td>50.3</td>
<td>49.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Vietnamese</th>
<th>Blacks</th>
<th>South Asians</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Koreans</th>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>Filipinos</th>
<th>Southeast Asians</th>
<th>West Asians/Arabs</th>
<th>Latin Americans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Years</td>
<td>Males, %</td>
<td>0-14</td>
<td>15-24</td>
<td>25-44</td>
<td>45-64</td>
<td>65+</td>
<td>0-14</td>
<td>15-24</td>
<td>25-44</td>
<td>45-64</td>
<td>65+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-14 Years</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>36.0</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td></td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>36.0</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-24 Years</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>48.5</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td></td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>48.5</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-44 Years</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>35.9</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td></td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>35.9</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-64 Years</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td></td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+ Years</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>39.9</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td></td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>39.9</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 4.8
AGE DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALES
VIETNAMESE AND VISIBLE MINORITY SUBGROUPS
TORONTO CMA, 1991

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Females, %</th>
<th>0-14 Years</th>
<th>15-24 Years</th>
<th>25-44 Years</th>
<th>45-64 Years</th>
<th>65+ Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>36.2</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnamese</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>45.3</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>37.7</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Asians</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>41.6</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koreans</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>20.2</td>
<td>32.4</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>34.1</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipinos</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>49.1</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southeast Asians</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>43.7</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Asians/Arabs</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>37.1</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin Americans</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>44.1</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

minority groups. Not surprisingly, scholars in both the United States and Canada have found English language ability among Vietnamese to be related to length of residence. In a longitudinal study of Southeast Asian refugees resettled in Canada in 1981, Beiser and Johnson (1994) found a steady increase over time in the ability of respondents to use English well and a steady decline in the number of survey respondents who were not able to speak any English.

Historical and situational circumstances also may help explain some of the differences among the groups on these variables. Members of many of the other minority groups come from countries where the cultural impact of British, French, and American colonialism was felt more strongly than in Vietnam. Despite the French intervention in Vietnam, the share of the Vietnamese population in Toronto with knowledge of French only or French and English was only slightly higher than that observed among most of the other minority groups.

**HIGHEST LEVEL OF SCHOOLING**

In terms of highest level of schooling achieved, the Vietnamese population in the Toronto CMA was overrepresented at the lower education levels in comparison to the total population and other visible minority groups in 1991 (Table 4.10). The proportion of the Vietnamese population 15 years and over with less than a grade 9 education was 21%, almost double the figure for the total population in the metropolitan area. Of the other minority groups, only the Southeast Asian minority surpassed 20% on this variable.
### TABLE 4.9
KNOWLEDGE OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGES
VIETNAMESE AND OTHER VISIBLE MINORITY GROUPS
TORONTO CMA, 1991

Knowledge of Official Languages %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>English Only</th>
<th>French Only</th>
<th>Both French And English</th>
<th>Neither French Nor English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>88.2</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnamese</td>
<td>77.3</td>
<td>.71</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>16.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Asians</td>
<td>90.5</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>80.5</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koreans</td>
<td>83.7</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>89.4</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipinos</td>
<td>96.6</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southeast Asians</td>
<td>79.1</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Asians/Arabs</td>
<td>76.9</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin Americans</td>
<td>80.8</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The largest component of the Vietnamese 15 and over population, almost 50% of the total, fell into the category of having earned a grade 9-13 education with or without a secondary certificate. Again, no other minority group, with the exception of Southeast Asians as a whole, approached the Vietnamese level in this particular classification. Thus, almost 70% of the enumerated Vietnamese in Toronto fell into the two lowest education categories.

In the university level categories of educational achievement, the Vietnamese were very much underrepresented. According to the census, just under 40% the entire CMA population had attended university with or without having earned a certificate or degree. The Vietnamese proportion was 25%. Most of the other minority groups actually possessed larger percentages of individuals with some university-level education compared to the total population in the CMA as a whole.

**FERTILITY**

In terms of birth rate, ever-married Vietnamese females 15 years and over exhibited 2,363 children born per 1000 women (Table 4.11). This figure was notably higher than the rate of 2,045 children born among the total population of women in the Toronto metropolitan area. Vietnamese in the 15 years and over, ever-married category also possessed higher birth rates compared to those apparent among several minority groups including Chinese, Southeast Asians, West Asian/Arabs, Latin Americans, and especially Japanese women. However, the birth rate among Vietnamese women in this category was somewhat lower than that enumerated among Filipino, Black, South Asian, and Korean women.
TABLE 4.10
HIGHEST LEVEL OF SCHOOLING ACHIEVED
VIETNAMESE AND OTHER VISIBLE MINORITY GROUPS
TORONTO CMA, 1991

Population 15 Years and Over,
Highest Level of Schooling Achieved, %1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Less Than Grade 9</th>
<th>Grades 9-13</th>
<th>Trades Certificate Or Diploma</th>
<th>Other Non-University</th>
<th>University Without Certificate Or Degree</th>
<th>University With Certificate Or Degree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>37.1</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>21.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnamese</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>47.6</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>43.2</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>30.3</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Asians</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>23.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>32.6</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>27.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koreans</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>35.9</td>
<td>34.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>34.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipinos</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>35.2</td>
<td>42.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southeast Asians</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>45.2</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Asians/Arabs</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>34.1</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>31.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin Americans</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>38.9</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1Rows do not add up to 100%

Among ever-married women in the Toronto CMA, aged 15-44 years, the pattern was somewhat similar. The Vietnamese birth rate of 1,686 children born per 1,000 women was higher than the 1,499 average for the total population but the rate tallied among Vietnamese women in this grouping was lower than that observed among several other minority groups including Blacks, Latin Americans, Koreans, West Asians/Arabs, and Southeast Asians as a whole. South Asians, Filipinos, Chinese, and Japanese women possessed lower birth rates than Vietnamese women in this particular category. Finally, among single women, 15 years and over, the Vietnamese birth rate of 194 children born per 1,000 women was notably higher than the average of 136 exhibited by the total population in the Toronto metropolitan area. It should be noted that researchers in the U.S. have similarly observed that Vietnamese women tend to have more children than the American average. (Haines, 1996; Rumbaut, 1989a; Rumbaut 1989b).

RELIGION

In Table 4.12, the religious affiliation of the Vietnamese population is compared to the total population of the Toronto CMA. In contrast to the entire population of the metropolitan area, the largest proportion of the Vietnamese counted in Toronto in 1991 were Buddhists. The enumerated figure of about 43% was notably lower, however, compared to standard estimates for the population of Vietnam. The proportion of Vietnam’s population which is Buddhist is usually estimated to be in the 70-80% range (Thien-An 1975, McClellan 1993). On the other hand, 20% of the enumerated Vietnamese population were Catholics,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ever-Married Women, 15 Years and Over</th>
<th>Ever-Married Women, 15-44 Years</th>
<th>Single Women, 15 Years and Over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>2045</td>
<td>1499</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnamese</td>
<td>2363</td>
<td>1686</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>2422</td>
<td>1829</td>
<td>620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Asians</td>
<td>2414</td>
<td>1668</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>2286</td>
<td>1416</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koreans</td>
<td>2391</td>
<td>1783</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>1790</td>
<td>1147</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipinos</td>
<td>2488</td>
<td>1589</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southeast Asians</td>
<td>2347</td>
<td>1721</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Asians/Arabs</td>
<td>2193</td>
<td>1736</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin Americans</td>
<td>2283</td>
<td>1803</td>
<td>380</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

compared to 36% of the CMA population as a whole. The share of Vietnamese who were Catholics in the Toronto metropolitan area was about double the standard estimate among the population in Vietnam. Certain scholars have noted that a disproportionate share of the Vietnamese who came to the United States as refugees were Catholics. A larger proportion of Catholics left Vietnam as refugees as a result of particularly severe persecution directed towards Catholics in South Vietnam after the fall of Saigon (Rutledge, 1985). About 4% of the Vietnamese enumerated in the Toronto area were Protestants, compared to almost 35% of the entire population in the metropolitan area. This compares favourably to the less than 1% of the total population in Vietnam estimated to

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 4.12</th>
<th>RELIGIOUS FAITH</th>
<th>VIETNAMESE AND OTHER VISIBLE MINORITY GROUPS</th>
<th>TORONTO CMA, 1991</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religious Affiliation, %</td>
<td></td>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>Protestant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td></td>
<td>35.8</td>
<td>34.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnamese</td>
<td></td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics Canada, Customized Tabulation of 1991

belong to Protestant denominations. Although it is not shown in the table, it is also notable that the census data indicated that most Vietnamese Protestants in Toronto belonged to the “other” Protestant category. Few are members of the United and Anglican churches, the largest denominations among the total population. Interviews with several research informants including Vietnamese
clergymen suggest that the majority of the Vietnamese Protestants in Toronto probably belong to the Christian Missionary Alliance denomination.

It should also be pointed out that the proportion of the Vietnamese population who told the census takers they were Buddhists may not reflect the actual number of Vietnamese adherents of this particular religion. Around 32% of the Vietnamese population claimed to have no religious affiliation in contrast to about 15% for the population of Toronto CMA as a whole. This number contrasts sharply with standard estimates for the population of Vietnam. Most scholars of Vietnam culture claim upwards of 90% of Vietnam’s population possess some form of religious attachment, whether it be Catholicism, Cao Daism, Protestantism, Islam, or some form of Buddhism, Confucianism, and ancestor worship (Hickey 1964). It seems likely that many Vietnamese Buddhists selected the “No affiliation” category when answering the census. The minority status of the Buddhist religion likely serves to deter public identification with this religion in a Canadian context. In addition, it should be observed that the census form did not include response space for some of the other religions commonly practiced by Vietnamese including Cao Daism and forms of Confucianism as well as ancestor worship. It is anyone’s guess how Vietnamese respondents who practise these religions chose to fill out their census forms. It seems plausible that these persons may have variably chosen the “Buddhist”, “No Affiliation”, or “Other Religion” responses.
SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

In 1996, over 130,000 persons of Vietnamese ethnic origin were enumerated in all of Canada. About \( \frac{3}{4} \) of the total Vietnamese population counted in Canada lived in the Toronto metropolitan area. Among Canadian cities, only the population in Montreal approached the Toronto figure. Demographically, the Vietnamese aggregate differed at least somewhat from the total population and other minority groups in the Toronto CMA in terms of the share it registered on most variables. The demographic profile of the Toronto Vietnamese in part reflects the relative recency of the arrival of this population. In addition, the circumstances of the Vietnamese arrival shape the demography of this group. Most Vietnamese residing in Toronto came to Canada as refugees or were sponsored by family members. Few arrived as independent immigrants. In this regard, Vietnamese differ significantly from most of the other predominantly immigrant minority groups.

Period of arrival figures clearly demonstrate the relatively short period of time most Vietnamese have resided in Canada compared to the overall population and most of the other minority groups residing in the Toronto area. While over 80% of the enumerated Vietnamese in Toronto were immigrants – the highest proportion of any of the minority groups – more than 60% of Vietnamese already possessed Canadian citizenship as of 1991. The share of Vietnamese with Canadian citizenship was in fact comparable to several other predominantly immigrant minority groups including Koreans, Filipinos, Chinese, and South Asians. The Vietnamese figures are impressive given the relative
recency of the arrival of this population compared to these other groups — many of whose members began arriving in large numbers in decades prior to the 1980s. High rates of citizenship among an immigrant population are one measure of integration with the larger Canadian society.

The refugee status of many Vietnamese who came to Canada most likely also has influenced the gender, age, language fluency, and educational profiles of the population in Toronto. While the total population and most other minority groups exhibit a majority of women as opposed to men, the situation among the Vietnamese was just the opposite. The disproportionate share of men within the Vietnamese population reflects the fact that young single male adults were the persons most likely to escape from Vietnam as refugees throughout the late 1970s and 1980s. The sizable refugee component of the population also strongly skews the age profile. The younger age groups were very much overrepresented among persons of Vietnamese ethnic origin. In 1991, the Vietnamese possessed a far greater representation in the 25-44 age category compared to the total population and all of the other minority groups. Conversely, the Vietnamese displayed a significant underrepresentation in the 45-64 and 65 and over age categories. Many Vietnamese persons in these age groups were too frail to attempt to leave the country as refugees. It also seems logical that the overrepresentation of Vietnamese in the 0-14 age category relative to both the total population and several of the other minority groups could be at least somewhat attributed to the sizable cohort of Vietnamese females within the 25-44 age category — the prime childbearing years.
The relative recency of arrival associated with most of the population has probably contributed to the significant share of Vietnamese who cannot speak either English or French. The Vietnamese proportion was higher than that exhibited by any of the other major minority groups included in the census figures. The relatively large share of Vietnamese who did not possess knowledge of either of the official languages was also likely influenced by the fact that most Vietnamese came to Canada as refugees or as family-sponsored as opposed to independent immigrants. Ability in English or French is not as influential in the admission criteria for persons coming seeking to come to Canada in the refugee or family sponsorship categories. Vietnamese as an aggregate were also overrepresented in the categories of lesser educational achievement, again at least somewhat reflecting the disproportionate number of Vietnamese who arrived as refugees or family-sponsored immigrants compared to several of the other primarily immigrant minority groups.

Finally, 1991 census data show that the largest number of Vietnamese in Toronto were Buddhists. However the Buddhist proportion of the enumerated Toronto Vietnamese population was much lower than commonly estimated for the entire population of Vietnam. About 1/5 of the enumerated Vietnamese possessed a Catholic affiliation and four percent were Protestants. Almost 1/3 of the population did not claim a religious affiliation. This figure likely included many Buddhists who chose the “no-affiliation” category given the minority status and low visibility of Buddhism within Canada. Indeed, less than 1% of the
entire population in the Toronto Metropolitan Area claimed a Buddhist affiliation in 1991.
PART II
INTERNAL DYNAMICS OF THE VIETNAMESE AGGREGATE
IN THE TORONTO AREA
CHAPTER FIVE
THE FORMAL STRUCTURE OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION
AMONG THE TORONTO VIETNAMESE

INTRODUCTION

The concept of the ethnic community, like that of communities more generally, tends to be only vaguely defined when utilized by scholars. Following the parameters of the classic gemeinschaft definition of community, some social scientists have emphasized the common interaction, general sense of unity, and communal type relationships existing within ethnic populations conceived of as communities (Fitzpatrick, 1966; Jansen, 1978; Davies and Herbert, 1993). Many other scholars have utilized the term “community” far more loosely when describing a group of people sharing a common ethnic origin.

Nagata (1979) argues that the convention of speaking about “ethnic groups” has the effect of creating an illusion of solidarity and community consciousness among given ethnic populations which in practice rarely exists. Nagata notes that the popular notion of the cohesive ethnic community is the result of forces both internal and external to ethnic aggregates. Commonly, uninformed outsiders make definitions of ethnic groups with insufficient knowledge of the internal organization of particular populations. In some cases, these external definitions are imposed for the purposes of simplicity and expediency. Census classifications are a good example. The Canadian census has long broken down European ethnic groups into quite specific categories (i.e. English, Scottish, Irish) while utilizing broader categories to describe other ethnic entities (i.e. South Asians, Latin Americans). However, Nagata also
observes that it is often in the interest of members and particularly leaders of a particular population to try to present the image of a unified community to "outside" society, and attempts are commonly made by group "representatives" to obscure or otherwise gloss over heterogeneity and internal dissension (Nagata, 1979, pp. 173-75). Other social scientists have noted that ethnic aggregates tend to be characterized by significant internal cleavages, which divide the population in terms of age and generation, gender, socioeconomic status, regional identification, religion, and political ideology and other aspects of social differentiation. Fragmentation and competitive relations among subgroups of the population, it has been argued, may actually provide an essential indicator of a dynamic and functioning ethnic community as rival factions contest social status, political philosophy, and organizational prerogatives within particular ethnic institutions (Dorais et al., 1987; Breton, 1991).

Dorais et al. (1987) and Gold (1992) in studies of Vietnamese populations in Quebec City and Southern California, respectively, have found Vietnamese participation in formal institutions in certain localities to be sharply fragmented by such variables as socioeconomic status and class background, date of arrival, gender, age, religion, political ideology, and region of origin. The social history of Vietnam (Chapter Three) would also indicate that many of these same variables might have salience as sources of internal differentiation within a Vietnamese diaspora "community." This chapter assesses the organization of formal co-ethnic activities among the Vietnamese population in the Toronto area. Variables which structure the membership and leadership composition as well as
the program agenda of Vietnamese ethnic institutions will be discussed. The research will address the following issues: How is the Vietnamese ethnic "community" constructed internally by the Vietnamese in the Toronto region? Which aspects of social differentiation seem to most strongly influence participation in community-based activities among the Toronto Vietnamese? The chapter will also examine the nature and extent of interaction and cooperation existing among Vietnamese associations. The issue of community cohesiveness provides the basis for another set of research questions: Are there institutions and/or possibly certain events and occasions where members of the sub-groups in the Vietnamese "community" come together for the purpose of common interaction? Is there any evidence of communication and cooperative activities among the various groups?

Information to address these issues was primarily gathered through semi-structured key informant interviews with Vietnamese-Canadian informants. Discussions were conducted with the leadership of ten Vietnamese ethnic associations, eighteen ethnic churches and temples, seven Vietnamese-language broadcast and print media outlets, and twenty Vietnamese-speaking employees of social service agencies including boards of education, health clinics and neighbourhood organizations. The sample includes representatives of more than 70% of the formal Vietnamese institutions (ethnic associations, churches and temples, and ethnic media outlets) active in the Toronto area. The sample also includes more than 2/3 of the Vietnamese-origin social-service agency employees listed in a directory compiled by the Vietnamese Greater Toronto
Interlink Services, a City of Toronto funded coalition intended to promote information-sharing and cooperation among Vietnamese-speaking employees of service providers based in the Toronto area. Informants affiliated with ethnic institutions and social service agencies were asked questions in regard to several issues including past history and present programs and activities offered by their institutions, the institution's administrative structure, the characteristics of their Vietnamese clientele or membership (region of origin, Chinese-Vietnamese or ethnic Vietnamese, time of arrival, gender, age distribution, socioeconomic status), and the nature and extent of any interaction occurring between their organization or agency and any other Chinese-Vietnamese or ethnic Vietnamese organization, as well institutions of the host society and those of any other ethnic groups.

**LINES OF DIFFERENTIATION**

**Age/Generation**

Age or generation is a significant variable structuring the activities of Vietnamese organizations and associations in the Toronto region. Several service agency employees spoke of a generational divide between a middle-aged and elderly leadership and service bureaucracy and a younger group of Vietnamese social service workers in their twenties and thirties. The older generation consists of many individuals who were formerly associated with the South Vietnamese elite of government officials, military officers, teachers, physicians and merchants. The younger group of activists is also composed primarily of persons who originate from South Vietnam. Many of these individuals are the children of
former members of the South Vietnamese elite. Members of this younger group of community workers are much more likely than the older generation to have received university educations in Canada. As might be expected, they also have a higher proficiency in English and are in general more familiar with the norms of Canadian society and its institutions.

In Toronto, there has been substantial disagreement between the two generational factions in regard to the resources which should be devoted by community organizations to certain issues. Several of the younger service agency employees spoke disapprovingly of the strong preoccupation older generation activists continue to possess with political issues back in Vietnam. Active opposition to the current Communist government is a priority of a number of local Vietnamese associations in which middle-aged and senior individuals constitute the bulk of the staff and/or membership. Most of the younger activists, while disapproving of the Vietnamese regime, prefer to place a greater emphasis upon issues believed to affect the day-to-day adaptation of the Vietnamese people in Canada.

Younger service agency employees are far more outspoken in regard to social justice issues, in particular, the mistreatment of Vietnamese individuals by representatives of the criminal justice system and the negative impact of the mainstream media’s reporting practices upon the larger public perceptions of the Vietnamese population. Several younger activists spoke at length about a perceived pattern of unequal treatment of Vietnamese persons by police, mall security guards, judges, and correction system officers. Many of the older
activists were clearly uncomfortable speaking about these kinds of issues in any detail. A few of the older activists have even publicly supported the deportation of Vietnamese convicted criminals back to Vietnam. Most of the older leaders and community workers were somewhat more willing to discuss the negative effects of news reporting practices but do not seem to be as agitated by the topic as many of the younger activists are.

Another example of an issue where the younger generation of service agency employees has taken the lead is in the realm of AIDS education. A Vietnamese employee of a non-profit service agency which targets AIDS-related services to East and Southeast Asian Canadians noted the strong stigma associated with AIDS among the older generation of service workers, several of whom, he believes, are reluctant to advise and refer clientele to available services and programs. By contrast, several of the younger service personnel employed by agencies located throughout the Toronto area have referred their clients to an Asian AIDS service agency and a number of these individuals have also volunteered their time to serve on the agency’s board of directors and/or assist in outreach efforts.

**Gender**

Gender is another important variable implicit in the organization of community-based activities among the Vietnamese population. Some of the mutual assistance groups are organized along the lines of gender. A group of older women have established a separate elderly society. The professional societies of doctors, dentists, and pharmacists are mostly composed of men. The
elder segment of the Vietnamese service bureaucracy is also dominated by men. This pattern may reflect notions about the proper public role of women prevalent among the older generation of Vietnamese. A greater gender balance is found among the younger generation of social service employees. Particularly apparent is the strong representation of Vietnamese women in settlement related work and health-related services. Female employees of two community health centres have been advocates for Vietnamese women caught in abusive domestic relationships, while also providing information on birth control topics as well as sexually transmitted diseases—topics which are somewhat taboo among some of the more conservative segments of the service bureaucracy.

While older men dominate the leadership and administrative hierarchy of the majority of churches and temples, female members are notably active in the affairs of many religious institutions. Two temples in the Toronto area are solely administered by Buddhist nuns. Women are overrepresented in the membership of several religious institutions. The clergy of half of the churches and temples represented in this study estimated the majority of their congregation's members to be women. In a few churches and temples, female worshippers constitute greater than 60% of the membership. No leader estimated their congregation to have a majority of men among its members. Several clergy observed that females were more likely than men to attend services regularly and become active in the organized as well as informal activities of their churches or temples. The involvement of many older women in the baking of food items—a key source of
revenue for most Buddhist temples – may serve as an example of such an active participation in congregational affairs.

**Ethnicity**

Ethnic identification is another factor structuring the activities of Vietnamese community organizations in the Toronto area. Ethnic Chinese constitute a significant portion of the Vietnam-born population in the Toronto region. It has been estimated that about 40% of the Vietnam-born population enumerated in the Toronto CMA in 1991 was of ethnic Chinese origin (Wilson, 1995). Comparable estimates were not available from the 1996 census at the time of this writing.

Despite the substantial size of the ethnic Chinese population there are few associations or agencies oriented toward providing programs and services to a Chinese-Vietnamese clientele. A Chinese-Vietnamese social worker noted that ethnic Chinese from Vietnam encounter something of an identity problem living in Canada. That is, they are not completely accepted by many of the ethnic Vietnamese associations and service agencies as "Vietnamese". At the same time, they often do not feel they readily fit in at Chinese organizations in which Chinese from Hong Kong tend to predominate in both membership and leadership positions. Playing a role in this sense of marginalisation is the strong feeling of identity Chinese-Vietnamese have historically maintained as an overseas Chinese population. Even though they do speak Vietnamese, most consider themselves first and foremost to be Chinese and favour using the Chinese language when interacting with other Chinese from Vietnam. This
maintenance of the Chinese language and culture was facilitated by the fact that many Chinese born in Vietnam lived in separate enclaves with their own institutions including schools and business associations.

Chinese-Vietnamese activists in Toronto have had difficulty finding government funding for programs specifically targeted toward their needs. This has been the case despite the unique aspects of their cultural background compared to the ethnic Vietnamese as well as the differences of background in terms of their status as refugee arrivals which contrasts with the immigrant life histories of the other major sub-groups of Chinese. Several Chinese-Vietnamese social workers pointed out that the most prominent and best-funded ethnic agency providing services to Vietnamese in the metropolitan area does not have a single Chinese-speaking employee on its staff even though the same organization has included the Chinese-Vietnamese numbers in the population estimates it submits to its many funders. These same Chinese-Vietnamese service agency employees also expressed unhappiness with the leadership of certain Chinese-run organizations. One such agency, located in a neighbourhood of Chinese-Vietnamese residential concentration, services a Chinese clientele composed disproportionately of Chinese-Vietnamese and yet possesses scant Chinese-Vietnamese representation on a board of directors dominated by Chinese who originate from elsewhere. One social worker explained the lack of ethnic-specific services by noting that government funders do not see any compelling reason to fund agencies serving subgroups of a larger population which speaks the same Cantonese language. In addition he observed that some of the established
Chinese organizations have been in a good position to win grants for services oriented to the Chinese-Vietnamese refugee population as a result of the considerable education and experience in proposal writing their staffs possess in comparison to incipient organizations run by Chinese-Vietnamese, many of whom by virtue of their personal histories lack such a background.

There is only one ethnic association in the Toronto area which targets its programs to a predominately Chinese-Vietnamese clientele. This organization – the Vietnam/Cambodia/Lao/Chinese service organization of Ontario possessed extensive federal and provincial funding to provide settlement services to refugees in the early-to- mid-1980s. In the past decade, this downtown agency situated in the downtown Dundas/Spadina Chinatown has lost most of its external funding. A vice-president of the organization notes that ethnic Vietnamese and mainstream Chinese organizations have managed to claim most of the available funding for ethnic-specific social services. Over this time period, the Chinese-Vietnamese organization has repeatedly had its funding requests rejected on the basis that its proposed programs would only duplicate those offered by other agencies. Presently, the Chinese-Vietnamese association primarily operates as a voluntary organization providing cultural activities to its membership.

There are also three predominantly Chinese-Vietnamese congregations active in the Toronto area. One Buddhist, and two evangelical Christianity Missionary Alliance churches consist almost entirely of members who originate from South Vietnam and worship in Cantonese. Chinese-Vietnamese also
constitute a small minority of the membership in several ethnic Vietnamese Buddhist, Cao Dai and evangelical Protestant congregations. Other Chinese-Vietnamese attend Buddhist, Catholic, and Protestant congregations in which Cantonese-speaking Chinese from other backgrounds predominate. It should also be noted that Chinese-Vietnamese businessmen are active in a few key overseas Chinese business associations based in Toronto's main Chinatown.

Religious Affiliation

Religious affiliation is an especially significant source of differentiation in Vietnamese community-based activities. The majority of Vietnamese in Toronto are Buddhists. The Vietnamese Buddhist "community" in Toronto is itself rather diverse. Vietnamese Buddhists have established at least eight organized groups in the Toronto area. With one exception, these groups follow the "Pure Land" school of Mahayana Buddhism. "Pure Land" is the form of Buddhism most commonly practiced at temples located within Vietnam. There is one group in Toronto, which practices a school of Buddhism associated with Thich Nhat Hanh, a Vietnamese Buddhist master whose teachings have won a growing following among both East Asian and Western Buddhists. The Vietnamese Zen Meditation Group possesses about 100 members, most of whom are Vietnamese. The group meets at members' homes and at a Chinese temple in North York. While some members of the meditation group do attend services at other Vietnamese temples, there is little formal interaction between this group and other local Vietnamese Buddhist associations. The Zen Meditation Group differs significantly from the other Buddhist associations in terms of the region
of origin, date of arrival, and social class of its membership. The majority of the Meditation Group’s members came to Canada in the mid-to-late 1970s or early 1980s. Many of the participants are employed as professionals in health, education, and social services. Several of these individuals are leaders of Vietnamese mutual assistance associations based in the City of Toronto. The distinct constituency of the group prefers the progressive character of Buddhist master Thich Nhat Hanh’s reform brand of Buddhism. There is also a notable regional orientation to the Meditation Group’s membership. A disproportionate number of the members originate from Central Vietnam — a group leader attributed this situation to the important role friendship networks have played in the formation of the congregation. The other Vietnamese Buddhist groups in Toronto consist of memberships which are more varied in terms of length of residence and class composition. The vast majority of the membership of the seven other Buddhist congregations originate from South Vietnam, with rather small minorities of families coming from the central and northern regions of the country.

There is also not much mutual cooperation or even communication between the seven “Pure Land” temples. Three of these seven temples are associated with competing international coalitions of Vietnamese Buddhist groups. A temple located in the east end of Toronto has linkages with a Vietnamese monk based in Montreal who possesses allied temples in several Canadian cities. A west end temple has connections with the World Vietnamese Buddhist Order — a coalition of temples in Canada, the U.S., and Europe
affiliated with another Vietnamese monk based in Montreal. Another temple sited in Toronto's west end has connections with the Linh Son Buddhist Order — an international coalition of temples associated with a Vietnamese monk based in France.

It is noteworthy that three of the more recently established temples in the metropolitan area were established at different periods of time over the last decade following administrative disputes between laity and clergy at one particular temple. In each of these three cases, lay members of the congregation sought unsuccessfully to wrest greater power in the day-to-day decision-making of the temple from the clergy. Most recently, a new temple was organized in January 1997 following a prolonged and bitter public dispute among factions at the same more-established temple. Before opening a new temple, the dissenting faction attempted to take over the existing temple through legal means. When this effort proved unsuccessful, the group organized protests and posted flyers in the city's Chinatowns to earn support for its cause. At the same time, the dissenting group bought advertising in two local Vietnamese language newspapers. These advertisements claimed that the head monk of the existing temple had stolen funds. The head monk of the established temple later sued the two Vietnamese language newspapers for public defamation. A key issue in the dispute between the factions at the temple centered around the programs and activities of a Buddhist youth group. The dissenting faction reestablished the youth group at the new temple following the disbanding of a similar group among the established congregation. Most of the leadership and membership of
the new temple and its very active youth group formerly belonged to the already existing temple. There is occasional informal cooperation between three other temples. Efforts have been made in the past to organize all of the Toronto temples into a common coalition. These initiatives have proven largely unsuccessful due to animosities, distrust, and philosophical differences among the leadership of several of the temples.

There are two Vietnamese Catholic parishes formally recognized by the Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto. One parish based in Toronto’s west end on Annette Street is intended to serve over 2,000 Vietnamese Catholic families residing in Metropolitan Toronto. This parish possesses about 1,500 Vietnamese families on its membership rolls. Another parish based in Mississauga serves a couple hundred Vietnamese Catholic families living in Peel Region. Another Vietnamese speaking congregation of 50-100 families meets monthly at a Downsview church. There is extensive interaction among these three congregations. Members of the Downsview and Mississauga groups commonly participate in the extensive program of masses and social activities offered at the west end based parish. Vietnamese priests affiliated with the Mississauga and Toronto parishes occasionally say mass and listen to confessions at the other Vietnamese churches. This mutual exchange extends outside of the Toronto area to Vietnamese population centres located across Southern Ontario. The Toronto Catholic groups engage in considerable interaction with Vietnamese congregations located in Windsor, London, Kitchener, and Hamilton. Each year, over 1,000 Vietnamese Catholics from throughout Southern Ontario come
together for a communal event in June at a shrine in Midland, Ontario. This day-long gathering includes picnics and informal socializing, an outdoor mass, as well as a two hour parade procession intended as homage to the thousands of Vatican-recognized martyrs who constitute an integral part of the collective memory of Vietnamese Catholics.

There are eight Vietnamese Protestant congregations active in the Toronto area. Six of these groups are affiliated with the Christian Missionary Alliance – an evangelical denomination, which has been active in Vietnam for most of the twentieth century. One of the Toronto groups has an evangelical Baptist affiliation, while another is an independent charismatic, evangelical congregation with no active denominational affiliation. Vietnamese Christian Missionary Alliance congregations have been organized in the St. Clair/Dufferin area of the City of York, the Chinatown East area of Toronto, Downsview, Scarborough, Mississauga, and Brampton. The six Alliance congregations work very closely with one another. Each of the congregation’s pastors is a member of the Vietnamese Canadian Alliance Fellowship – a nationwide consortium of Vietnamese Alliance congregations. This group meets monthly for the purpose of planning evangelistic activities and promoting the exchange of resources among member churches. In addition, the Vietnamese Alliance pastors frequently bring their congregations together for joint worship services and less formal social gatherings including picnics, sports tournaments, and camping outings among youth groups. Vietnamese Alliance congregations based in Windsor, London, Kitchener, and Hamilton also commonly participate in these mutual activities.
The Vietnamese Baptist congregation, which is based in Toronto's west end, also interacts frequently with the Alliance churches. The pastor of the Baptist church participates in the meetings with the Vietnamese Canadian Alliance Fellowship and members of the Baptist group have joined in several social gatherings organized by the other local Alliance congregations. Another evangelical congregation meets at a church building located in Toronto's east end. Many of the members of this group, including its leadership, formerly were active in some of the Vietnamese Alliance churches. Initially, the east end congregation participated in joint activities with the other Protestant congregations. In recent years, it has taken on an increasingly charismatic orientation, while at the same time reducing its public exposure. Relations between the leadership of this small church and the other Protestant groups are strained and contact is very limited between the congregations.

Not surprisingly, there is only very limited interaction among the various Vietnamese denominational groups in the Toronto area. The leadership of the Buddhist groups, Catholic churches, Protestant congregations, and a Cao Dai temple do not have extensive formal or informal contact with one another. The leadership of some of the temples and churches has met in some years at a joint dinner on the occasion of a large Vietnamese New Year gathering organized by the Vietnamese Association of Toronto.

Region of Origin and Social Class

Regional background is an additional factor which serves as a basis of differentiation among Vietnamese community-based activities in Toronto. This
personal characteristic is in turn closely intertwined with social class. Almost every Vietnamese ethnic association in the Toronto area, regardless of its primary emphasis—social services, mutual assistance, fraternal activities, or religious worship—possesses a leadership and membership in which persons originating from South Vietnam predominate. A few associations, particularly in the religious realm, have substantial proportions of Central Vietnamese among their members and leadership. Not one organization, of any type, was identified with significant proportions of its leadership originating from North Vietnam. Persons resident of North Vietnam prior to migration are represented in the membership of several religious associations including some Buddhist, Catholic, and Protestant groups. In most religious associations, however, North Vietnamese families constitute only a small minority of the overall membership, usually no more than a few families within an entire congregation. The general underrepresentation of the North Vietnamese in the membership of community organizations of all types is noteworthy considering that estimates by service agency employees suggest around 30% of the overall population in the Toronto area is composed of persons who lived in the North prior to coming to Canada. Indeed, it is very difficult to find any ethnic association in the Toronto metropolitan area in which North Vietnamese represent anywhere near 1/3 of the active participants in the estimates of organizational leaders.

Interestingly, this underrepresentation of persons migrating from North Vietnam is not confined to ethnic Vietnamese organizations. Ethnic Chinese originating from North Vietnam—a substantial component of the overall
Chinese-Vietnamese population in the Toronto area - constitute only a small minority of the membership in two Chinese-Vietnamese Protestant churches. According to the pastors of these congregations, only a few Chinese-Vietnamese families from the north attend these two churches, both of which draw more than 90% of their members from former residents of South Vietnam.

An exception to these patterns may be found in the membership of two ethnic Vietnamese evangelical congregations located outside of the immediate Toronto area. The South Vietnamese pastor of a Kitchener church estimated as much 90% of his congregation originates from North Vietnam. The pastor noted that the regional composition of his church reflects the characteristics of the larger Vietnamese population in Kitchener-Waterloo and nearby Guelph. He pointed out that unlike in Toronto, former residents of the North are the majority of the region’s Vietnamese population. He stated that many North Vietnamese have moved to the area due to its proximity to seasonal agricultural employment, which is attractive to them because of their backgrounds in agrarian occupations.

About half of a Hamilton congregation’s membership originates from North Vietnam, according to its South Vietnamese pastor. The pastor accounts for his congregation’s regional composition by noting that much of the Vietnamese presence in the Hamilton area can be attributed to the resettlement efforts of local churches including his own in the late 1980s and early 1990s. According to the pastor, the Vietnamese resettled in the Hamilton area at this time disproportionately came from camps located in Hong Kong, in which North Vietnamese refugees dominated.
In the case of both the ethnic Vietnamese and Chinese-Vietnamese associations, social class may play a role in the lack of interaction between migrants from different regional backgrounds. Several informants – all of whom originated from South Vietnam – shared a widely held perception that the North Vietnamese segment of the larger Toronto population was generally of a lower income, less educated, and more likely from a rural background compared to the majority of South Vietnamese in Toronto. These leaders and service agency employees perceived North Vietnamese to be disproportionately represented in low-income clusters of housing, including apartment buildings located in Parkdale, Regent Park, Downsview, and Mississauga. Some of these South Vietnamese informants even made comments associating North Vietnamese with an underclass lifestyle centred around welfare recipience as well as inter-ethnic criminal activity.

Perceived and real socioeconomic differences seem to distance ethnic Vietnamese and Chinese-Vietnamese originating from the South and Central regions of the country from those who come from the North. Tellingly, the pastors of two Chinese-Vietnamese congregations explained the underrepresentation of persons from the North among their worshippers by noting that most Chinese from the North and South of Vietnam don’t commonly interact with one another in the course of their daily lives in Toronto. It would seem that the same could largely be said of the ethnic Vietnamese originating from the major regions of their home country.
Time of Arrival

The lack of North Vietnamese representation in the leadership and membership of most ethnic associations may also be explained by the time of arrival of various sub-groups. The North Vietnamese disproportionately came to Toronto in recent waves of migration in the late 1980s and early 1990s. At this time, many Vietnamese were accepted into Canada from refugee camps located in Hong Kong. North Vietnamese constituted the majority population in these camps. Latter arrivals are generally underrepresented in the membership and especially the leadership of Vietnamese associations. Most Vietnamese organizations of all types are led by persons who came from South Vietnam as refugees or immigrants in the mid-to-late-1970s or early 1980s. Older leaders and service workers are usually former middle-class members of the South Vietnamese elite having been employed in the military, the government, or the professions in South Vietnam. Younger activists also tend to come from middle class backgrounds in South Vietnam and have usually completed their educations in Canada. It is not surprising given their former status in Vietnam and longer period of establishment in Canada that members of the earlier waves of migrations are overrepresented in leadership positions and the service bureaucracy.

While, with some exceptions, the more established Vietnamese dominate the leadership of organizations and the service bureaucracy, more recent immigrants and refugees from South Vietnam are well-represented in the membership of many associations. Most churches and temples possess a
membership which on average arrived in Canada at some juncture between the mid-1980s and the early 1990s. The same may be said for several community organizations including a women’s group, the scouts, youth, and student associations, elderly groups, and veterans’ associations. With the exception of the regional imbalance, the membership of these ethnic associations of various types is largely representative of the larger Vietnamese population. Most participants are either unemployed or work in blue collar positions in manufacturing or the service sector. In general, it may be said that these more recently arrived Vietnamese serve as a constituency for the activities organized by their more established compatriots.

**Political Ideology**

Political ideology is a central factor structuring community activities among the Vietnamese population in the Toronto area. Almost every Vietnamese ethnic association has found it necessary to publicly state its opposition to the current Vietnamese government. These declarations of opposition may be found in the by-laws of a diverse array of organizations including mutual assistance associations, service agencies, elderly associations, religious institutions, and professional societies. Several organizations dominated by the older South Vietnamese elite of former military officers, government officials, and civil service professionals are quite vehement in their public opposition to the Vietnamese regime. This segment of the community keeps a vigilant guard to inhibit the public display of symbols which might confer legitimacy to the Vietnamese government in the eyes of the wider Toronto public. At an annual
ceremony sponsored by the City of Toronto Board of Education and organized by the Vietnamese Parents Association of Toronto, only the former South Vietnamese flag was displayed along with the Canadian maple leaf. Similarly, only the South Vietnamese national anthem and South Vietnamese flag were displayed at a concert of traditional Vietnamese music organized by the Society of Vietnamese Professionals, with funding support from the federal government.

Informants related several incidents in which the membership of certain Vietnamese organizations mobilized to prevent the public display of the flag of the current regime in Vietnam. One such fracas involved a parade of school children in Mississauga. As part of this “multicultural” event, school teachers encouraged children to carry the flag of their home country. Some Vietnamese children marched with the flag of the current regime, in response, several members of a Vietnamese association interceded to physically take the flags away from the children. In yet another incident, an international health agency unwittingly provoked controversy through its public display of materials produced in cooperation with the current regime at a forum sponsored by a Vietnamese organization. Other informants related accounts of other brouhahas involving flag displays at “multicultural” ceremonies in City of Toronto schools.

There are at least six Vietnamese associations in the Toronto area which possess a predominantly political orientation. These organizations publicly organize activities in explicit opposition to the current Vietnamese government. In addition, at least four primarily political newspapers are published at the local level. One of these newspapers – *Thep Sung* – is a production of the Republic of
South Vietnam Armed Forces Veterans’ Service Organization of Ontario. All of these publications run stories chronicling the corruption and poor performance of the current Vietnamese regime. The newspapers also attempt to solicit public support for efforts to topple the existing government. As an example, on the front page of the August 1997 issue of *The Vietnamese Opposing Centres’ Forum*, a poem was presented with the English title: “A Call to Arms”. In the Fall 1997 issue of a publication with the English-language title *The Vietnamese Marketing and Business Report*, numerous articles were published for the purpose of raising funds for a conference of overseas Vietnamese organized in Santa Ana, California. According to the newspaper, this conference was intended to “coordinate and push for the people’s rising all over Vietnam.” Another publication, *Tu Do* – (which translates to “Freedom” in English) - is published monthly out of Mississauga. This newspaper prints occasional columns claiming Vietnamese with ties to the Communist government have infiltrated certain local Vietnamese organizations and newspapers. All four of these explicitly political publications are distributed at local Vietnamese businesses and are partially supported through the advertising of several Vietnamese commercial establishments in Toronto. Certain political, anti-government newspapers published in the United States may also be found at a few Vietnamese businesses and in the waiting rooms of some Vietnamese professionals, including doctors and dentists with practices in Toronto.

The anti-Vietnamese regime view is also very visible in the mainstream Vietnamese ethnic media. Each of the four weekly Vietnamese language
newspapers regularly features news stories highlighting the negative aspects of the current Vietnamese government. A few examples of these articles include reports of widespread corruption within the Vietnamese regime, the destruction of traditional Vietnamese architecture in Hanoi, and a story about the drug problem among youth in Hanoi. In general, many stories are run which emphasize the decay in Vietnamese society and culture that has come about under Communist control. The publisher of one of the weeklies explained that an explicitly anti-government emphasis is necessary for a publication to survive in the competitive Vietnamese print media market of Toronto. He stated that a newspaper which did not take a position against the current regime in its editorial content would easily fall prey to the public accusations of its competitors that it was “pro-Communist”. Such charges carry significant weight in an environment where many of the most active and visible community organizations are run by members of the former South Vietnamese elite. A newspaper with a public image of being “soft” on the Communists would likely be shunned by many community leaders and probably would have difficulty competing for advertising.

In a similar vein, the producer of a Vietnamese-language television program noted that community norms prevent the broadcast of travelogues or performing arts programs taped in Vietnam with the cooperation of the current Vietnamese government. An informant observed the experiences of a Vietnamese performing arts organization. While well-funded by the federal government, this group’s programs have received little support from most of the established Vietnamese associations. The organization consists of a small
number of young Vietnamese-origin artists, who refuse to align their group in any way with a political agenda. The arts association's annual festival held in 1997 at Harbourfront Centre in Toronto was the target of protests by other Vietnamese organizations and some of the invited performers did not show. Similarly, the Vietnamese-language newspaper with the largest circulation in Toronto refused to run an advertisement for the arts organization's 1998 festival after being approached by Harbourfront officials.

In sum, the segment of the population that actively opposes the Vietnamese regime possesses close to absolute control of the public agenda in regard to homeland-related political issues. At the public ceremonies of Vietnamese Associations, and churches and temples, only the old South Vietnamese flag is displayed. The majority of the Vietnamese population, given the circumstances of their migration to Canada, supports these views. Subgroups of the population holding more conciliatory or less vehement opinions tend to keep a low profile on political matters.

INTERACTION AND COOPERATION AMONG VIETNAMESE COMMUNITY GROUPS AND SERVICE PROVIDERS

Formal mechanisms do exist to facilitate the sharing of information among the Toronto area agencies providing services to a sizable Vietnamese clientele. Funded by the City of Toronto with the goal of reducing service overlap, the Vietnamese Greater Toronto Interlink Services is a consortium of Vietnamese-speaking employees belonging to the social service bureaucracy. The overarching structure of the Interlink organization coordinates interaction among its constituent members. The agency subsists on a budget of a few
thousand dollars a year. Its sole functions are to organize monthly meetings at which guest speakers present seminars, and information is exchanged among members. The Interlink group has no independent authority to coerce member agencies to work with one another towards specific tangible goals. Each member agency is completely autonomous from the others in terms of administration and funding.

Representatives from more than twenty service organizations and government agencies are members of the Interlink coalition (Table 5.1). Members include staffers of ethnic-specific mutual assistance associations (including the two best externally funded ethnic organizations providing services to a Vietnamese population in Toronto – the Vietnamese Association of Toronto and the Southeast Asian Services Centre), as well as community health organizations, refugee reception centres, neighbourhood organizations which provide social services, and municipal agencies including the Children’s Aid Society, Metro Social Services, and the Toronto Board of Education. Several informants pointed out that the Interlink organization is a helpful means of keeping members of the extensive service bureaucracy informed of Vietnamese-language social services available throughout the Toronto region. Particularly useful for this purpose is an annual directory published by the organization, which lists each member and the services provided by his or her agency. A number of informants noted that they commonly received referrals from fellow members of the consortium. It should be noted, however, that the proceedings of the Interlink agency have at times been affected by internal divisions within the
service bureaucracy. One informant observed that a split developed a few years ago between Interlink members who are younger professionals and older members. Younger members did not appreciate the hierarchical leadership style of these older men. At the time, some of these younger service workers considered dropping out of the consortium. The informant observed that in the past few years several older members have become more conciliatory in tone, recognizing the need for cooperation.

In addition to the activities of the Interlink coalition, there appears to be a considerable degree of interaction among the leadership of some religious organizations, mutual assistance associations, and many service agency employees. It is notable, however, that these linkages appear to be at least somewhat structured by the variables of age and also gender. For example, several older male informants are involved in an elderly association. Those active in the elderly organization include leaders of certain Buddhist, Cao Dai, Catholic and Protestant groups. In another example, a couple of lay leaders of a Buddhist group are also actively involved in the administration of women's and scouts associations, respectively. Furthermore, a number of younger professionals employed by different service agencies volunteer their time at an organization active in promoting AIDS awareness among the Vietnamese population. The extent of actual cross-organizational membership is very difficult to quantify. In general, it may be stated that there are considerable linkages among the leadership of many of the community groups. A core group of organizations jointly organizes an array of programs and activities including the Vietnamese
New Year Festival, which attracts thousands of Vietnamese to a common setting for a day-long program in January or February of each given year. Most of these organizations are based in central Toronto. These groups include the Vietnamese Association of Toronto, the Vietnamese Youth Centre, the Vietnamese Women’s Association and the Vietnamese Elderly Association of Toronto.

TABLE 5.1
VIETNAMESE GREATER TORONTO INTERLINK SERVICES CONSORTIUM, PARTICIPATING AGENCIES, 1997

| Vietnamese Association of Toronto  |
| Southeast Asian Services Centre  |
| Metropolitan Toronto Chinese and Southeast Asian Legal Aid Clinic |
| Brampton Neighbourhood Centre   |
| Dixie-Bloor Neighbourhood Centre (Mississauga)  |
| Jane-Finch Community and Family Centre |
| Northwood Neighbourhood Services |
| Parkdale Intercultural Council |
| COSTI Refugee Reception Centre |
| NOAH Refugee Reception Centre |
| Access Alliance Multicultural Community Health Centre |
| Asian Community AIDS Services |
| Hong Fook Mental Health Centre |
| Immigrant Women’s Health Centre |
| Parkdale Community Health Centre |
| Regent Park Community Health Centre |
| Children’s Aid Society of Metropolitan Toronto |
| Toronto Board of Education |
| Metropolitan Toronto Social Services |
| York Community Services |
| Peel Region Family Services |
| Jane and Dundas Branch Library |

Sources: Vietnamese Greater Toronto Interlink Services, Member Directory, 1997 and Informant Interviews

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

This chapter has examined some of the key factors of social differentiation which structure formal co-ethnic activities among Vietnamese
residing in the Toronto area. Variables which shape the organization of the Toronto Vietnamese "community" include age and generation, gender, ethnicity, religious affiliation, region of origin, socioeconomic status, time of arrival in Canada and political ideology. It is worth noting that some facets of social differentiation seem to gain particular salience when they become intertwined within certain social settings. For example, region of origin and socioeconomic status seem to work together to strongly influence Vietnamese community activities. As noted above, persons of North Vietnamese origin appear to be very much underrepresented in the membership and leadership of Vietnamese ethnic institutions given their overall proportion of the Vietnam-born population. The leadership of several organizations attempted to explain this lack of participation by noting the absence of interaction between ethnic Vietnamese and ethnic Chinese originating from the North and Vietnam-born from the South and the Central portions of this country. These informants argued that perceptions of socioeconomic differences probably account for much of this prevailing sense of social distance.

It should also be pointed out when discussing these factors of differentiation that in some cases as much variation exists within social categories as between them. For example, within the larger aggregation of Vietnamese Buddhists there is a considerable degree of internal division. As noted, there are eight Vietnamese Buddhist congregations in the Toronto area. These congregations are differentiated from one another by various factors including style of worship, degree of lay as opposed to clergy involvement in
leadership, as well as the socioeconomic class and time of arrival of membership. Very little mutual cooperation or even common interaction exists between the Buddhist groups. Numerous attempts to coordinate activities among the various Buddhist congregations over the years have failed.

While the Vietnamese institutional environment in Toronto is far too fragmented and divisive to bear much resemblance to the classic gemeinschaft-type ethnic community, this chapter has shown that an impressive degree of interaction does exist among many of the non-religious organizations. There is some overlap in the leadership composition among these groups along with that of certain churches and temples. Despite internal differences in the “community”, a common Vietnamese-Canadian ethnic identity does link the various groups. On rare occasions, leaders of the associations have come together to achieve a common purpose. One such example was a petition signed by several organizations and presented to the editors of The Toronto Sun with the goal of improving portrayals of persons of Vietnamese-origin in the newspaper.

An agency funded by the City of Toronto has emerged as a forum for the leadership and staff of various organizations servicing a Vietnamese-speaking clientele to meet and share information. The overall functions and influence of this coalition – Vietnamese Greater Toronto Interlink Services - should be not overstated however. The agency possesses no influence over the budgetary or policy decisions of its constituent members. The Interlink coalition does represent an interesting attempt by an outside actor – the Toronto municipal government – to facilitate some degree of coordination or at least an exchange of
information among the various service providers employing Vietnamese staffers in the Toronto area.
CHAPTER SIX
VIETNAMESE RESIDENCE AND INSTITUTIONAL LOCATION IN TORONTO

INTRODUCTION

The ecological paradigm has strongly influenced how social scientists conceptualize the trajectories of residential behaviour exhibited by immigrant groups in North American cities. The ecological model postulates that members of an immigrant group tend to initially find housing in low-rent neighbourhoods situated in the inner city. The simultaneous processes of chain migration and the creation of ethnic institutions serve to promote residential clustering of immigrant group members in central city enclave communities. However, over time and with enhanced socioeconomic resources, ethnic group members will become residentially dispersed in higher status neighbourhoods located throughout the metropolitan area in a process of "spatial assimilation" (Massey, 1985).

This orthodox model of immigrant residential patterns for the most part applied to the situation in Toronto until the 1960s. After this time, certain suburban districts joined central city neighborhoods as immigrant reception areas. Early in the 20th century, the Jewish population was concentrated to a significant extent in the Spadina district to be followed in subsequent decades by Chinese immigrants. In the same era, working class areas west of the city's downtown turned from primarily British to Italian. By mid-century, Portuguese immigrants also became clustered in the west end, while Ukrainians and Poles moved westward from neighbourhoods just west of downtown to Parkdale and
High Park and the southern portion of Etobicoke. At the same time, a sizable number of Greeks found housing east of the Don River. However, most of the east end as well as affluent North Toronto continued to be associated with largely British populations. By the 1960s, Jews had become a substantial presence in North Toronto and North York, especially along a corridor following Bathurst Street. Somewhat like the Jews, the geography of Italian residence exhibited a classic sectoral pattern of suburban movement from the west end up to the City of York and further north still through the northwest portion of North York to Woodbridge beyond Steeles Avenue and the boundary of Metropolitan Toronto (Lemon, 1996).

After the late 1960s, the population of non-European ethnic minorities increased substantially in Toronto. Many of the more recently arrived immigrant groups have found housing in communities a considerable distance from the traditional immigrant port of entry neighbourhoods located adjacent to the downtown business core as well as the early sectoral paths of immigrants to the northwest and east. In part, the notably suburbanized residential distribution of some of the “visible minority” immigrant populations who have arrived in recent decades may be linked to the location of lower-priced rental and owner-occupied housing in the Toronto metropolitan area.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the Ontario Housing Corporation (OHC) along with the federal Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation greatly expanded the supply of social housing by purchasing existing private market apartment buildings and constructing new units in Metropolitan Toronto. A similar process
occurred in the cities of Mississauga and Brampton in adjacent Peel Region. Most of the structures added to the stock during this time were situated in less accessible or less attractive areas – the suburban fringe, where land was not valued by builders for housing targeted to the general market. During the 1960s and the 1970s, large numbers of social housing units were added in such locations as the Cooksville and Bloor-Dixie neighbourhoods of Mississauga, the Rexdale section of Northern Etobicoke, along Jane Street in the Downsview area of North York, northeast North York, and along the primary east-west arterial streets in Scarborough (Murdie, 1994). In the same era, several provincially and federally funded programs provided assistance to developers for the construction of so-called “limited dividend housing”, which was targeted primarily to lower-income households. Many of these structures were concentrated in the same portions of the metropolitan area as the newly added social housing units and for the most part away from higher income areas such as North Toronto, central North York, and central Etobicoke.

In contemporary Toronto, the lower-cost rental housing often inhabited by immigrants is situated in several locales throughout the entire metropolitan region. Furthermore, many immigrants looking to become homeowners have turned to a large number of suburban neighbourhoods, where the price of owner-occupied housing is lower than in the central and northcentral parts of the urban area, including communities located in Scarborough, the Downsview portion of North York, and certain portions of Mississauga and Brampton (Ray and Moore, 1991; Moghaddam, 1994; Ray, 1994; Texeira, 1995; Skaburskis, 1996). Since
the 1970s, and especially the 1980s, significant numbers of Chinese have moved to or have found housing as new immigrants in suburban communities including Scarborough, Markham, Richmond Hill, and Mississauga. African immigrants including Somalis and Ghanaians are clustered in Etobicoke (Opuku-Dapaah, 1993; Opuku-Dapaah, 1995; Owusu, 1998). Individuals of West Indian ethnicity are concentrated to some extent in the City of York, the Downsview portion of North York and in Scarborough (Henry, 1994; Ray, 1994). Persons of South Asian Ethnic origin compose populations of considerable size in Scarborough, Downsview, Brampton, and Mississauga (Stasiulis, 1982).

In this chapter, patterns of Vietnamese residential and institutional location will be assessed and compared to the predictions of the ecological model. Important factors influencing the trajectories of Vietnamese residence in the Toronto area will also be examined within the context of the larger body of literature concerned with immigrant residential behaviour. The following interrelated research issues will guide the analysis in this chapter: To what extent, if any, do the temporal patterns of Vietnamese residence resemble the predictions of the classical ecological hypothesis? In which respects, if any, do the trajectories of Vietnamese settlement in the Toronto metropolitan area differ from those posited by the ecological model of ethnic residential patterns? Given the disproportionate numbers of Vietnamese who arrived in Toronto as refugee newcomers, have other factors typically not accounted for in the conventional literature influenced residential
settlement? To what extent does the distribution of Vietnamese institutions diverge or converge with the residential patterns of the group?

Vietnamese residence was analyzed through the use of census, telephone directory, and key informant interview data. The most detailed empirical information regarding Vietnamese residence was derived from the annually published telephone directories. Cross-sectional data was sampled from 1981, 1986, 1991, and 1997 directories. Using both Peel Region and Metropolitan Toronto directories, data was compiled for individuals with the surnames of Nguyen and Tran. These are the most common Vietnamese family names and these two family names are not prevalent among members of any other nationality group. A three digit postal forward sorting area (FSA) was recorded for the address of each Nguyen and Tran household listed in the phone directories. The compilation of the FSA data facilitated the mapping of Vietnamese residential patterns over the four cross-sections and provided a significant level of detail in terms of the streets and even apartment addresses where Vietnamese residents were concentrated. The phone directory data was supplemented with an analysis of 1986, 1991, and 1996 census tract enumerations of the Vietnamese population in the Toronto CMA.

More qualitative information concerning the residential trajectories of the Vietnamese population was derived from semi-structured interviews with a number of key informants. Informants were asked to describe and account for the emergence of significant Vietnamese residential concentrations in particular portions of the metropolitan area over time. The informants who were asked to
assess residential experiences included four Vietnamese social service workers intimately involved in the local resettlement of Vietnamese refugees in the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s. These informants began working as settlement counselors during the time of the “boat people” crisis in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The counselors met incoming refugees at the airport, brought them to downtown hotels, and assisted them in finding initial long-term accommodation. Two of these informants did resettlement work at the Vietnamese Association of Toronto, one at the provincial government’s Ontario Welcome House, and another at World Vision, one of the major non-profit voluntary agencies involved in the international resettlement effort. In addition, several informants involved in providing housing assistance to more recent Vietnamese newcomers were interviewed. These interview subjects include the aforementioned Ontario Welcome House counselor, who was employed by this agency until its closure in 1996, Vietnamese-speaking settlement counselors associated with the NOAH and COSTI refugee reception centres, and counselors employed by the Vietnamese Association of Toronto, the Vietnamese Community of North York, the Jane-Finch Community and Family Centre, the Dixie-Bloor Neighbourhood Centre in Mississauga, the Vietnamese Community Centre of Mississauga, and the Brampton Neighbourhood Centre. All of these service agency employees have provided assistance with finding housing to recently arrived Vietnamese clients in their settlement work. As part of their jobs, they also interact daily with co-ethnic compatriots residing in neighbourhoods of Vietnamese residential concentration.
Several maps are included in the chapter. The data used to produce these maps varied. Figures 6.1, 6.2, 6.3, 6.4, 6.8, 6.9, and 6.10 were produced using postal forward sorting area data. Figures 6.5, 6.6, and 6.7 were made from tract-level census data. On the former maps, the location of Vietnamese households were randomly distributed within individual postal code areas (the three-digit forward sorting areas). It should be noted that most of the postal code areas are larger in physical size compared to census tracts, making for a somewhat more generalized presentation of spatial phenomena compared to the tract-level maps.

Throughout the discussion in this chapter, reference will be made to several geographic districts within the larger Toronto metropolitan area. These include individual cities within the old municipality of Metropolitan Toronto – Toronto, North York, East York, Scarborough, York, and Etobicoke – as well as the cities of Mississauga and Brampton in adjacent Peel Region. The analysis will also direct attention to some sub-areas within these municipalities.Briefly, the physical boundaries of these sub-areas or districts should be defined. In the context of this chapter, west end Toronto refers to neighbourhoods in the older city of Toronto extending from west of Bathurst Street to east of Jane Street and north of Lake Ontario to St. Clair Avenue. The east end refers to neighbourhoods situated east of Parliament Street, west of Greenwood Avenue, north of Lake Ontario and south of Bloor and Danforth Avenues. References to Downsview imply neighbourhoods located in the area extending from Wilson Avenue on the south, Steeles Avenue to the North, with Dufferin Street to the east and Kipling
Avenue to the west. Rexdale encompasses the area north of Wilson Avenue, south of Steeles, west of Kipling, and east of the Etobicoke/Peel Region border.

TEMPORAL CHANGES IN RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION

Looking at the distribution of Vietnamese households in 1981, it is apparent that most of the Vietnamese residents of the Toronto CMA lived within the city of Toronto (Figure 6.1). At this time, the largest number of Vietnamese resided in Toronto's west end, particularly in the Parkdale neighbourhood. A small Vietnamese agglomeration was also notable in the Regent Park area east of Toronto's downtown. Moving forward to 1986, Vietnamese residential neighbourhoods had grown in Toronto’s west end and in the Regent Park/Chinatown area east of downtown. Also significant was the incipient emergence of residential agglomerations in the City of York and in the Downsview area in this time period.

Between 1986 and 1991 Vietnamese residential enclaves continued to grow in the east and west ends of the City of Toronto (Figure 6.2). However, the most impressive increases were observed in Downsview and the City of York — where substantial clusters of Vietnamese residents had formed. Figure 6.3 shows the continued strong growth of major Vietnamese residential neighbourhoods in Downsview, Rexdale, the city of York after 1991. The telephone directory data suggest that from 1991 to 1997, the growth of the Vietnamese population in the City of Toronto neighbourhoods of concentration had stagnated (Table 6.1).
Figure 6.1  Distribution of Vietnamese Households in Metropolitan Toronto, Mississauga and Brampton 1981 and 1986

1981

362 households

1986

1,218 households

Sources: Bell Telephone Directories for Metropolitan Toronto, Halton and Peel Regions, 1981 and 1986
Figure 6.2  Distribution of Vietnamese Households in Metropolitan Toronto, Mississauga and Brampton 1991 and 1997

1991

2,750 households

Nguyen or Tran surnames

1 Dot = 2 households

1997

3,688 households

Sources: Bell Telephone Directories for Metropolitan Toronto, Halton and Peel Regions, 1991 and 1997
Conversely, very significant Vietnamese residential growth was been occurring in certain outlying areas, most particularly in neighbourhoods located within Downsview, Rexdale, and the City of York. Interestingly, unlike the phone directory data, the census tract data show a continued growth in the Vietnamese population within west end and east end Toronto as well as several more outlying tracts between 1991 and 1996 (Table 6.2). Perhaps an explanation for the contradicting trends may be found within the comments of informants who suggested the Vietnamese residents of Parkdale and Regent Park apartment buildings were probably substantially undercounted by census takers in 1986 and 1991. Many Vietnamese had resided in Toronto for only short periods of time at these census years and for many of these individuals filling out the census form was likely problematic.

In 1981, according to telephone directory data, there were only very small numbers of Vietnamese within Mississauga (Figure 6.3). By 1986, a couple of small agglomerations had begun emerging in the city. At this time, most Vietnamese residents lived in the Cooksville and Dixie-Bloor Neighbourhoods of Mississauga. A small increase of the Vietnamese population was also apparent in Brampton. The Vietnamese population in Mississauga and to a lesser extent, Brampton, expanded considerably between 1991 and 1996 (Figure 6.4). Significant residential enclaves continued to grow in the Cooksville and Dixie-Bloor areas during this time period. These two neighbourhoods are the sites of several highrise apartment buildings housing large numbers of Vietnamese tenants. Also apparent in both the census tract and telephone directory data are
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Figure 6.3

Location of Largest Concentrations of Vietnamese Households* in the Toronto Metropolitan Area by Forward Sorting Areas, 1997

*FSAs with 36 or more Vietnamese households with Nguyen and Tran family names
the expanding numbers of Vietnamese living in several other neighbourhoods located elsewhere in Mississauga. The most recent figures also indicate the existence of a growing Vietnamese population in Brampton. While the Vietnamese have over time emerged as a significant population in certain suburban neighbourhoods, they are still quite clustered within a just a few subareas of the larger metropolitan region (Figure 6.5) Table 6.2 lists the census tracts with more than 200 enumerated Vietnamese in the 1996 census. In 1996, just under 40% of the total Vietnamese mother tongue population in the Toronto CMA lived in these 34 tracts. It should be noted that the CMA as a whole is composed of more than 800 census tracts. Figure 6.6 is a map of the tracts listed in Table 6.2.

**SETTLEMENT PATTERNS OF RECENT IMMIGRANTS FROM VIETNAM**

Table 6.3 indicates the census tracts with the largest number of residents who arrived in Canada from Vietnam between 1991 and 1996. The figures include both ethnic Vietnamese and ethnic Chinese who moved to Canada from Vietnam. These numbers should be assessed with caution. Due to language barriers, among other factors, the census takers likely missed many recent immigrants from Vietnam. The data do show that enumerated persons who came to Canada from Vietnam between 1991 and 1996 settled in significant numbers in several neighbourhoods located in both the central city of Toronto and more suburban locales. While impressive numbers of recently arrived immigrants from Vietnam were observed residing in Parkdale, and elsewhere in Toronto’s west end as well as Regent Park and Chinatown East, impressive numbers of new-
Figure 6.4

Distribution of Vietnamese Mother Tongue Population Toronto CMA, 1986

1 Dot = 10 persons

Source: Statistics Canada, 1986 Census of Population
Figure 6.5

Distribution of Vietnamese Mother Tongue Population Toronto CMA, 1996

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census of Population
Figure 6.6

Location of Major Concentrations of Vietnamese Population* in the Toronto CMA by Census Tracts, 1996

* Census Tracts with 200 or more Vietnamese individuals by mother tongue
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</tr>
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<td>140</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>Parkdale/City of Toronto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>130</td>
<td>Downtown Chinatown/City of Toronto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>Dufferin and Dundas West/City of Toronto</td>
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<tr>
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<td>511.01</td>
<td>165</td>
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</table>

Toronto CMA  12,205

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996
comers had also settled in the Jane and Woolner neighbourhood of the City of York, the Jane-Finch area of Downsview and the Bloor and Dixie and Cooksville neighbourhoods of Mississauga (Figure 6.7).

**NEIGHBOURHOODS OF VIETNAMESE RESIDENCE**

**City of Toronto** - Many of the Vietnamese who came to Toronto in the late 1970s and early 1980s were initially resettled in the city's west end. Over time, a considerable residential concentration of Vietnamese has emerged in these neighbourhoods. A glance at the 1997 telephone directory data shows several street addresses which were home to many individuals possessing the two most common Vietnamese family names. These addresses included College Street, especially in the 1100-1200 block near Dufferin Street. Dundas Street west of Bathurst also possessed many Vietnamese households extending to the 3000 block past Runnymede Road. The phone directory lists many Nguyen and Tran households residing on major north-south arteries in the west end including Ossington, Lansdowne, and Dufferin. Numerous Vietnamese residents lived on the stretches of these streets extending from King to Bloor. The most significant Vietnamese residential concentration within the west end existed in the Parkdale area. This clustering was very apparent in the phone listings. Single apartment buildings on several Parkdale streets including Dufferin, Queen West, Jameson, Tyndall, and West Lodge housed large numbers of Vietnamese households. Research informants involved in the process of finding housing for Vietnamese newcomers at the time of the “Boat People” crisis as well as in more recent years cited several factors which may account for the clustering of the population in the
Figure 6.7

Distribution of Immigrants Arriving from Vietnam,

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census of Population
west end. West end communities relatively close to downtown were popular placement sites for several reasons. First and foremost, west end apartment buildings were attractive sites to house refugee newcomers because of the low rents available at these locations, particularly in Parkdale. These neighbourhoods were also in close proximity to refugee and immigrant reception offices and other social service organizations utilized by the newcomers, including the Vietnamese Association of Toronto, Ontario Welcome House and other agencies. Indeed, a couple of settlement counselors noted the presence of a refugee reception centre within an apartment building on Jameson Avenue just south of Queen Street in the 1980s. According to these informants, the staff at this agency encouraged many of its Vietnamese clients to find housing in nearby buildings to facilitate access to its services. These neighbourhoods were also attractive sites for settlement counselors to direct Vietnamese as newcomers, because they possessed good transit connections making it possible for refugees to access social services and employment opportunities elsewhere in the city. In addition, the west end was also close to the city's downtown Chinatown, where familiar foodstuffs and consumer products from East Asia could be purchased.

In some cases, landlords actively sought to entice Vietnamese newcomers to move to their properties. An informant involved in finding housing for Vietnamese refugee newcomers in the late 1970s and early 1980s remembered that some landlords called settlement counselors with lists of available vacancies. He recalled that landlords at certain buildings - including some located on both Jameson and West Lodge in Parkdale - were particularly eager to rent to refugee
tenants. Over the 1980s, the Vietnamese population in the west end continued to expand in size. Informants suggested that Vietnamese have continued to cluster on the west side of the city for several reasons. The process of chain migration was frequently mentioned as having played an important role. Vietnamese residents of Parkdale and nearby neighbourhoods have encouraged their more recently arrived family and friends to move to the low-rent housing in the area. Vietnamese friends and extended family residing in close proximity to one another (and often in the same apartment structure) may take advantage of the availability of free child care and other forms of interpersonal and socioeconomic support. The west end has also become the site of a plethora of Vietnamese ethnic institutions including churches, temples, social service agencies and businesses including a large number of restaurants, karaoke bars, groceries, video stores, hairdressers, and billiard halls.

Further north in the west end, adjacent to the border with the old City of York, Vietnamese have also established a residential presence in housing located near the intersection of St. Clair Avenue and Weston Road. The 1997 telephone directory data indicate significant numbers of individuals with the Nguyen and Tran surnames residing on Oakwood Avenue, St. Clair, as well as Weston Road in the nearby vicinity. In the 1700 block of St. Clair Avenue, a few blocks east of Weston, several Vietnamese businesses have opened in recent years. Also nearby is a Vietnamese Protestant church.

East of Toronto's downtown, the neighbourhoods of Regent Park and Riverdale have attracted many Vietnamese households. During the "Boat
People's era of the late 1970s and early 1980s, agencies involved in resettlement work found subsidized housing for newly arriving refugees in the Regent Park area. Regent Park was attractive as a reception neighbourhood because of the low rents of buildings in the vicinity, and its proximity to settlement agencies and other social services as well as two nearby Chinatowns accessible a short distance away either by walking or streetcar. The availability of low-rent housing and nearby shopping and services have facilitated the continued growth of the Vietnamese population in the area through the early 1990s. A couple of informants also pointed out the role of chain migration. Over time, existing Vietnamese residents have encouraged additional friends and especially family members to move to the neighbourhood. One informant, a former settlement counselor, observed that as earlier arrived Vietnamese refugee residents have become more established within Canadian society and moved out of the Regent Park neighbourhood, other newcomers have moved in. Looking at the 1997 telephone directory data, it is apparent that individuals with the two most common Vietnamese family names were concentrated within certain apartment buildings in the Regent Park area. Within the neighbourhood, individual buildings with significant numbers of Vietnamese residents were located on Belshaw Place, Bevins Place, River Street, Sackville, Sackville Green, Sumach, and Oak Street. Almost all of these apartment buildings are either social housing or private market units with ties to federal and provincial subsidy programs. Research informants also noted the distinctive ethnic and regional composition of the agglomeration in the area. Ethnic Chinese from Vietnam make up a
significant proportion of the Vietnamese population residing in the
neighbourhood. Many of these Chinese-Vietnamese originate from North
Vietnam. One service agency employee who works in Regent Park estimated that
about half of the Vietnamese living in the area are Chinese-Vietnamese.

Across the Don River from Regent Park, the Riverdale neighbourhood is
also home to many residents of Vietnamese origin. Most of the Vietnamese in the
area live in the vicinity of Chinatown East, which is centred at the intersection of
Broadview Avenue and Gerrard Street East. Proximity to Vietnamese and
Chinese businesses and services, ethnic-specific social services, as well as a
couple of Vietnamese language churches and temples likely have served to
attract residents to the area. Informants note that Riverdale is home to both
Vietnamese renters and homeowners. As with adjacent Regent Park, it is likely
that a significant proportion of the Vietnamese residing in the area are ethnic
Chinese. The 1997 telephone listings indicate that certain addresses within
Riverdale were particularly popular with Vietnamese households. These included
the blocks of Dundas and Gerrard streets located between Broadview Avenue
and Pape Avenue and the short stretch of Broadview Avenue from Dundas to
Gerrard.

City of York – Within the City of York, many Vietnamese live in the
Jane-Woolner neighbourhood. A substantial Vietnamese presence was notable in
a cluster of high rise apartment buildings located at the corner of Jane Street and
Woolner Avenue. Several settlement counselors observed that some Vietnamese
refugees found their initial housing in these buildings at the time of large-scale
resettlement in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Over time, the concentrations of Vietnamese residents in these buildings has grown in size. A Vietnamese social service worker employed by a local neighbourhood organization who frequently visits clients residing at these complexes pointed out that many Vietnamese choose to live at these addresses due to their desire to reside in a setting with co-ethnic compatriots. She argued that a primary stimulus for this residential clustering is the "comfort level" to be found living in a building with many others who speak the same language. This informant also mentioned the process of chain migration. She pointed out that some of her Vietnamese clients have moved into these apartment buildings following the suggestions of friends or relatives. According to the staffer of the neighbourhood organization, many Vietnamese residents of these buildings provide one another with various forms of social support, companionship, and assistance with child care.

City of North York - A sizable Vietnamese population has emerged in the Downsview district since the mid-to-late 1980s. Many government-sponsored refugees who arrived in the late 1980s and early 1990s found housing in the area. The Downsview neighbourhood, with its extensive stock of subsidized and low-rent housing, was an attractive site of residence for refugee newcomers with very limited financial resources. Settlement counselors also directed new arrivals to the area due its existing network of social services, public transit connections, and proximity to factory employment. Assessing the telephone directory data, very localized concentrations of Vietnamese are visible in several high-rise apartment buildings sited near the intersection of Jane Street and Finch Avenue.
A significant Vietnamese presence was apparent in numerous high-rises located on Jane Street just south of Finch Avenue. Large numbers of Vietnamese households also resided in buildings located near the intersection of Jane and Driftwood Avenue, which is north of Finch. Individual apartment buildings on other nearby streets including Finch Avenue West, San Romanoway, Tobermory, Gosford, Yorkgate, Eddystone, Firgrove, and Grandravine also housed many Vietnamese. The apartment buildings in which Vietnamese lived were a mix of Metropolitan Toronto social housing and private structures built under the Limited Dividend program. A bit further south in Downsview, several apartment buildings near Jane and Wilson and Keele and Sheppard also possessed many Vietnamese inhabitants according to telephone directory data.

A Vietnamese settlement counselor who works at a community centre in the area estimated that since 1990 the Vietnamese population in the nearby Jane-Finch vicinity has multiplied by a factor of ten. She described the process by which persons of Vietnamese origin have become concentrated at certain addresses. Refugee newcomers found low-rent housing within particular buildings. Through word of mouth, these individuals encouraged friends and relatives to move to the same building. Over time, chain migration resulted in a situation where more than 100 Vietnamese have come to live within certain buildings.

In terms of regional and ethnic origin, Vietnamese in the Jane-Finch area differ somewhat from the Vietnamese residing in other parts of the metropolitan area. The population residing in the subsidized high-rise buildings in the area are
disproportionately of North Vietnamese origin. A staffer at a Vietnamese ethnic association based in the area estimated about 75% of the Vietnamese residing in the Jane-Finch neighbourhood originated from North Vietnam. Research informants also pointed out that a significant percentage of the residents are Chinese-Vietnamese who were accepted into Canada as refugees in the late 1980s and early 1990s after escaping from North Vietnam and staying in Hong Kong camps. Informants also thought that this particular segment of the Vietnamese population differs to some degree socioeconomically from ethnic Vietnamese and Chinese-Vietnamese who resided in South Vietnam prior to coming to Canada. In general, they noted, North Vietnamese, and in particular, Chinese from the North, have come to Canada with fewer occupational and educational assets. These persons are also more likely to have come near the end of the refugee flow and thus subsequently tend to be less well-established within Canadian society.

It should be noted, however, that there is considerable diversity within the Vietnamese population in Downsview. The largely owner-occupied residential area located between Jane and Keele Streets, and Finch and Wilson Avenues has become a popular site for Vietnamese families buying their first homes. According to the comments of informants and my own field observations while residing in this neighbourhood, many Vietnamese who came to Canada as refugees in the late 1970s or early 1980s have subsequently sponsored family members and purchased homes in Downsview. Downsview is attractive because it possesses some of the least expensive single-family homes in metropolitan
Toronto. This housing is also close to certain factories in which many Vietnamese have found work, including a number of establishments located on Highway 7 north of Steeles Avenue.

Other small-scale concentrations of Vietnamese residents were apparent in the 1997 telephone directory data. Several clusters of high-rise apartments located on or near Lawrence Avenue between Dufferin and Jane Streets in North York housed notable numbers of households. Most of these buildings consist of some form of subsidized housing, either government owned social housing or private units built under the auspices of the CMHC's Limited Dividend rental housing construction program of the 1960s and 1970s. High-rise apartment buildings with many Vietnamese households were located on Lotherton Pathway near Lawrence West and Caledonia Road; on Martha Eaton Way south of Lawrence Avenue and Black Creek Drive, and on Lawrence Avenue itself near Keele Street.

Cities of Mississauga and Brampton – Like Downsview, Mississauga has become an important foci of Vietnamese residential settlement over the past decade. Two settlement counselors observed that the availability of factory employment in the municipality was a key factor stimulating Vietnamese movement into Mississauga neighbourhoods in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Many Vietnamese found work in Mississauga manufacturing plants in this time period. Also playing a role in the Vietnamese migration to Mississauga were the lower expenditures associated with both rental and owner-occupied housing in this city compared to most of Metropolitan Toronto. According to several
informants, it was not until the late 1980s that Vietnamese began moving into Mississauga neighbourhoods in significant numbers. Two particular communities have emerged as key sites of Vietnamese residential concentration. Cooksville is located in south-central Mississauga. Not too far away, the Bloor-Dixie neighbourhood is situated in southeast Mississauga, close to the Etobicoke border. According to the 1997 telephone directory listings, in Cooksville Vietnamese residents were clustered in a few high-rise apartment buildings located near Hurontario Street and Dundas Avenue. The Vietnamese concentration in one building located on Hurontario south of Dundas was especially notable. Informants estimated that between 300-500 Vietnamese reside in this apartment building. A glance at the list of tenant names utilizing a 1997 edition of a city directory indicates that more than 70% of the households residing in this huge structure were headed by an individual with a Chinese or Vietnamese surname.

The recent history of the Hurontario apartment complex itself provides an interesting case study in how the process of chain migration may drastically shift the ethnic composition of a single apartment building within a five to ten year period. The 327 unit structure was constructed in the early 1970s with funding from CMHC's Limited Dividend Program. Several settlement counselors and service agency staffers familiar with the building and its residents observed the notoriety it possesses among the larger Vietnamese population in Mississauga. The government-subsidized, but privately-owned building is well-known as charging rents far lower than may be found elsewhere in Mississauga or
Metropolitan Toronto. Over time, residents of the building have spread word to relatives, friends, and acquaintances about rents that are perhaps 50-60% of market levels in Mississauga. Unfortunately, the Hurontario complex also possesses a certain notoriety for other reasons as well. Several informants noted the practice of “key money”, which is associated with the building. According to informants, some Vietnamese tenants have been asked to make a non-refundable advance payment of up to $2,000 before renting an apartment in the complex. Informants also noted the existence of a black market of cheap and perhaps stolen consumer goods which thrives out of some apartments. A Vietnamese settlement counselor employed by a neighbourhood organization has attempted to organize tenants to report these practices to local authorities and improve the general atmosphere in the building.

It would be misleading to only discuss the seemingly negative aspects of life in the Hurontario apartment structure. In some respects, the residents of the building represent a small ethnic “community”. According to informants, many tenants choose to live in this and other nearby apartment buildings in order to take advantage of access to trusted childcare from family and friends at all hours of the day. A great many residents, both male and female, work late shifts at area factories. In addition, the presence of social support and companionship is undoubtedly a factor motivating residence in the complex. The Vietnamese population is so large that it has become viable to set up certain ethnic-specific services in the building. The Vietnamese Community Centre of Mississauga runs an ESL class funded by the federal government’s LINC program out of offices
on the building's first floor. A Vietnamese Buddhist nun set up a temple for a time on one of the upper floors, and a Vietnamese language magazine is published from the apartment of a building resident.

Another district of Mississauga with a substantial clustering of Vietnamese households is the Dixie-Bloor neighbourhood. The 1997 telephone directory data indicate a significant Vietnamese presence in several apartment complexes in this area. Several buildings with sizable numbers of Vietnamese tenants were located within the 1400-1700 block of Bloor Street East, on Fieldgate south of Bloor, and on the nearby streets of Havenwood and Williamsport Drive. The Bloor-Dixie Neighbourhood organization employs several Vietnamese-speaking employees who provide settlement counseling, language classes, and social services to Vietnamese immigrants and refugees. Staffers of the agency have helped Vietnamese newcomers find housing in the nearby vicinity. Informants also pointed out that the process of chain migration has facilitated the growth of substantial Vietnamese populations within certain apartment buildings in this neighbourhood.

The focus thus far has been upon Vietnamese movement into rental housing within Mississauga. It should be observed that many more established Vietnamese residents have chosen to purchase homes in this city. The maps clearly show an expansion of the Vietnamese population within Mississauga including areas outside of the southeast and south-central sections of the city, where a large number of low-rent apartment complexes are clustered. My research informants stated that a significant number of Vietnamese households
have purchased their first Canadian homes in neighbourhoods located throughout the entire City of Mississauga. Significant Vietnamese movement into the city of Brampton has occurred even more recently. 1997 telephone directory data indicates that many households with the most common Vietnamese surnames lived in the southern portion of the city not far from the Mississauga border. The data show that some Vietnamese residents have become clustered in a couple of apartment buildings located on Balmoral Avenue within Brampton. However, a Vietnamese staffer with a Brampton neighbourhood organization pointed out that a significant proportion of the Vietnamese who have moved into Brampton are seeking to buy relatively inexpensive homes close to their places of work. Many Vietnamese have found employment in Brampton-area factories or those in adjacent Mississauga.

**INCOME STATUS OF TORONTO CMA CENSUS TRACTS WITH LARGEST CONCENTRATIONS OF VIETNAMESE**

Table 6.4 shows the average and median household income as well as the incidence of low income in the 21 Toronto CMA census tracts with the largest enumerated Vietnamese mother tongue populations in 1996. While Vietnamese lived in both central city and suburban neighbourhoods across the metropolitan area, they were very much concentrated in residential areas where both the median and average household income were far below the CMA average. Combined, the tracts with the most Vietnamese possessed average and median incomes just under 60% of that associated with the CMA as a whole. In each one of these tracts, the proportion of the total enumerated population with low incomes was several percentage points higher than the metropolitan area average.
of 21%. Combined together, the incidence of low income in these tracts was more than double the CMA figure, exceeding 40%.

Significant Vietnamese populations remained in the very low income Parkdale and Regent Park tracts, Vietnamese have also moved in substantial numbers to neighbourhoods with somewhat higher average and median incomes in the city of York, Downsview and Mississauga. It should be pointed out, however, that in several of these more outlying tracts, large Vietnamese populations reside in highly localized clusters of apartment buildings, making the average and median incomes for the entire tract potentially misleading.

INDEX OF RESIDENTIAL DISSIMILARITY

In order to discern to what degree persons of Vietnamese-origin might be said to be residentially segregated, indexes of dissimilarity were calculated for the Vietnamese and several other ethnic origin populations using 1996 census data for the Toronto CMA (Table 6.5). The index of dissimilarity is intended to measure the evenness of distribution of two groups across a given city. The two groups compared here are persons belonging to a particular ethnic group and the remainder of the entire ethnic origin population composed of various groups in the Toronto CMA. Ranging from 0 to 100%, the index of dissimilarity indicates the percentage of a given group which would have to move in order to obtain the same proportional distribution as all the other groups across the census tracts in a city (Fong, 1996; Massey, 1996). Generally, indices above 60 are considered to be indicate high levels of residential segregation, measures in the 40s and 50s moderate, and indices in the 30s or less low.
TABLE 6.4

HOUSEHOLD INCOME
20 CENSUS TRACTS WITH LARGEST VIETNAMESE MOTHER TONGUE POPULATIONS
TORONTO CMA, 1996

<table>
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<tr>
<th>CENSUS TRACT</th>
<th>MUNICIPALITY</th>
<th>VIET POP.</th>
<th>AVERAGE INCOME (n)</th>
<th>MEDIAN INCOME 1996, $</th>
<th>LOW INCOME 1996, $</th>
<th>%</th>
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</table>

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996
Persons of Vietnamese ethnic origin enumerated by Statistics Canada in 1996 were moderately to highly residentially segregated from the rest of the total ethnic origin population in the Toronto metropolitan area. The Vietnamese index of 57.32 was significantly higher than that observed for the other major categories of "visible minority" ethnic groups, including Latin Americans, South Asians, Arab/West Asians, and Blacks, as well as Southeast Asians as a whole. With the exception of two other Indochinese-origin groups—Cambodians and Laotians—the Vietnamese index was much higher than that observed among all of the other major Asian-origin ethnic groups including Chinese, Koreans, Filipinos, and Japanese. Cambodians and Lao are both fairly recently arrived and small immigrant populations highly clustered residentially in the Jane-Finch area of Downsview (Van Esterik, 1992; McClellan, 1995). Two other immigrant populations of primarily recent origin—Somalis and Tamils—possessed indexes around 70. The Jewish population was the only well-established and/or primarily European-origin group with a level of dissimilarity exceeding or even approaching that of the Vietnamese. In general, the other visible minority populations displayed only moderate levels of dissimilarity extending from the high 30s (Jamaicans) to around 50 (Chinese).

The level of residential dissimilarity between the Vietnamese and the remainder of the population across the Toronto metropolitan area has only decreased slightly since the mid-1980s. Indexes of dissimilarity were calculated for persons enumerated with a Vietnamese mother tongue and the remainder of the CMA population for both 1986 and 1996. In 1986, persons of Vietnamese
<table>
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<th>ETHNIC ORIGIN</th>
<th>TOTAL RESPONSES</th>
<th>INDEX OF DISSIMILARITY</th>
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<td>19,470</td>
<td>40.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>414,310</td>
<td>39.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td>102,525</td>
<td>39.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>274,935</td>
<td>38.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaican</td>
<td>133,690</td>
<td>38.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>80,330</td>
<td>37.42</td>
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<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukrainian</td>
<td>95,500</td>
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<td>Scottish</td>
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<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>480,985</td>
<td>28.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian</td>
<td>710,760</td>
<td>25.98</td>
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<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>224,525</td>
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<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>236,315</td>
<td>23.71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996
mother tongue exhibited an index of dissimilarity of 62.73 relative to the rest of the population. In 1996, the figure was 58.97. It should be noted that researchers have observed Vietnamese populations to be more residentially segregated relative to other Asian-origin ethnic groups in several U.S. cities, paralleling the situation observed in Toronto (Langberg and Farley, 1985; Massey and Denton, 1987; White, Biddlecom, and Guo, 1993; Howenstine, 1996). However, most of these studies utilize data from the 1980 census. Most Vietnamese had only resided in the United States for a few years at this time.

**DISTRIBUTION OF VIETNAMESE INSTITUTIONS**

To supplement the residential analysis, the location of Vietnamese ethnic institutions in 1997 was also examined. The meeting sites of twenty-three Vietnamese religious groups and ethnic organizations were organized into postal district areas and mapped. Religious institutions included Buddhist and Cao Dai temples as well as Catholic and Protestant churches. Ethnic organizations included ethnic-specific social service agencies, veterans and political groups, elderly, women’s, and youth associations, and recreational groups as well as student societies. Familiar patterns were evident. The largest number of religious groups and ethnic associations were located in Toronto’s west end (Figure 6.8). Religious groups and ethnic organizations were also well-represented in the Broadview-Gerrard area of Toronto’s east end, Downsview, and the southeast quadrant of Mississauga. They were notably absent in North Toronto, Scarborough, and the eastern half of North York.
Figure 6.8

Distribution of Vietnamese Ethnic Institutions,

Toronto CMA, 1997

Sources: Personal Interviews; Thoi Bao Newspaper Yearbook 1997; Tu Do Newspaper Yearbook 1997
Information regarding the location of businesses targeting a Vietnamese clientele in the Toronto metropolitan area was collected through an analysis of two Vietnamese ethnic directories published in 1997. A total of 113 restaurants and cafes, 18 bakeries, 42 groceries, 21 video stores, 19 photodeveloping shops, 67 hairdressers, 23 pharmacies, 16 jewelry stores, and 14 herbal shops were identified in the directories. The addresses of these 329 commercial establishments were organized into Forward Sorting Areas (FSAs) and mapped.

By far the largest number of ethnic businesses targeting a Vietnamese consumer market were located in Toronto's downtown Chinatown (Figure 6.9). A significant cluster of businesses were also found in Toronto's west end, especially on Queen West, Dundas West, and College Streets. Particularly significant in the west end is a stretch of Ossington Avenue stretching from Queen West on the south to Dundas West on the north. About fifteen Vietnamese karaoke bars have located on this strip. In the evening, and especially on weekends, Vietnamese come from throughout the metropolitan area to sing, drink coffee, and socialize with friends and relatives at these establishments. A significant number of Vietnamese businesses were also located in the Chinatown East area centred at Broadview and Gerrard east of Toronto's downtown. Clusters of Vietnamese businesses have also been growing near Weston Road and St. Clair in the City of York and near Jane and Wilson and Jane and Finch in Downsview. In addition the data indicated a notable Vietnamese commercial presence in the Cooksville neighbourhood of Mississauga and within a large Asian-theme mall located near Dundas and Cawthra in the same city.
Figure 6.9

Distribution of Vietnamese Commercial Establishments,

Toronto CMA, 1997

Sources: Personal Interviews; Thoi Bao Newspaper Yearbook 1997; Tu Do Newspaper Yearbook 1997
Figure 6.10: Distribution of Vietnamese Physician and Dental Practices, Toronto CMA, 1997

Sources: Personal Interviews; Thai Bao Newspaper Yearbook 1997; Tu Do Newspaper Yearbook 1997

Legend:
- 10 establishments
- 5
- 1

Kilometers
0 3 6
A total of 24 Vietnamese medical and 31 dental practices were identified in the ethnic directories. The offices of the physicians and dentists were also sorted by location into FSAs. A clustering of ethnic medical practices was evident in the main Toronto Chinatown (Figure 6.10). Significant numbers of Vietnamese doctors and dentists have also located their offices in Toronto's west end, in Downsview, as well as southeastern Mississauga. A few practices were also located in the City of York, Etobicoke, Toronto's east end and Scarborough. Assessing the overall locational patterns of Vietnamese ethnic institutions - with the exception of Chinatown, which attracts Vietnamese shoppers from throughout the metropolitan area and elsewhere in Southern Ontario - the clusters of businesses and medical professionals were largely conterminous with nearby Vietnamese residential concentrations.

**SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION**

At first glance, it would seem that the trajectory of Vietnamese residence in the Toronto metropolitan area has followed the parameters of the classic ecological model of ethnic residential patterns. The ecological model posits that immigrant ethnic groups originally settle in low-rent central city districts. A process of chain migration and institutional development facilitates initial concentration of the population in certain inner city neighbourhoods. However, over time and with increasing socioeconomic integration, immigrant groups become dispersed in higher status suburban neighbourhoods located throughout the metropolitan area (Massey, 1985; Ward, 1989). In the years immediately following the large-scale resettlement of the “boat people” refugees, Vietnamese
residents were mostly concentrated within central city neighbourhoods located in west and east end Toronto. In more recent years, new clusters of Vietnamese residence have formed within outlying areas of the metropolitan region including the City of York, Downsview, Rexdale, and the municipalities of Mississauga, and Brampton. While new neighbourhoods of Vietnamese residential concentration have emerged, it is significant that the level of residential dissimilarity between the Vietnamese and the rest of the population across the metropolitan area decreased only slightly between 1986 and 1996.

The classic ecological model is somewhat supported. My interviews and fieldwork make it apparent that some of the growth in the suburban areas may be tied to the increasingly common phenomenon of Vietnamese homeownership in outlying portions of the metropolitan area. In this respect, a segment of the Vietnamese population has followed the familiar example set by previous and contemporary generations of immigrants in North American cities including Toronto. Many Vietnamese first-time homebuyers have chosen to purchase properties in Downsview, Rexdale, Mississauga, and Brampton, because home prices are generally lower in these communities in comparison to those being asked for similar-sized dwellings located in central Toronto. Furthermore, it is probably not an overstatement to claim that many Vietnamese home-buyers value the suburban ideal of more space, larger lot sizes, and physical distance from the inner city. The researcher has heard many comments to this effect from informants attempting to account for changing residential patterns as well as in the course of everyday interactions with Vietnamese families who have chosen to
move to suburban neighbourhoods including Downsview, Rexdale, and the cities of Mississauga and Brampton. It is interesting, however, that many first-generation Vietnamese have become suburban homeowners. The ecological model posits suburban homeownership as a process that will usually take immigrant group members two or three generations to achieve.

In other important respects, the circumstances associated with the suburbanization of the Vietnamese population in Toronto profoundly contradict the logic of the ecological model. It should be noted that much of the suburban expansion of the Vietnamese population has occurred in immigrant reception neighbourhoods outside of central Toronto including the Jane-Finch area of Downsview, the Jane Street/Weston Road area of the City of York, and the Cooksville and Dixie-Bloor neighbourhoods of Mississauga. Large and extremely localized concentrations of Vietnamese may be observed within certain low-rent apartment buildings in these communities which have also served as reception areas to other large visible minority immigrant populations (Moghaddam, 1994; McClellan, 1995; Owusu, 1996). Many of these apartment buildings consist of government-subsidized limited dividend or social housing units. Census data indicate the Jane-Finch, Jane and Weston Road, Cooksville, and Dixie-Bloor neighbourhoods fall far below the metropolitan area average on several socioeconomic variables.

In sum, between 1981 and 1997, the Vietnamese population has spread outward from central city to suburban neighbourhoods within the Toronto metropolitan area. A significant portion of this suburban growth, however, has
been tied to the emergence of clusters of Vietnamese residence in new low-income reception areas which seem to have at least somewhat replaced the initial central city neighbourhoods as a focal point for resettlement. To a substantial degree, the Vietnamese population has remained quite concentrated over time in a relatively small number of districts located in both the central city and certain suburban areas.

In the latter portion of the chapter, an analysis of the location of Vietnamese ethnic associations, businesses, and medical practices revealed a major concentration of institutions within the downtown Toronto Chinatown and in close proximity to sizable Vietnamese residential concentrations in Toronto's west end and east end, in the City of York, in Downview, and in Mississauga. It should not necessarily be assumed, though, that there necessarily exists a straightforward relationship between the residential patterns of persons of Vietnamese origin and participation in ethnic institutions. The next chapter will examine this issue.
CHAPTER SEVEN
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RESIDENCE AND PARTICIPATION IN VIETNAMESE ETHNIC INSTITUTIONS

INTRODUCTION

In much of the literature on ethnic group adaptation in urban North America there are assumptions either implicit or explicit that a clustering of group members' residences and institutions is essential for the maintenance of a strong and vital ethnic group culture in a given city. Ward (1989) sums up the Chicago perspective in relation to ethnic group settlement patterns. He observes that the human ecologists conceptualized immigrant ghettos as a certain type of "natural area". Immigrant ghettos were conceived of as neighbourhood communities, where a segregated population attempted to preserve its peculiar cultural forms and to maintain its unique way of life. Crucially, Ward notes that as so-called "natural areas", the social networks and associations of particular immigrant communities were assumed to be organized around the principle of residential propinquity. However the immigrant ghetto was assumed to be only a temporary residence for the migrant generation unless there were significant institutional obstacles to assimilation in the host society.

For the human ecologists, the assimilation process was explicitly connected to the residential dispersal of ethnic group members to outlying parts of the city or adjacent suburbs. Eventually, it was argued, this diffusion of group members into neighbourhoods throughout the metropolitan area would result in the disintegration of the group as a cohesive entity as the individual group members were absorbed into the networks and institutions of the general
population. The human ecologists insisted that the relative concentration or dispersion of various ethnic groups provided an excellent indication of the length the group had been residing in the city and of the general degree of assimilation which had taken place (Ward, 1989). In sum, ecological models argue that ethnic groups will disappear as concrete entities in cities as spatial assimilation and its concomitant processes of acculturation and socioeconomic mobility occur (Massey, 1985). The ecological perspective presumes a strong relationship between residential clustering and the maintenance of institutional life among particular ethnic groups.

The presumed correlation between ethnic residential concentration, institutional vitality, and group cohesion is the centrepiece for a model of “urban ethnic pluralism” posited by Darroch and Marston (1987; 1994). These scholars argue that the residential concentration of a particular ethnic group directly contributes to the development and maintenance of an ethnic subculture characterized by institutional completeness – defined as the existence of social networks, institutions, services, and stores that cater primarily to the group in question. Darroch and Marston posit that the residential concentration of ethnic group members is a key factor impacting the strength of ethnic identity, the density of social networks, as well as the intensity of a particular group’s subculture and its general propensity for pluralistic activities, including possible social and political mobilization.

Very few studies have directly examined the relationship between residence and institutional participation among fairly recently arrived immigrant
groups in contemporary cities. Scholars who have researched Vietnamese populations in North American cities have not devoted any systematic attention to this issue. Neither Dorais et al., (1987), (Quebec City); Rutledge (1985), (Oklahoma City); Gold (1992), (San Diego and Los Angeles); or Kibria (1993), (Philadelphia) discuss in any detail the spatial patterns of Vietnamese community life in their locality-specific studies. A few researchers of other groups have provided support for ecological arguments linking residential concentration to ethnic institutional vitality and identity maintenance. Driedger and Church (1974) and Driedger (1978) examined temporally the “institutional completeness” and residential segregation of six European-origin ethnic groups in Winnipeg. Based on their findings, Driedger and Church conclude that residential segregation may be an important condition for the sustenance of ethnic institutional life. These scholars argue that a spatially fixed and bounded ethnic community promotes the development and maintenance of various institutions through which the services required by members of an ethnic group are provided by the ethnic community itself. In more recent work, Alba, Logan, and Crowder (1997) advance a related hypothesis. These scholars utilize census data to assess contemporary German, Italian, and Irish neighbourhoods in the New York metropolitan area. They conclude that ethnic cultural behaviour is more likely to be maintained by group members residing in neighbourhoods in which there exists a concentration of residents and institutions associated with a particular ethnic origin.
A number of scholars have challenged the spatial determinism of the ecological-based models. The work of these social scientists suggests that the social and institutional life of a particular ethnic group may survive and even flourish in the absence of residential propinquity among members. Close analysis of immigrant residential patterns in many American cities at the time of the late 19th and early 20th centuries has led some scholars to conclude that many European ethnic groups maintained strong institutions at this time despite a relatively high degree of residential dispersion across neighbourhoods of various cities (Chudacoff, 1973; Conzen, 1979; Ward, 1989). Support for the concept of “ethnic community without propinquity” comes from the research of Agocs (1981). Based upon empirical work in the Detroit metropolitan area, Agocs posits a typology of seven patterns of ethnic settlement. Perhaps the most intriguing of these identified patterns is what the author calls “community without neighbourhood.” According to Agocs, certain ethnic communities in contemporary urban areas may be based less upon the residential propinquity of group members than on the interaction, communication, and shared activities of widely dispersed ethnic social networks. Agocs points out that ethnic community life in certain suburban areas seems to have gone underground. Many suburban residents of ethnic groups continue to attend ethnic institutions in older central city neighbourhoods as well as new institutions in the suburbs. Such gathering places act as centres of ethnic group social interaction, where persons living in scattered locations gather for common activities. Also, recognizing the fact that social interaction commonly transcends the boundaries of enclave
neighbourhoods among immigrant group members in contemporary cities, Goldenberg and Haines (1992) argue for a non-ecological approach to the study of ethnic social networks.

Despite these and other critiques, ecological notions linking residential propinquity to ethnic institutional vitality and identity maintenance continue to permeate the work of contemporary social scientists who write about the settlement patterns of particular ethnic groups within cities. While spatial variables undoubtedly do influence the institutional participation of ethnic group members in certain situations, many geographers and ecological-oriented sociologists may give too much play to the role of residential proximity in facilitating or hindering group interaction. The present chapter will address this larger issue through an assessment of the relationship between residence and participation in ethnic institutions among the Vietnamese population in the Toronto area. The research presented in the chapter has been guided by the interrelated questions: Is residential proximity strongly related to membership and participation in Vietnamese ethnic institutions? Do Vietnamese ethnic institutions tend to possess memberships which are primarily derived from spatial catchment areas encompassing nearby areas of the city or conversely do members come to institutions from sites of residence located throughout much of the metropolitan area? Apart from residential proximity, what other factors seem to influence participation of individual Vietnamese within given ethnic institutions?
FOCI AND METHODOLOGY OF STUDY

Examining the relationship between residence and participation in given ethnic institutions, it seems appropriate to focus the investigation upon certain types of associations and organizations while excluding others. Most applicable to research in regard to this particular issue would seem to be those institutions in which members participate and/or attend functions on at least a semi-regular (i.e. weekly or monthly) basis. It seems unlikely that most of the clientele of ethnic-specific social service agencies meet this criteria. While these organizations provide very important functions to their service populations, most Vietnamese probably do not interact with these agencies even on an annual basis. Furthermore, most of the professional associations organized by Vietnamese only meet a few times in a given year. This is the case for groups in Toronto including the Society of Vietnamese Professionals, and performing artists’, physicians’, dentists’, and pharmacists’ groups. Additionally, associations organized by students at educational institutions such as the University of Toronto, York, Ryerson, and Seneca College would not be expected to possess memberships tied to residential location as each of these institutions of higher learning would be expected to attract Vietnamese students from throughout the metropolitan area.

The most applicable settings for research on the relationship between residence and institutional participation would seem to be churches and temples as well as certain especially active ethnic associations. Scholars have observed a high degree of religiosity among Vietnamese immigrants and refugees living in North America. In a national survey of Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Lao
refugees residing in the U.S., about 70% of the respondents reported that they 
engaged in religious rituals. In this particular study, notably higher religiosity 
levels were recorded among the Vietnamese respondents as compared to those 
from the other two Indochinese groups (Burwill, Hill, and Van Wicklin, 1986). 
In another survey of Indochinese refugees (including Vietnamese) residing in 
Utah, 70% of the respondents rated religion as being important in their lives. The 
members of the sample also reported a relatively high degree of participation in 
religious activities (Lewis, Fraser, and Pecora, 1988). Similarly, Dorais et al. 
(1987) observed that over 90% of Vietnamese Catholic respondents surveyed in 
Quebec City attended mass on a weekly basis. Most members of Vietnamese 
Catholic and Protestant churches in Toronto attend services on a regular basis, if 
not weekly. The other two major Vietnamese religions – Buddhism and Cao Dai - 
do not place the same emphasis on weekly attendance as the Christian 
denominations do. However, according to temple leaders and my own field 
observations, many Vietnamese Buddhists do attend their temple on a monthly or 
at least bimonthly basis, while consistently practicing religious rituals at home. 
There is also a group of members within each temple which attends services and 
other functions weekly. Similar generalizations may be made about participation 
at the Cao Dai Temple.

Certain ethnic associations are also appropriate for research on this 
particular topic. The Vietnamese Elderly Association of Toronto, the Vietnamese 
Scouts Association, and the Vietnamese Womens’ Association all meet regularly 
– on a weekly or biweekly basis. The bulk of their memberships probably
interact on a more frequent basis than those individuals belonging to the more specialized professional societies.

This chapter will focus most heavily upon the relationship between residence and institutional participation among the membership of nine Vietnamese religious institutions located in the Toronto region (Figure 7.1). Two of the congregations are Buddhist associations, the seven others are Protestant groups. The researcher was able to obtain detailed membership lists with postal codes of the place of residence of individual members from the leadership of these nine congregations. Less detailed and more general information pertaining to the relationship between residence and institutional participation was obtained through semi-structured interviews with representatives of other religious institutions and some additional ethnic associations as well as informal conversations with members during visits to several institutions. The membership of the religious and secular institutions included in the study fairly accurately reflect the time of arrival and socioeconomic characteristics of the larger Vietnamese population. The majority of the members of most of the institutions have been resident in Canada five to fifteen years and many of them are employed in secondary sector positions of the labour market. One institution – the Vietnamese Zen Meditation Group- is an exception to the rule. Most of the members of the Zen Meditation Group are a bit more established in Canada and several of them work in the professions and/or leadership positions of the Vietnamese social service bureaucracy in Toronto. Most of these churches, tem-
Ples and ethnic associations are predominantly composed of ethnic Vietnamese originating from the South and Central regions of the country. North Vietnamese are underrepresented among the participants of almost every institution, given the share of the total Vietnamese population originating from the North. One of the churches consists entirely of Chinese-Vietnamese families, all of whom also originate from South Vietnam. While there is a gender imbalance favouring men in the overall Vietnamese population (Chapter Four), the majority of the members of most of the religious institutions are women. Elderly individuals are also probably overrepresented among active participants at most religious institutions, given their share of the entire Vietnamese population.

**CASE STUDIES**

**RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS**

**Vietnamese Alliance Church of Downsview** – The Downsview congregation was organized in 1991. Initially, the group met at a school located in the Jane and Driftwood area. After a few years, the congregation was forced to leave this building and eventually moved into a church building situated on Mayall Avenue, not far from Jane Street and Wilson Avenue (Figure 7.2). The present meeting site is shared with a mainstream United church. The pastor stated that the current location, which is about a twenty minute walk from any public transportation, is undesirable. He is looking for a new meeting site further north and closer to the Jane-Finch neighbourhood. Of all the Alliance congregations, the Downsview group is notable for the high degree of residential clustering among its membership. Most of the worshippers reside in the Jane-Finch area.
Figure 7.2

Vietnamese Alliance Church of Downsview,
Residential Distribution of Membership

Source: Congregational Membership List, June 1997

1 Dot = 1 member (household)
N = 90
⊕ = Religious institution location
or nearby Rexdale, but not within walking distance of the church building. The pastor observed that many members frequently visit one another's residences, many of which are located in certain high-rise buildings. In addition to informal socializing, congregation participants meet at one another's homes on a weekly basis for the purpose of meeting in fellowship groups.

The Vietnamese Alliance Church of Toronto – This congregation was the first Vietnamese Christian Missionary Alliance church established in the Toronto area. The initial church group was formed in 1975 by Vietnamese who came to Canada in the first wave of refugees following the fall of Saigon. The group met at several sites until moving to its present building located on Boon Avenue near St. Clair Avenue West and Dufferin Street in the City of York (Figure 7.3). An analysis of the church's membership list indicates that the residences of the worshippers are fairly dispersed throughout the Toronto metropolitan area. There is something of a concentration of church members residing in the City of York near the church building itself. However, the residences of significant numbers of members are also present in more distant locales including Parkdale in Toronto's west end, sections of Mississauga, and pockets of North York and Scarborough. The church pastor notes that as the congregation was the first Vietnamese language Alliance church in the Toronto area, some worshippers have chosen to continue as members even as new Vietnamese Alliance churches have formed closer to their homes over the past decade. The church has organized small fellowship groups which meet weekly, on a rotating basis, at members' homes.
Figure 7.3
Vietnamese Alliance Church of Toronto,
Residential Distribution of Membership

1 Dot = 1 member (household)
N = 148
ṅ = Religious institution location

Source: Congregational Membership List, May 1997
These fellowship groups - which engage in bible study and group discussion – are organized in terms of the geography of individual members’ residences. Each fellowship group possesses about a half dozen Vietnamese families.

**Vietnamese Alliance Church of Southeast Toronto** – This Alliance congregation was formed in 1992. The group is a tenant in a large church building owned by a mainstream Presbyterian group. The church pastor noted that this meeting site, located near the corner of Gerrard and Broadview (Figure 7.4) in the heart of the Chinatown East neighbourhood in the City of Toronto, was chosen due to its proximity to a Vietnamese residential population. Looking at the residential distribution of the church’s membership, clustering is apparent in the neighbourhood adjacent to the congregation’s meeting site. Equally noteworthy, however, is the presence of worshippers residing in other parts of the City of Toronto, including the west end. A few members also come to the church from more distant locations including Downsview and Mississauga. The church has also organized fellowship groups based on the geography of members’ residences. These include groups which are roughly based in the east, central, and western portions of the metropolitan area.

**Vietnamese Alliance Church of Mississauga** – The Mississauga congregation was formed in 1988. The group initially met at a mainstream United Church building located near Bloor and Fieldgate in Mississauga. The original meeting site was in a neighbourhood with a significant Vietnamese residential concentration. In 1997, the congregation bought its own church building near Lakeshore Boulevard and Cawthra Road in southeastern
Figure 7.4

Vietnamese Alliance Church of Southeast Toronto,
Residential Distribution of Membership

1 Dot = 1 member (household)
N = 99
⊗ = Religious institution location

Source: Congregational Membership List, May 1997
Mississauga (Figure 7.5). According to church’s records, many members reside in both the Dixie-Bloor and Cooksville neighbourhoods of Mississauga. Significant numbers of members also reside in western Etobicoke. The spatial catchment area of the congregation is not as physically large as that possessed by some of the other Alliance churches. It is noteworthy, however, that a fairly ample contingent of members do come to the church from the west end of Toronto as well as the City of York. Like the other Alliance congregations, the church possesses bible study groups which rotate on a weekly basis at the homes of members.

**Vietnamese Olive Baptist Church** – The Olive Baptist congregation is a ministry of an evangelical Baptist church located in Toronto’s west end. The Vietnamese-speaking congregation was established in 1990. This group shares a church building with Portuguese and English-speaking ministries. The church building is located in an area of heavy Vietnamese residential concentration not far from the Parkdale neighbourhood. The majority of members do live in fairly close proximity to Toronto’s west end (Figure 7.6). There are a number of members, however, who reside some distance away, particularly in Mississauga. Like most of the Alliance churches, the Baptist congregation has organized informal fellowship groups which meet at the homes of members for the purposes of prayer, bible study, and social support. The church possesses three fellowship groups arranged by the geography of members’ residences. Two of these groups are based on the west side of the city of Toronto, and one in Mississauga.
Figure 7.5

Vietnamese Alliance Church of Mississauga,
Residential Distribution of Membership

1 Dot = 1 member (household)
N = 137
8 households outside map area

= Religious institution location

Source: Congregational Membership List, May 1997
Vietnamese Alliance Church of Scarborough - The Scarborough Alliance congregation was established in 1989 by a former pastor of the Boon Avenue congregation. The group shares a building with a predominantly white Alliance congregation. The spatial spread of the church's catchment area is rather striking (Figure 7.7). The residences of members are not especially clustered in Scarborough near the church itself. Sizable numbers of worshippers reside in the City of Toronto, particularly in the west end, in Downsview and in Mississauga. Spatial proximity appears to play only a very limited role in facilitating participation within this particular congregation. The Scarborough church has also organized fellowship groups within different subregions of the metropolitan area which meet on a rotating basis at members' homes.

Grace Chinese Alliance Church – This congregation is an ethnic Chinese group formed in 1985. All of the members are Cantonese-speaking Chinese originating from South Vietnam. The church holds Sunday services at a school located near Bloor and Christie, just west of Toronto’s downtown. In addition, the congregation sponsors weekly bible and fellowship activities at another church building in the downtown Chinatown neighbourhood. The residential distribution of the church’s membership is extremely dispersed throughout the Toronto metropolitan area (Figure 7.8). Interestingly, the most notable agglomeration of worshippers resides in Downsview, far from the congregation’s meeting site. Members are also well-represented in Scarborough, and Mississauga in addition to the Chinatown East and west end neighbourhoods of the City of Toronto. The church pastor observed that many of the congregation’s
Figure 7.7

Vietnamese Alliance Church of Scarborough,

Residential Distribution of Membership

1 Dot = 1 member (household)
N = 146

= Religious institution location

Source: Congregational Membership List, May 1997
Figure 7.8

Grace Chinese Alliance Church of Toronto,
Residential Distribution of Membership

1 Dot = 1 member (household)
N = 173

⊙ = Religious institution location

Source: Congregational Membership List, June 1997
worshippers have over time moved out of central Toronto to suburban locales, while continuing to participate in the activities of the church. Many members have also brought in friends who do not live anywhere near the church. The pastor has plans to build a new church building for the congregation in North York at a site a considerable distance from the group's present place of worship. The pastor stated that he believes ethnic Chinese from throughout the metropolitan area will be better able to access this location due to efficient highway and subway access to the new suburban site.

**Vietnamese Zen Meditation Group** – This is a Buddhist association which was established in 1987. The congregation's doctrinal orientation is unique among Vietnamese Buddhist groups in the Toronto area. Congregation members follow the progressive teachings of Thich Nhat Hanh, a Vietnamese Buddhist Master based in France. Thich Nhat Hanh emphasizes meditation and the equal participation of laity within Buddhist practice. Many of the Zen Meditation Group's members are well-established Vietnamese professionals. The group has met at a number of locales over the years. Initially it met at a Vietnamese Buddhist temple located in Parkdale. It then moved to a Chinese temple, also in Toronto's west end. In 1997, the association moved its weekly meditation sessions to a Chinese temple located in the City of North York on Lawrence Avenue West. Members also frequently meet informally at a member's house located just west of Toronto's downtown. Participants in the Zen Meditation Group reside throughout the Toronto metropolitan area (Figure 7.9). Members live in Scarborough, North York, Mississauga, as well as central Toronto. A few
Figure 7.9

Vietnamese Zen Meditation Group,
Residential Distribution of Membership

1 Dot = 1 member (household)
N = 53
2 households outside map area
⊗ = Religious institution location

Source: Congregational Membership List, May 1997
participants come from more distant cities including Kitchener-Waterloo and Guelph.

Xa Loi Temple - Xa Loi temple was founded in early 1997 following a split from the leadership of a Vietnamese temple located in Toronto's east end. A former lay leader of the east end temple was instrumental in forming the new congregation. Figure (7.10) indicates the membership of Xa Loi temple is very much dispersed throughout the Toronto metropolitan area. It is interesting to note substantial numbers of members come to the temple from residences in Scarborough and Downsview. These are areas located a considerable distance from Parkdale. Significant numbers of members do live in certain west end neighbourhoods, as well as Regent Park in Toronto's east end, the City of York, and elsewhere in the Downsview area. Other members live in scattered locations in Scarborough, Etobicoke, and Mississauga.

The leadership of other religious institutions were asked to describe the spatial catchment area of their churches and temples. Spokespersons for two additional Buddhist temples claimed their congregations attract Vietnamese from throughout the Toronto area and beyond. Hoa Nghiem probably has the largest membership of any temple in greater Toronto. The temple itself is located in Toronto's east end. An active member of this temple noted that significant numbers of members are drawn from the west side of Toronto, Downsview, Scarborough, and more outlying cities including Hamilton. On several visits to the temple, I met families who drive in to participate on a weekly or biweekly basis from Etobicoke, Mississauga, and as far from Toronto as Stratford.
Xa Loi Buddhist Temple,

Residential Distribution of Membership

1 Dot = 1 member (household)
N = 148
1 household outside map area
★ = Religious institution location

Source: Congregational Membership List, November 1997
Linh Son Temple is located in the heart of Toronto's west end near Lansdowne Avenue and Dundas West. The head monk of Linh Son stated that members of his congregation were not particularly clustered on the west side. Rather, he observed that significant proportions of his total membership travel to the temple from other municipalities including Scarborough, North York, Etobicoke, and Mississauga. A Cao Dai association meets in an old storefront situated at Dundas West and Runnymede Road, also in Toronto's west end. This group is the only Cao Dai congregation existing in Ontario. Not surprisingly, its membership is derived from a considerably larger geographic area than the west end alone. In fact, members of the Cao Dai group first met in Mississauga at the homes of some participants. On several visits to the temple, the researcher met participants who resided in different parts of the metropolitan area. On special occasions, including the Vietnamese New Year – Tet, the temple was observed to attract Cao Dai followers from as far away as Hamilton, Kitchener, Guelph, St. Catherines, and Windsor, Ontario.

An analogous situation exists at the Vietnamese parish based at St. Cecelia Roman Catholic Church located in Toronto's west end. According to the head priest of the parish, the congregation has between 1,500 and 2,000 individuals on its membership rolls. The church is recognized by the Toronto Catholic archdiocese as the official Vietnamese-language parish in the municipality of Metropolitan Toronto. Given its status and the congregation's extensive program of masses and social services offered in Vietnamese, it is not surprising that Vietnamese Catholics from throughout greater Toronto come to
the church on a regular basis. Residential proximity does seem to be a more significant determinant of attendance among members of a Vietnamese Catholic congregation based at a church in Downsview. According to a lay leader of the congregation, most persons attending the monthly Vietnamese language mass at the church reside in the immediate areas of Downsview. This generalization is supported by the researcher’s observations and extensive interaction with congregation members over a two year period.

ETHNIC ASSOCIATIONS

Among non-religious associations, officials of three groups were asked to describe the catchment area from which they derive their participants. The Vietnamese Elderly Association of Toronto is a particularly active organization providing a range of social services and recreational programs to its members on a weekly basis. The association meets in a storefront located in Toronto’s west end. Several individuals active in the leadership of this group observed that members come from throughout greater Toronto on a regular basis to participate in the organization’s activities. The researcher met active participants who reside in locations as disparate as Scarborough, Downsview, and Mississauga.

The Vietnamese Womens’ Association and the Vietnamese Scouts Association both meet in the basement of the Vietnamese Association, also in Toronto’s west end. The Scouts Association consists of about 100 active members and is the only ethnic-specific scouts organization serving Vietnamese youth in the Toronto area. The Womens’ Association possesses an official membership of about 150, but smaller numbers of women appear to participate
in the organization's activities on a regular basis. The leadership of both groups noted the metropolitan-wide residential distribution of their memberships.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In sum, the evidence provided here suggests that residential proximity in certain situations is a key factor stimulating interaction and participation in ethnic institutions among the Vietnamese in Toronto. The most impressive examples of neighbourhood based membership were observed among two congregations located in Downsview. Vietnamese Christian Missionary Alliance and Catholic churches based in this part of the city draw most of their worshippers from the surrounding Jane-Finch neighbourhood, which also happens to be a site of substantial Vietnamese residential concentration in both high-rise buildings and single family homes.

More significantly, the data presented in this chapter makes it apparent that many Vietnamese ethnic institutions draw much of their membership bodies from larger physical areas than the immediate regions of the city in which their meeting sites are situated. Most of the congregations included as case studies receive half or more of their members from areas of the city located five kilometers or more away from their meeting sites. One church, the Scarborough Alliance congregation, draws more than 90% of its members from outside a five kilometer radius. Not one of the congregations for which the residences of members were mapped, including the Downsview Alliance congregation, pulls in more than 1/3 of its members from a distance of less than two kilometers – the radius beyond which would require more than a half hour walk among
worshippers. As shown in Chapter Six, the Vietnamese do display impressive patterns of residential concentration within certain neighbourhoods of the Toronto CMA. Many Vietnamese, however, choose to participate in religious institutions located in neighbourhoods some distance from where they live. This is often the case, despite the presence of a church or temple of their own religious affiliation located relatively close to their place of residence. Several Vietnamese ethnic associations other than religious groups also possess metropolitan-wide memberships. By no means does residential concentration seem to be a necessary condition for Vietnamese to participate in ethnic institutions. Other factors besides residential proximity seem to be prime motivating factors for member participation in given institutions. In the case of churches and temples, these factors include the presence of friends and relatives attending the institution’s functions as well as preferences for a particular style of worship and/or a specific set of services and programs offered by a given congregation.

The circumstances of the Vietnamese Alliance churches show the key role of family and friendship networks in influencing attendance and participation in particular congregations. According to several pastors, the Alliance church locations were deliberately chosen with the goal of serving Vietnamese within certain regions of the metropolitan area. In the past decade, the leadership of the Vietnamese Christian Missionary Alliance has formed new congregations in Scarborough, Mississauga, Riverdale/Chinatown East, Downsview, and Brampton. These are all areas of the metropolitan region within which a growing Vietnamese population was identified. A future church is also
planned in Parkdale. Despite this deliberate planning by the church hierarchy in terms of geography, most of the Alliance churches have not developed spatially fixed memberships. The pastors of several Alliance churches noted that most of the members of their congregations joined at the invitation of family members or friends. Often these new members have resided a considerable distance from the church meeting site. Pastors related the fact that a fair number of their members shared rides with friends or family members in order to access the church meeting site. Once a member starts attending the church, he or she frequently becomes involved in social networks with other worshippers. This is particularly likely at the Alliance churches given the close interaction existing among many members who meet weekly in small fellowship groups. At most of the churches, these groups are organized by the location of members' residences. Intriguingly, it may be argued that these congregations in part overcome any friction of distance resulting from a dispersed residential distribution by creating smaller subgroups of members who meet informally every week with other worshippers living in the vicinity.

The situations of two Buddhist associations show the importance style of worship and available services and programs may play in influencing membership composition. The members of the Vietnamese Zen Meditation Group follow the teachings of Thich Nhat Hanh. Meetings of the group involve meditation, physical exercise, and group discussion. Most of the members of the meditation group are well-established professionals. Many of them live closer to the meeting places of other Vietnamese Buddhist temples than that of their own
association. For these individuals, the progressive brand of Buddhism offered by the Zen Meditation Group facilitates their participation in its activities. Friendship networks have also played an important role in influencing the membership composition of this congregation. According to a group spokesperson, amongst the most active and committed participants are a sizable group of friends who originate from Central Vietnam.

Somewhat similar factors have influenced the membership composition of Xa Loi Temple located in Parkdale. Many of the members of Xa Loi temple formerly belonged to an east end temple. Many of these participants belong to a Buddhist youth group which had been disbanded by the leadership of the east end temple as part of a conflict only to be reconstituted at the new Xa Loi temple. Several members of this new temple are among the most active participants in the Buddhist youth group. Many of these members possess personal friendships with other participants in the youth group as well as the lay leader who organized the new temple.

To conclude, the evidence provided here suggests that residence is only modestly related to interaction and participation in ethnic institutions among the Vietnamese in the Toronto area. Stronger support exists for a "community without neighbourhood" model of ethnic social interaction as opposed to the ecological models which emphasize the influence of residential concentration in stimulating social network formation and institutional development among members of a particular ethnic group within a given city. It seems likely that even with a decreasing degree of residential concentration, the Vietnamese could
maintain strong institutions and the constituent social networks that are
developed and maintained through participation in these ethnic associations.
CHAPTER EIGHT
ETHNIC INSTITUTIONS AND ADAPTATION

INTRODUCTION

Scholars writing about the ethnic associations established by different generations of immigrant groups have long debated the functional significance and impact of these institutions. One school of thought has held that ethnic mutual assistance organizations and religious institutions for the most part serve as agencies of integration with the host society, and in the long run, primarily provide support for the processes of cultural assimilation. Many scholars have argued that ethnic associations have a predominantly positive impact upon social integration. Proponents of this point of view claim that ethnic organizations play a role similar to that of other intermediary social institutions. They provide the means to satisfy the special needs of immigrants while serving as a bridge between the ethnic population and host society institutions (Schoeneberg, 1985). Ward (1989) summarizes the findings from a wide range of studies of primarily "white ethnic" immigrant groups in U.S. cities in the 19th and early 20th century centuries. Many ethnic historians have utilized data sources such as personal interviews, newspaper articles, census data, city directories and archival evidence (such as records from ethnic associations and congregations) to construct accounts of ethnic community life among given groups within particular metropolitan areas. A central theme of many of these studies is the primarily integrative function served by ethnic institutions. While immigrant associations such as fraternal organizations, mutual benefit societies, and churches may have helped promote co-ethnic ties and maintenance of the ancestral mother tongue,
they also served to encourage their members to learn the English language, participate in the American electoral system, and aspire to jobs and neighbourhoods associated with an improved status in the host society (Ward, 1989).

Other theorists have argued that ethnic associations primarily serve to facilitate the maintenance of ethnic identity as they help promote interaction within group social networks (Smith, 1978). The existence of "institutionally complete" sub-systems makes it viable to limit most primary relationships to fellow immigrant compatriots. A small group of contemporary Canadian scholars have utilized qualitative methodologies including semi-structured interviews with organizational leaders and membership as well as participant observation at given institutions to examine the role of ethnic associations in the adaptation process. Nagata (1987) looked at Filipino, Indonesian, and Chinese-Malaysian congregations in the Toronto area. McClellan (1987) assessed both Tibetan Buddhists in Lindsay, Ontario and a Vietnamese Buddhist congregation in Toronto (1992). Winland (1992) researched Hmong Mennonite and evangelical Christian congregations in the Kitchener-Waterloo area, while Lao Buddhists in Toronto were the focus of Van Esterik's (1992) study. All of these scholars primarily emphasize the ethnic identity maintenance functions of immigrant congregations in their findings.

Yet another group of scholars has focused attention on both the integrative and identity maintenance roles associated with ethnic institutions. Rutledge (1985) and Dorais (1989) utilized semi-structured interviews and
participant observation to study Vietnamese congregations in Oklahoma City and Montreal respectively. Rutledge notes Vietnamese Catholic and Buddhist congregations serve to reinforce ethnic cohesion and identity among their members. However, at the same time, he argues the Catholic and Buddhists utilized their institutions as part of a strategy to encourage tolerance in the host society. Particularly striking in this regard are Rutledge’s anecdotes in regard to a Vietnamese Buddhist congregation. The temple was identified as a “church” in the telephone directory, the monk was called a “priest”, pews were present at the site of worship (though they were moved out of the way and members sat on the floor during the service), and a martial arts class was organized for non-Vietnamese neighbourhood youth.

Dorais (1989) observes that Vietnamese Cao Dai and Buddhist congregations provide to many older faithful an opportunity to live in a largely closed sociocultural world in which their basic identity, as well as their values and cultural habits remain completely Vietnamese. He sees this as a primarily positive contribution to the adaptation of individual worshippers. Dorais argues that these religious institutions provide their members with an ethnic milieu in which their life in Canada makes sense, in spite of their lack of economic, social, and linguistic integration with the larger society. Interestingly, he also argues, though, that for many worshippers, particularly younger people, these congregations also provide an integrative function as members occasionally interact with non-Vietnamese and introduce the larger Canadian public to eastern philosophy.
In a related vein, Shoeneberg (1985) directs attention to both the ethnic identity reinforcing and integrating roles of Turkish immigrant institutions in the former West Germany. This scholar administered questionnaires to a statistical sample of Greek, Italian, and Turkish organizational participants and non-participants. Schoeneberg observes that the connections between organizational participation and measures of cultural assimilation including friendships with Germans and fluency in the German language are complex and somewhat dependent upon the goals and activities of the particular ethnic organization. Among Greeks and Italians, participants in ethnic associations were actually more likely to have extensive contacts with Germans and fluency in the host society language compared to non-participants. The same general relationship was found among Turkish participants in ethnic political groups. However, those Turks participating in Islamic religious institutions had notably few contacts with Germans.

The arguments surrounding the functional impact of ethnic associations parallel the tension between assimilation and cultural pluralism theorists in the broader ethnic studies literature. This chapter will make reference to this larger debate as it addresses the role of co-ethnic mutual assistance associations and temples and churches in the lives of Vietnamese residing in the Toronto area. The following research questions will guide the analysis in the chapter: To what degree do the ethnic institutions of Vietnamese residing in Toronto seem to facilitate the integration of members with the host society? By what means, if any, have the leaders of Vietnamese ethnic institutions attempted to
further cultural integration among their members? To what extent do Vietnamese ethnic institutions serve to promote the maintenance of a “Vietnamese” ethnic identity among their participants? In what specific ways, if any, do the leaders of ethnic associations attempt to stimulate and/or reinforce a Vietnamese ethnic identity on behalf of their members?

The findings reported in this chapter were derived from two main sources of data collection. Key informant interviews were conducted with the leadership of several Vietnamese ethnic institutions based in the Toronto area. Among the topics discussed in these semi-structured interviews were the activities and programs, membership composition, as well as informal interactions occurring among the membership belonging to given ethnic organizations and temples and churches. The semi-structured interviews were supplemented by personal visits I paid to a number of ethnic associations and religious institutions. During the course of these visits I observed and sometimes took part in formal and informal activities and also spoke to individual members about their participation in the institution’s programs and their interpersonal relationships with fellow members. My findings are primarily derived from interviews conducted and observations made at eight ethnic associations and eighteen religious institutions based in Southern Ontario. To illustrate the functional significance of ethnic institutions in the lives of Vietnamese I present brief case studies of three ethnic associations and nine temples and churches in the chapter.
ETHNIC ASSOCIATIONS

Several fraternal and social service organizations serve as settings for social interaction among Vietnamese residing in the Toronto area. Among these groups are those which are oriented to serving clienteles of Vietnam-origin professionals and ethnic Chinese from Vietnam. The following are case studies of a few such ethnic associations which I visited as part of my fieldwork.

Vietnamese Professional Societies – There are several professional associations active in Toronto. While it has focused much of its attention upon social justice issues including improving the relationships of the Vietnamese population with the mainstream media and the criminal justice system, the Society of Vietnamese Professionals has also sponsored workshops to assist its members – particularly engineers – in passing the exams of Ontario professional accreditation associations. The organization has lobbied accreditation organizations with the goal of improving access of Vietnam-born individuals to the professions in Ontario. The Society of Professionals has also held joint workshops with Vietnamese student societies at area universities with the goal of improving the skills of Vietnamese students in job interviews, resume writing, and preparing for accreditation exams. The Vietnamese Physicians’ Association of Toronto provides a somewhat similar array of programs to its members on both a formal and informal basis. This organization consists of about 100 Vietnamese medical professionals who provide one another with a considerable degree of personal assistance in preparing for certification exams. The association has organized tutoring sessions and seminars to help its members
review items for certification tests. The physicians organization co-sponsors occasional joint activities with Vietnamese Dentists’ and Pharmacists’ Associations also based in the Toronto area.

Vietnam-Cambodia-Lao-Chinese Service Organization of Ontario — Based in Toronto’s downtown Chinatown, this ethnic Chinese association was organized in 1979. The organization’s membership and service population consists primarily of Vietnam-born ethnic Chinese. Most of the participants in the agency’s activities appear to be middle-aged to elderly men. Initially, the agency provided a wide range of settlement services to “boat people” refugees from Indochina. In the mid-1980s, the organization lost almost all of its provincial and federal funding and refocused itself to the provision of cultural and recreational programs. The only outside funding received by the organization comes from the Toronto Board of Education which sponsors a weekly ESL class for elderly ethnic Chinese. Members come throughout the week, but especially on weekends, to read Chinese-language newspapers, socialize, play mah-jong, and sing karaoke. Every month the organization holds a birthday party for members celebrating birthdays within a given four week period. Field trips are also organized to area attractions such as the Botanical Gardens in Hamilton and Niagara Falls. The association also helps its members fill out tax forms in April and annual cultural celebrations are organized for members and the general public at the time of the Chinese New Year, the Mid-Autumn Festival, Christmas, and the Canadian New Year.
RELIGIOUS GROUPS

Buddhist Associations - In addition to participating in the Buddhist service itself, many members of Vietnamese Buddhist groups in the Toronto area also engage in extensive informal activities with one another. Two case studies of Buddhist groups will illustrate this. Xa Loi is a Vietnamese Buddhist temple located in the Parkdale neighbourhood of Toronto's west end. Most of the members of this temple have come to Canada relatively recently – in the past five to ten years – though a few families arrived longer ago and more recently as well.

After the Buddhist service each Sunday afternoon, members eat a vegetarian dinner (in accord with Buddhist guidelines) and socialize. The weekly communal dinner is in fact a characteristic of all Vietnamese Buddhist temples in the Toronto area. It is a time for members to gossip, tell jokes, and catch up on events going on in one another's lives. Middle-aged and elderly members may spend an hour or more eating, drinking tea, and engaging in discussion at these weekly gatherings. On Sunday morning, several female members of the congregation, mostly older women, arrive early to make food for the dinner. Considerable socializing also occurs among these women as the food is prepared.

After the dinner at Xa Loi temple, young members engage in the activities of the temple's Buddhist youth group. The youth organization has about 100 members. The membership of the youth organization as a whole is subdivided by age into four separate subgroups, the groups are also subdivided by gender. The ages of members range from under five years to the late twenties. The members of the group wear uniforms similar to that of a scout troop. The
group teaches its participants about Buddhism and Vietnamese culture. Members of the group learn the key principles of Buddhism (the dharma). Participants also read and write Vietnamese poetry and sing traditional songs. The youth group has its own dance troupe, which has performed traditional Vietnamese dances at multicultural festivals. The group also engages in many outdoor activities, including camping trips. Members of the group have set up an internet homepage, which provides information about the youth group and Xa Loi temple in the Vietnamese language. Despite the fact that some of the younger members may be more comfortable speaking English, all of the activities of the youth group are conducted in Vietnamese.

Strong friendship networks exist among many members of the Xa Loi youth group. Outside of its organized activities on Sunday afternoons, members have engaged in other informal social activities on a periodic basis including the provision of mutual assistance in regard to such matters as automobile repair. A few other Vietnamese Buddhist temples in the Toronto area have organized youth groups which are intended to promote the survival of the Buddhist religion and the Vietnamese language among the younger generation and also to facilitate the interest and participation of Vietnamese youth in the activities of a given temple. Vietnamese temples which do not have organized youth groups also offer similar activities to younger members on a more informal basis.

The Vietnamese Zen Meditation Group does not have its own temple but instead meets on a rotating basis at members’ homes and at a Chinese temple located in the City of North York. Members of the Vietnamese meditation group
study and practice the teachings of Vietnamese Buddhist master Thich Nhat Hanh. In total, the association has about 100 active members. The larger group is broken down into four subsections — a youth group, an adult group, a group of professionals, and an English language group. The personal characteristics of the members differ significantly from those of other Vietnamese Buddhist associations in the Toronto area. While most Vietnamese Buddhist groups generally possess a membership that has resided in Canada for about five to fifteen years, the majority of the participants in the meditation group have lived in Canada for twenty years or more. Only a few members have come to Canada relatively recently. Also unusual is the fact that the majority of the members originate from the Central section of Vietnam as opposed to the South or North. A leader of the group explained that many of the participants are friends of one another and these friendship groups happen to consist of well-established Vietnamese-Canadians who originate from Central Vietnam.

Given the role of friendship networks in the Zen Meditation congregation's formation, it is not surprising that significant interpersonal relationships of mutual assistance and exchange exist among the organization’s active participants. A leader of the group stated that many members perceive themselves as belonging to “one big family” with members treating one another as fictive brothers and sisters. Participants in the meditation group frequently meet informally for meals and recreational activities. They have provided advice to one another in regard to managing personal and family-related problems. Members have also assisted one another with matters such as moving, home
renovation, and auto repair. Participants also commonly invite one another to important family events including birth celebrations and funerals.

**Cao Dai Temple** – Several members of the only Cao Dai temple in the Toronto area possess especially strong friendship networks with one another. This may be partially attributed to the history of persecution of Cao Dai followers in Vietnam as well as the minority status and low visibility of the Cao Dai religion among the Vietnamese population in the Toronto area. Participants at the temple do possess several of the characteristics of an extended family. Temple members generally arrive at the storefront place of worship in Toronto’s west end between 10 and 11 on a given Sunday morning. They greet one another and prepare for the service. After the worship ceremony, a vegetarian meal is served in the temple basement. Many middle-aged and elderly male and female worshippers engage in extended conversation for an hour or two at this lunchtime gathering. The atmosphere is relaxed and punctuated with outbursts of laughter as members poke fun at one another or tell humorous stories. While older members talk downstairs, upstairs a group of young members in their teens and early twenties engage in conversation and assist children with activities including dancing, singing Vietnamese songs, as well as reading and writing Vietnamese poetry and drawing and colouring pictures of Vietnamese cultural artifacts. All of these activities are conducted in the Vietnamese language.

Important cultural celebrations such as the Vietnamese New Year and important days on the Cao Dai Lunar Calendar attract large numbers of Cao Dai adherents to the temple. On these occasions, the small Dundas Street West
storefront temple becomes very crowded. Many families come from surrounding regions of Southern Ontario including Hamilton, Guelph, and Kitchener for these special days. These celebrations present an opportunity for a larger number of Cao Dai followers to become acquainted or reacquainted with one another. At a Vietnamese New Year's celebration I attended, a “family” atmosphere was particularly visible. During the service itself, pauses were filled with conversation between middle-aged and elderly members, and the leaders had to regain the attention of the congregation at numerous intervals in order to carry on with the Cao Dai rituals. In addition to the scheduled activities at the temple, some members occasionally meet for dinner and prayer at each other's homes. During the warmer months, some worshippers also gather together in area parks for get-togethers.

Vietnamese Catholic Associations — Many Vietnamese Catholics in the Toronto area possess close bonds with one another. These relationships may be traced to the legacy of Catholicism in Vietnam. Most Vietnamese Catholics share similar life histories. Many families migrated from North Vietnam to the South immediately following the Communist takeover of the North in 1954. In the South Vietnam of the 1960s and early 1970s, Catholics occupied prominent positions in the government and the military. Large numbers of Catholics resided in enclaves, particularly in Saigon, in which they developed their own institutional substructures of schools, hospitals, and social services. Given their vehement opposition to Communism in previous decades, Catholics confronted a significant degree of state persecution after the fall of Saigon in 1975. Many
middle-class Catholic men were sent to reeducation camps and their children were denied opportunities in the education system. Freedom of worship was curtailed and closely monitored. Under these circumstances, it was not surprising that Vietnamese Catholics constituted a more sizable percentage of the migration flow to North America than their proportion of Vietnam's total population would suggest.

In areas of significant resettlement including Southern Ontario, many Vietnamese Catholics have developed strong social networks centred within local congregations. By far the largest Vietnamese congregation in the Toronto region is affiliated with St. Cecelia church located in the City of Toronto's west end. At least 1,200 Vietnamese Catholics participate in the activities of this congregation which is the only Vietnamese language parish in Metropolitan Toronto officially recognized by the Roman Catholic Archdiocese. The parish sponsors a range of programs in addition to several masses offered on weekends. A youth group meets once a month. Members of the youth organization are taught from the bible and also come together for recreational outings including camping trips in the summer. The parish also co-sponsors Vietnamese language classes for each of twelve grade levels. This program has had as many as 250 students enrolled in a given year. The educational program receives funding from the Heritage Language Program of the Toronto Catholic Separate School Board and meets at a school located near Jane and Annette Streets. The classes involve not only instruction in the Vietnamese language but also the reading of Vietnamese literature and poetry writing as well as the teaching of catechism. Students
participating in this program have published a collection of Vietnamese language poems. The church also possesses three choirs in which young people are actively involved. In addition, the parish has organized a Catholic womens’ group whose members arrange assistance and visits to families in which a member is sick or has recently died.

Perhaps the most active of social networks exist among senior members of the St. Cecelia parish. Many of these older men and women take an active role in church affairs – women preparing food for sale at special church gatherings such as the Vietnamese New Year and men ushering, and arranging wakes for the recently deceased. Many middle-aged to elderly members also engage in informal social activities with one another including dinners at one another’s homes.

While all of the above activities would seem to facilitate the maintenance of a Vietnamese Catholic identity and the Vietnamese language and culture more generally, the leadership of the parish has also attempted to organize programs designed to promote integration with the Canadian host society. A Vietnamese priest has promoted common activities between the parish youth group and youth organizations from other parishes in the Toronto area. However, this priest noted many of the young people in his parish were somewhat reluctant to participate in this program. General interaction between members of the Vietnamese Catholic parish and the congregation of primarily Irish-origin worshippers it shares its church building with is limited.
A Vietnamese Catholic congregation has also formed at St. Jane Frances Church in the Downsview area of the City of North York. A group of about 200 Vietnamese meet monthly for a Vietnamese language mass at this church which is demographically a predominantly Italian parish. Most of the participants in the Downsview Vietnamese Catholic group also attend services at St. Cecelia church in the City of Toronto. The membership of the Vietnamese Catholic group at St. Jane Frances reflects the general characteristics of the Vietnamese population in Downsview. Many worshippers are relative newcomers to Canada, having arrived in the past five to ten years. An impressive amount of social interaction exists among the membership of this congregation in spite of the fact that worship only occurs on a monthly basis. A Vietnamese choir made up predominantly of young people practices weekly and sings at most services. Several female members of the choir in their teens and early twenties possess notably strong friendship networks, frequently visiting one another’s homes, engaging in social outings, and studying together. A number of male congregation members in their twenties and early thirties also engage in informal relationships of reciprocal exchange. These young men commonly visit each other’s homes, gathering for recreational activities such as playing cards and visiting karaoke bars, as well as providing one another with assistance repairing automobiles and electronics equipment.

Again, however, it may be the late middle age to elderly members who participate in the most frequent informal networking with one another in the Downsview congregation. In fact, several elderly churchgoers have pressed their
adult children to purchase homes or rent apartments in the vicinity of the church in order to facilitate daily attendance at church services and frequent contact with other congregation members. In addition to their lifelong Catholicism, many of the older men share a common life history of employment in the South Vietnamese bureaucracy and persecution at the hands of the Communist government after 1975. Older congregation members often invite one another to dinner at their family’s homes, and many of the older male worshippers are also involved in ushering for the church as well as planning observances for recently deceased members of the congregation.

**Protestant Churches** – Informal interactions are also notable among the membership of several evangelical Protestant Vietnamese congregations based in Southern Ontario. The small size of these groups (50 to 150 members each), the minority status of evangelical Christians within the larger Vietnamese population, and the means by which these congregations organize social activities are all factors which promote the development of intensive social networks among many worshippers. Each of the evangelical churches has organized fellowship groups which meet on a weekly basis apart from the Sunday service itself. Many of the Vietnamese churches divide their fellowship groups into geographic subareas. Members residing within each of these subareas typically meet on a rotating basis at other lay participants’ homes. At these gatherings, which usually take place on Friday or Saturday nights, members pray, study the bible, engage in group discussion, provide advice to one another in regard to domestic and personal issues, and share dinner. Most churches also
possess youth organizations. These groups of teenagers and young adults study the bible, sing Christian songs, discuss social issues, and participate in recreational activities including camping. Every church also provides Sunday school religious instruction to members. In addition, several of the evangelical churches also offer Vietnamese language instruction to the youngest children.

The provision of mutual aid and personal assistance is commonplace among the participants of the evangelical congregations as case studies of individual churches will show. The Vietnamese Alliance Church of Downsview is a congregation of around 100 members based in a rented church building. One lay member is a hairdresser who has provided services at a reduced rate to other congregation participants. Another worshipper employed in computer service work and repair has helped member families with technical matters pertaining to computers. Several lay worshippers have also provided tutoring assistance with homework to children of congregation members.

The Kitchener-Waterloo Alliance Church is a congregation of about 70 members, the vast majority of whom originate from North Vietnam, in contrast to the other Vietnamese evangelical congregations where South Vietnamese predominate. Worshippers of this particular church also provide one another with a considerable degree of interpersonal assistance and social support. One lay member owns an auto repair shop and has helped other participants who have experienced problems with their vehicles. Another member works with computers and has provided technical help at a low rate to fellow worshippers. Some members also volunteer their babysitting labour to worshippers with young
children. Participants in a youth fellowship group are involved in a variety of informal activities with one another including car washes, barbecues, and camping.

The Vietnamese Alliance Church of Hamilton consists of about 140 worshippers. Many members commonly provide one another with mutual assistance and interpersonal support. One congregation member experiencing familial problems and subsequent psychological difficulties was given a place to stay by some lay members. On several occasions, members have informed one another of job openings at their places of work. This process of job introduction has led a number of worshippers to become employed in certain Hamilton-area factories.

The Vietnamese Olive Baptist Church is a congregation of about 50 members which meets at a church building in the City of Toronto’s west end. Worshippers of this church engage in many informal exchanges with one another, especially in their small, geographically based fellowship groups. According to the pastor, on past occasions members have helped one another financially, with translation and interpretation, and moving and babysitting, among other activities. The pastor stated that he encourages worshippers to think of themselves as a "big family" and to meet with and provide interpersonal assistance to one another outside of the church setting itself.

The Olive Baptist congregation is also notable for its administrative organization, which is quite different from that of the other Vietnamese evangelical groups. Most of the Vietnamese evangelical churches share buildings
with predominantly white Canadian congregations of the same Christian Missionary Alliance denomination. Despite sharing common space, these Vietnamese churches are run independently, with their own board of directors responsible for administration and raising funds for operating expenses. By contrast, the Vietnamese Olive Baptist Ministry is a participating member of a larger church which includes a predominantly white group of “mainstream” Canadians and a Portuguese language ministry. The three ministries are equal participants on an administrative board and share financial resources. The pastor of the Vietnamese ministry believes there are advantages to this model of ethnic congregation organization. He notes that on one hand the ethnic group can maintain aspects of its own culture as it worships in its own language but it may also intermingle with individuals from other ethnic groups and backgrounds, facilitating improvement among members in the English language. The pastor also believes this interaction between ministries also serves to promote integration of individual Vietnamese worshippers with the larger Canadian host society, a process he clearly perceives as positive and desirable. Unlike most Vietnamese congregations of all denominations whose members generally possess only limited contact with non-Vietnamese worshippers, the Olive Baptist congregation promotes such interaction through a joint monthly service with the Portuguese and “mainstream” English language ministries, as well as a shared English language Sunday school for young people. At the same time, the Vietnamese ministry promotes cultural maintenance through its weekly Vietnamese language service and Vietnamese classes for children.
SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

It seems apparent that in certain important ways, Vietnamese ethnic institutions in the Toronto region help promote integration among their members and service populations with the mainstream society. Many of the ethnic associations - both secular and religious - provide formal or informal English language instruction, interpretation, and other means of interpersonal assistance for dealing with mainstream institutions to their members. Some of the churches have attempted to liaise with the religious institutions of “mainstream” Canadians and have encouraged their memberships to interact with those of other ethnic backgrounds belonging to the same denomination. Most of the Buddhist temples have on occasion joined together with non-Vietnamese Buddhist associations for joint activities, especially on the occasion of Wesak – Buddha’s birthday celebrated in early June of each year. The religion of Buddhism holds increasing appeal to westernized young people and some of the Buddhist temples occasionally welcome non-Vietnamese to observe and participate in services. Such interactions with non-Vietnamese possessing an interest in Buddhism are limited however by the fact that almost all of the Buddhist services at area temples are conducted exclusively in Vietnamese. In addition, the clergy of many temples speak very little, if any English. The Cao Dai followers also warmly welcome non-Vietnamese interested in visiting their temple and learning more about the religion. Such visits are not terribly common though, which is not surprising given the very low public visibility of the Cao Dai religion.
It may be stated that the Vietnamese mutual assistance organizations and temples and churches promote in-group interaction and the maintenance of ethnic identity to a far more substantive degree. The above case studies have demonstrated that many institutions serve as settings for co-ethnic friendship networks from which members provide and receive interpersonal assistance and social support. At all temples and churches, weekly services are conducted exclusively in the Vietnamese language. Activities of auxiliary groups including youth, women’s, and elderly societies are usually conducted exclusively in Vietnamese. Leaders of several temples and churches emphasized in interviews that the weekly service is intended, in part, as a vehicle to facilitate maintenance of the Vietnamese language among children and teenagers who have come of age in Canada. Spokespersons for religious groups also observed another function of their institutions. Social activities at temples and churches apart form the religious itself serve as opportunities for Vietnamese young people to meet other Vietnamese of the opposite gender possessing the same religious persuasion.

In her case study of several Vietnamese Buddhist temples in Toronto, McClellan (1992; 1993) argues that ethnic Buddhist congregations are more likely to facilitate cultural maintenance among the Vietnamese as opposed to Catholic or Protestant groups. Very little evidence collected in the course of this study supports this author’s conclusions which seem to be based upon little more than cognition of the obvious fact that Buddhism is the traditional form of organized religion practiced in Vietnam. I have observed strong social networks existing among the memberships of many Vietnamese religious institutions
including Buddhist and Cao Dai groups, Catholic parishes, as well as Protestant churches. If anything, some of the closer bonds appear to exist among the memberships of the Catholic and Protestant congregations. Of course this may be related in part to the differences between the prescribed norms of the religions. Most Vietnamese Catholic and Protestant worshippers attend church on a far more regular basis than most Buddhists. However, the minority status of Vietnamese Catholics and Protestants within the larger Vietnamese population may also serve to strengthen their respective identities and intensify interactions with fellow ethnic co-religionists. Given the history of persecution within their own country, Vietnamese Catholics have long been compelled to develop especially strong social networks and institutional substructures amongst themselves.

While many Vietnamese ethnic associations in Toronto clearly serve to facilitate the maintenance of group identity among their members, it would be wrong to suggest these organizations represent mere “transplants of traditional institutions” in the words of historian Timothy Smith (1978). Rather, most of these organizations are actually “arenas of change” (p. 1178), which Smith argues is a common characteristic of ethnic associations and religious groups in particular. One only needs to look closely at the example of the Vietnamese Buddhist temples. Organized services are not a part of traditional Buddhism as practiced in Vietnam. Temples in Toronto have adopted organized Sunday services to meet the challenge of retaining members in a predominantly Christian society. The youth groups which most Buddhist temples and Catholic and
Protestant congregations have organized is another innovation intended as a response to the challenges of the North American setting. These youth groups may be interpreted as an attempt by congregations to keep organized religion relevant to Vietnamese young people in a society where less than one-quarter of the population attends religious services on a regular basis. The youth organizations mix catechism with a wide variety of recreational activities in order to engage and maintain the interest of participants.

In this regard, it might in fact be argued that the Protestant churches are the most innovative of all the Vietnamese religious groups. The vast majority of the participants in the Protestant churches converted either in refugee camps or after coming to Canada. For most Vietnamese Protestants, the concept of the fellowship group is a means of interpersonal assistance and social support first utilized within a Canadian context. These congregations have taken the small fellowship groups common to evangelical denominations and made them the basis for intensive co-ethnic social networks among many members.

In sum, for certain subgroups of the Vietnamese population in Toronto, ethnic associations have served as important sources of mutual assistance and reciprocal exchange of resources among members. Certain Vietnamese ethnic institutions (in particular the professional associations), have served as bases for collective action and mediation with host society institutions intended to further the mobility of persons of Vietnamese origin in Canadian society. As posited by contemporary scholars who argue that ethnic group members form institutions in response to a situation of disadvantage experienced in the host society, many
Vietnamese have chosen to utilize ethnic institutions for the instrumental functions they provide. However, one should not downplay the expressive needs that these institutions meet. For example, the opportunity to worship in the ancestral mother tongue, and socialize with co-ethnics possessing similar life histories in Vietnam are key influences stimulating Vietnamese participation in churches and temples. The Vietnamese ethnic institutions presented in this chapter as case studies provide their members with considerable resources for meeting both instrumental and expressive needs.
PART III
RELATIONSHIPS OF THE VIETNAMESE WITH
THE HOST SOCIETY IN TORONTO
CHAPTER NINE
VIETNAMESE INCORPORATION IN THE MAINSTREAM TORONTO ECONOMY

INTRODUCTION

Scholars have attempted to account for the differential status attainment and social mobility of immigrant groups in North American cities over time. Following the logic of the assimilation model, research has indicated that to some extent, differences in socioeconomic attainment (occupational status and income) may be related to the human capital characteristics associated with the individuals who compose particular groups. Examples of such human capital variables include parental background, education, and occupational training, work background, as well as English proficiency and duration of residence in the host society (Hirschmann 1982; Morawska, 1990; Hiebert, 1993). However, even after all of these variables are held constant in empirical analyses, scholars have observed significant differences in socioeconomic attainment among different groups, supporting the hypothesis that factors beyond personal human capital affect mobility. Other social scientific explanations for the differential socioeconomic status of immigrant minority groups as opposed to the dominant majority population have centered upon the influence of a sectoral segmentation of labour. Scholars have emphasized that regardless of the human capital characteristics possessed by individuals belonging to certain minority groups, a differential insertion into the labour market inhibits access to equal opportunities and negatively influences occupational status and earnings (Satzewich, 1991)
A perspective commonly referred to as dual labour market theory has been applied to the situation of immigrants. Researchers have observed that many immigrant minority groups residing in the United States and Canada are situated within distinct segments of the larger labour market compared to the majority population. A plethora of studies have indicated that many immigrant minorities are significantly underrepresented in the `primary’ tier of occupations, which include the professions and jobs in large corporations. The primary jobs are usually associated with skill requirements and/or a high level of unionization. Persons working in the primary sector generally possess higher wages and experience upward mobility in relation to education and years on the job. These positions also tend to be relatively secure when the economy is in recession. Conversely, members of many immigrant and `racial’ minority groups tend to be over-concentrated in the so-called “secondary” component of the economy. Employees in the secondary sector usually receive little return for prior experience or education as the information needed to do their jobs is assumed by their employers to be acquired quickly. Employment in the secondary tier is often unskilled, repetitive or monotonous in nature and is associated with low renumeration, a lack of meaningful benefits, and an unstable and often quite limited duration. These jobs are often associated with less pleasant working conditions and often do not provide much opportunity for worker mobility or advancement. Jobs in the secondary sector include positions in manufacturing, the service industries, and retail (Morawska, 1990; Heisler, 1992; Hiebert, 1993; Yamanaka and McClelland, 1994).
Scholars have also devoted much recent attention to ethnic economic enclaves—subeconomies consisting of immigrant-owned businesses employing co-ethnic labourers (Portes and Zhou, 1996; Alba and Nee, 1997). Many of the jobs in the ethnic economy also belong to the "informal" sector of the labour market. While the working conditions associated with enclave jobs may be exploitative, with wages at or below the minimum wage, these jobs also commonly involve relatively flexible arrangements between worker and employer with earnings paid "under the table". Working in co-ethnic firms also may provide employees with entrepreneurial experience and networks of capital and other resources they may call upon when setting up businesses of their own (Gold, 1992; Gold; 1994). Portes and his colleagues argue that members of certain immigrant groups have utilized the ethnic enclave as a strategy to overcome discrimination and institutional barriers in the labour market of the host society and achieve socioeconomic mobility (Portes and Manning, 1986; Portes and Zhou, 1996).

This chapter will investigate the experiences of the Vietnamese ethnic origin population in the mainstream Toronto economy. The following interrelated research questions will guide the analysis: How did the Vietnamese ethnic origin population enumerated in 1991 compare to the total population of the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) as well other major "visible" minority groups in terms of its representation on a range of socioeconomic variables including occupational and income distribution, income composition, unemployment, and rates of self-employment? What
are some of the factors which might help account for the labour market incorporation of the Vietnamese ethnic origin population? What are some of the other strategies Vietnamese-Canadians have used to achieve subsistence as well as advance socioeconomically in addition to employment in the mainstream Toronto labour market?

The first portion of the chapter will analyze the distribution of this population on a range of socioeconomic variables drawn from the 1991 census. Where possible, the data is broken down by gender. Throughout the analysis, the Vietnamese distributions on all of these variables will be assessed in relation to those exhibited by the entire population of the Toronto CMA and other significant minority populations including Black, South Asian, West Asian/Arab, and Southeast Asian ethnic groups as well as Chinese, Filipinos, Koreans and Japanese. In the latter portion of the chapter, the socioeconomic profile of the enumerated Vietnamese population will be discussed within the context of the work of other scholars who have studied the economic adaptation of persons of Vietnamese origin and other minority groups in both Canada and the United States.

**OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION BY GENDER**

The analysis of census data begins with a look at the occupational distribution of Vietnamese men and women enumerated in 1991 relative to the total labour force in the Toronto CMA. The most notable finding is the rather remarkable concentration of Vietnamese males in machining, product fabricating, assembly and repair positions (Table 9.1). Well over 1/3 of Vietnamese men were
employed in these manufacturing jobs in comparison to around 10% of the entire male labour force. Within this larger category, over 90% of Vietnamese men worked in product fabricating, assembly, and repair as opposed to machining occupations. Vietnamese men were also overconcentrated in processing as well as "Other" positions which were not listed on the census form. Conversely, Vietnamese men were very much underrepresented in managerial, administrative, and related occupations compared to the total labour force. Furthermore, the percentage of Vietnamese men working in sales positions was less than half of the 10% of the total male labour force possessing occupations in this sector. Vietnamese men were somewhat underrepresented in most of the other major job classifications as well including teaching and related occupations, health and medicine, natural and social sciences, religious, art and related occupations, clerical work, sales positions, services, construction trades, and transport equipment operating jobs. A chi-square test indicated the differences between the distribution of Vietnamese men and the total male labour force across the occupational categories included in Table 9.1 were statistically significantly at the .05 confidence level.

Assessing the occupational distribution of Vietnamese women enumerated in 1991, a similar overrepresentation in manufacturing positions is evident (Table 9.1). Almost 30% of Vietnamese women worked in machining, product fabricating, assembly and repair jobs while less then 5% of the total female labour force held jobs in this category. Within this larger classification of
TABLE 9.1
OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION, MALES AND FEMALES
VIETNAMESE AND TOTAL LABOUR FORCE
TORONTO CMA, 1991

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vietnamese Total Labour Force</th>
<th>Vietnamese</th>
<th>Total Labour Force</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men %</td>
<td>Women %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managerial, Administrative,</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Related Occupations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching and Related Occupations</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health and Medicine</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural and Social Sciences,</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious, Art, and Related Occupations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>22.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Processing</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machining, Product Fabricating, Assembly and Repair</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>27.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction Trades</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport Equipment Operating</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

jobs, most Vietnamese worked in product fabricating, assembly and repair as opposed to machining. Also like their male counterparts, Vietnamese women displayed greater proportions in “Other” jobs not classified on the census form as well as processing positions. Over 20% of Vietnamese women worked in clerical jobs, but this figure was more than ten percentage points lower than that associated with the total female labour force. Vietnamese women were notably underrepresented in managerial, administrative and related occupations, teaching and related occupations, sales, and to a lesser extent health and medicine and services. A chi-square calculation indicated the differences between the distribution of Vietnamese women and the total female labour force across the occupational categories included in Table 9.1 were also statistically significant at a .05 level of confidence.

**INDUSTRY DIVISIONS**

In terms of industry distribution, the Vietnamese in the Toronto CMA displayed a remarkable concentration within manufacturing compared to all other groups in 1991. About 44% of the total enumerated Vietnamese labour force were employed in manufacturing (Tables 9.2 and 9.3). With the exception of Southeast Asians as a whole, no other group was nearly so concentrated in this particular industrial category. As for jobs in the broad categories of construction, transportation, communications and other utilities, the Vietnamese proportion was a bit lower than the average for the total CMA labour force but did not differ substantially from most of the other visible minority groups. About 16% of the Vietnamese were employed in the industrial classification of trade, which was
very close to the 18% average for the entire labour force. Among the other minority groups, the Koreans were by far the most heavily concentrated in trade. The Vietnamese were notably underrepresented compared to the total Toronto CMA labour force and other minority groups in several industrial categories. Occupations in which Vietnamese were not well represented included positions in the professional sectors, among these were Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate, Business Services; Government Services, Education Services, and Health and Social Services. Within the broad category of other service industries, the Vietnamese percentage was marginally lower than the figure for the total Toronto labour force. A chi-square test showed the differences between the distribution of the total Vietnamese labour force and the entire labour force across the major industrial categories included in Table 9.3 were statistically significant at a .05 level of confidence. Indexes of labour market dissimilarity were calculated using the industry distribution data for the Vietnamese and the other visible minority groups. Table 9.4 shows that apart from Koreans, enumerated Vietnamese individuals exhibited the most uneven distribution among minority populations in the major industrial categories relative to the Toronto CMA labour force as a whole.

**INDUSTRY DISTRIBUTION AND GENDER**

Unfortunately, directly comparable industry distribution data organized by gender was not available for both the Vietnamese ethnic origin population and the other visible minority groups. In this section, the distributions of males and females are analyzed by using Southeast Asians as a surrogate variable. As
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Vietnamese</th>
<th>Blacks</th>
<th>South Asians</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Koreans</th>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>Filipinos</th>
<th>Southeast Asians</th>
<th>West Asians</th>
<th>Latin Americans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Labour Force</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>25.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnamese</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>25.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Asians</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koreans</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipinos</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southeast Asians</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Asians</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin Americans</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1Percentages for employment in "Primary Industries" and "Service Industries" are excluded due to very low percentages.

Full Labels of column headings: Manufact. = Manufacturing; Con-Util = Construction, Transportation, Communication, and other Utilities; Fin. = Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate; Bus. = Business Services; Govt. = Government Services; Edu. = Education Services; Health = Health and Social Services; Accom. = Accommodation, Food and Beverage Services

### TABLE 9.3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vietnamese Overrepresented</th>
<th>Vietnamese</th>
<th>Total Labour Force</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation, Food, and Beverage Services</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vietnamese Somewhat Underrepresented</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Services</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vietnamese Underrepresented</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction...</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance, Insurance, Real Estate</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Services</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Services</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health and Social Services</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>All Industries</strong></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Not Included:** Primary Industries

TABLE 9.4
INDEX OF DISSIMILARITY WITH THE TOTAL LABOUR FORCE,
EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY, MALES AND FEMALES
VIETNAMESE AND OTHER VISIBLE MINORITY GROUPS
TORONTO CMA, 1991

Labour Force 15 Years and Over

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index of Dissimilarity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vietnamese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Asians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koreans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipinos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southeast Asians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Asians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin Americans</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


1The percentage of the visible minority group or the total labour force in the Toronto CMA which would have to shift employment to achieve the same proportional distribution in the major industrial categories utilized by Statistics Canada.
noted in an earlier chapter, about 70% of the Southeast Asians enumerated in the census in 1991 were of Vietnamese ethnic origin. On almost every variable in the census, the Southeast Asian figure was very close to that of the Vietnamese.

Among the male labour force in the Toronto CMA, Southeast Asians were overwhelmingly concentrated in manufacturing industries in 1991 (Table 9.5). The Southeast Asian figure of nearly 50% was more than double that observed among the total male work force of the metropolitan area. No other minority group showed more than 30% of its male labour force in manufacturing. Southeast Asians in the Toronto CMA were underrepresented in construction, transportation, communication, and other utilities. Southeast Asian males were slightly underrepresented in trade in comparison to the total male population. By comparison, Korean men were very much overrepresented in this category. Highly notable were the miniscule proportions of the Southeast Asian male labour force found in the occupations of finance, insurance, and real estate, business services, government services, education services, and health and social services. Within these economic sectors, Southeast Asian men exhibited proportions below most of the other minority groups. In accommodation, food, and beverage services, the Southeast Asian male percentage was parallel to that of the total male labour force of the CMA. All of the other minority groups with the exception of the Japanese exhibited larger proportions within this category. In the other services classification, Southeast Asian males displayed a slightly lower proportion than the male labour force as a whole.
Among the female labour force in the Toronto CMA, Southeast Asian women were also overrepresented in manufacturing (Table 9.6). The share of Southeast Asian women enumerated in manufacturing jobs was nearly triple the figure for the entire female labour force in the metropolitan area. No other minority group was nearly as well represented in manufacturing occupations. Southeast Asian women were less likely to work in the construction, transportation, communications, and other utilities occupations compared to the female labour force as a whole. Southeast Asian women were also somewhat underrepresented in trade-oriented jobs compared to the total female labour force. Similar to their male counterparts, Korean women were highly concentrated in trade, much more so than any of the other minority groups. Like Southeast Asian men, Southeast Asian women were very much underrepresented in the professional sectors of finance, insurance, and real estate, business services, government services, and education services. Southeast Asian women were also somewhat less likely to work in health and social services compared to the Toronto female labour force. By contrast, a few minority groups, notably Black and Filipino women, were especially well represented in this category. Southeast Asian women were slightly more likely to work in accommodations, food, and beverage service jobs in comparison to the entire Toronto female labour force. In other services occupations, Southeast Asian women showed about the same proportion as the total female labour force but less than several other minority groups.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Manufact.</th>
<th>Con-Util.</th>
<th>Trade</th>
<th>Services</th>
<th>Total Labour Force (in 1000)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fin.</td>
<td>Bus.</td>
<td>20.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Asians</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koreans</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>42.5</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipinos</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southeast Asians</td>
<td>47.5</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Asians</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin Americans</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1Percentages for employment in "Primary Industries" and "Service Industries" are excluded due to very low percentages.

Full Labels of column headings: Manufact. = Manufacturing; Con-Util = Construction, Transportation, Communication, and other Utilities; Fin. = Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate; Bus. = Business Services; Govt. = Government Services; Edu. = Education Services; Health = Health and Social Services; Accom. = Accommodation, Food and Beverage Services

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Manufact.</th>
<th>Con-Util.</th>
<th>Trade</th>
<th>Services</th>
<th>All Industries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Labour Force</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Asians</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koreans</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>40.6</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipinos</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southeast Asians</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Asians</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin Americans</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\)Percentages for employment in "Primary Industries" and "Service Industries" are excluded due to very low percentages.

Full Labels of column headings: Manufact. = Manufacturing; Con-Util = Construction, Transportation, Communication, and other Utilities, Fin.= Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate; Bus. = Business Services; Govt. = Government Services; Edu. = Education Services; Health = Health and Social Services; Accom. = Accommodation, Food and Beverage Services

INCOME

Stunning differences in income distinguished Vietnamese men from the total male population and most of the other minority groups in 1991 (Table 9.7). The average employment income of Vietnamese men who worked full-time was just $28,047. This figure was only about 63% of the average income for the entire male population who worked full-time in the CMA. The average income for Vietnamese men employed full-time was in fact the lowest of all of the visible minority groups. Only two of the other minority populations – Southeast Asians as a whole, and Latin Americans – were below $30,000 on this variable. The average employment income for Vietnamese men in the Toronto CMA who worked part-time was just $13,387. Again, this figure was the lowest of all of the minority groups. It was about 2/3 of the average employment income observed among the total male population in the metropolitan area who worked part-time.

The average employment income among Vietnamese women was $22,181 (Table 9.7). This figure was about 75% of the average for the entire full-time female workforce in the metropolitan area. The average employment income for Vietnamese women who worked full-time was lower than that of all of the other minority groups with the exception of Latin Americans. The average employment income of Vietnamese females who worked part-time was $11,847. This number was a little bit more than 85% of the average for the total population of female part-time workers. The average employment income for Vietnamese females who worked part-time did not differ much from that of several of the other minority groups. South Asian, Korean, Southeast Asian, and Latin...
American women actually displayed slightly lower figures. In general, it may be stated that most women who worked part-time experienced very low incomes, in comparison to men who were employed less than full-time.

Examining the average and median income of Vietnamese men and women 15 years and over (Table 9.8), similar patterns were evident. The average income of enumerated Vietnamese males 15 years and over in the Toronto CMA was $20,855 in 1991. Again, this figure was the lowest of all of the minority groups. The average income of Vietnamese males was just 58% of that for the entire male population in the metropolitan area. In terms of median income for men 15 years and over, the Vietnamese figure was $20,315. This was just below 70% of the median income for the total male population in Toronto. Of the other minority groups, only Korean men had a lower median income. The average income of enumerated Vietnamese females 15 years and over was $15,282. This was about 70% of the average income for the entire female population of the CMA. Among the other minority groups, only Latin American women had a lower average income. The median income of enumerated Vietnamese females was $13,815. This figure was about ¾ of that for the entire female population in the metropolitan area. Of the other groups, Latin American and Korean women had lower median incomes.
TABLE 9.7
INCOME, MALES AND FEMALES, 15 YEARS AND OVER
VIETNAMESE AND OTHER VISIBLE MINORITY GROUPS
TORONTO CMA, 1991

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Average Employment Income, $</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Vietnamese</th>
<th>Blacks</th>
<th>South Asians</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Koreans</th>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>Filipinos</th>
<th>Southeast Asians</th>
<th>West Asians/Arabs</th>
<th>Latin Americans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males Worked Full Year</td>
<td>44,497</td>
<td>28,047</td>
<td>32,393</td>
<td>33,972</td>
<td>37,345</td>
<td>33,807</td>
<td>53,039</td>
<td>33,565</td>
<td>28,787</td>
<td>37,153</td>
<td>29,078</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females Worked Full Year</td>
<td>29,830</td>
<td>22,181</td>
<td>25,193</td>
<td>24,925</td>
<td>27,677</td>
<td>24,146</td>
<td>33,044</td>
<td>24,244</td>
<td>22,305</td>
<td>27,530</td>
<td>21,555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males Worked Part Year</td>
<td>20,232</td>
<td>13,387</td>
<td>15,494</td>
<td>16,067</td>
<td>16,045</td>
<td>14,527</td>
<td>24,479</td>
<td>16,048</td>
<td>13,840</td>
<td>17,251</td>
<td>15,504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females Worked Part Year</td>
<td>13,728</td>
<td>11,847</td>
<td>12,907</td>
<td>11,733</td>
<td>12,941</td>
<td>11,178</td>
<td>14,591</td>
<td>13,639</td>
<td>11,619</td>
<td>12,196</td>
<td>10,929</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Average Income Males</th>
<th>Average Income Females</th>
<th>Median Income Males</th>
<th>Median Income Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>35,779</td>
<td>21,855</td>
<td>29,558</td>
<td>18,550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnamese</td>
<td>20,885</td>
<td>15,282</td>
<td>20,315</td>
<td>13,518</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>24,937</td>
<td>18,794</td>
<td>23,107</td>
<td>17,543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Asians</td>
<td>26,865</td>
<td>17,687</td>
<td>23,525</td>
<td>15,909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>27,794</td>
<td>19,134</td>
<td>23,076</td>
<td>15,951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koreans</td>
<td>24,833</td>
<td>16,747</td>
<td>18,250</td>
<td>12,931</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>43,026</td>
<td>24,418</td>
<td>34,051</td>
<td>20,962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipinos</td>
<td>25,726</td>
<td>19,407</td>
<td>25,213</td>
<td>17,186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southeast Asians</td>
<td>21,984</td>
<td>16,017</td>
<td>20,860</td>
<td>14,188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Asians/Arabs</td>
<td>27,474</td>
<td>17,717</td>
<td>21,492</td>
<td>13,872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin Americans</td>
<td>22,577</td>
<td>15,106</td>
<td>20,717</td>
<td>13,219</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Assessing all of the income figures, it may be summarized that both Vietnamese men and women experienced very low incomes in comparison to the total population in Toronto. Regardless of full or part-time status or gender, Vietnamese incomes were consistently among the lowest of the groups defined by Statistics Canada as visible minorities. It should be noted, however, that the disparities between the incomes of Vietnamese females and the total female population, while noteworthy, were not as great as those apparent between Vietnamese men and the entire male population of the metropolitan area. This situation is reflective of the fact that the incomes of all women were already much lower compared to those earned by men. Indeed, the average employment income of the total female full-time workforce in the Toronto CMA in 1991 was only about 2/3 of the average for the full-time male workforce.

**COMPOSITION OF TOTAL INCOME**

Assessing the composition of total income for both men and women combined, Vietnamese in the Toronto CMA derived 86% of their income from employment in 1991, compared to 82% for the total population (Table 9.9). Notable differences were apparent in terms of the proportion of income derived from government transfer payments. The enumerated Vietnamese received 12.5% of their earnings from transfer payments compared to 7.5% for the total population. No other minority group derived as large a proportion of its income from transfers as the Vietnamese. Among the other minority groups, only the Southeast Asians as a whole and Latin Americans received more than 10% of their income from transfers.
Unfortunately, breakdowns of the total income composition in terms of gender were not available for the Vietnamese ethnic origin population. However, it is possible to again use Southeast Asians as a surrogate and compare this group (of which Vietnamese were slightly more than 2/3) to the entire population and the other minority groups. Among males, Southeast Asians did not differ much from the total population in terms of the proportion of total income which was derived from employment (Table 9.10). Differences were apparent however in the proportion of income received from government transfer payments. The average for the total male population in the CMA was about 6%. In comparison, Southeast Asian men derived about 10% of their total income from transfers. Among the other minority groups, only Latin American men matched this figure. Only about 2% of the Southeast Asian male income originated from other sources. The entire male population received about 9% of its income from other sources. Looking at the composition of total income among females, Southeast Asian women received a slightly higher percentage of their income from employment compared to the total female population in Toronto (Table 9.10). Notably, Southeast Asian women derived about 14% of their total income from government transfer payments compared to 10% for all women. Of the other minority groups, only Latin American women exceeded the proportion observed among the Southeast Asian ethnic groups. The data indicate that Southeast Asian women received a higher percentage of their income from government transfers in comparison to Southeast Asian men. However, the margin between Southeast Asian men and women on this variable does not differ much from that observed.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Employment Income</th>
<th>Government Transfer Payments</th>
<th>Other Income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>82.1</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnamese</td>
<td>86.3</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>87.9</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Asians</td>
<td>89.0</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>84.8</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koreans</td>
<td>85.4</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>80.9</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipinos</td>
<td>91.7</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southeast Asians</td>
<td>85.3</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Asians/Arabs</td>
<td>84.7</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin Americans</td>
<td>85.2</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 9.10
COMPOSITION OF TOTAL INCOME, MALES AND FEMALES
SOUTHEAST ASIAN AND OTHER VISIBLE MINORITY GROUPS
TORONTO CMA, 1991

Composition of Total Income, %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composition of Total Income, %</th>
<th>Employment Income</th>
<th>Government Transfer Payments</th>
<th>Other Income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>84.9</td>
<td>77.5</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>90.1</td>
<td>85.5</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Asians</td>
<td>90.1</td>
<td>86.9</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>87.1</td>
<td>81.3</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koreans</td>
<td>87.7</td>
<td>82.1</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>84.6</td>
<td>74.1</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipinos</td>
<td>92.3</td>
<td>91.2</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southeast Asians</td>
<td>87.9</td>
<td>80.8</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Asians/Arabs</td>
<td>86.6</td>
<td>80.0</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin Americans</td>
<td>87.8</td>
<td>81.1</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

between the total populations of each gender in the metropolitan area. On the whole, women on average receive a somewhat higher percentage of their income from transfer payments compared to men. Southeast Asian women received only about 5% of their total income from sources other than employment and transfer payments. This figure was less than half of that found within the total female population in the CMA and was lower than that observed among many of the other minority groups.

**UNEMPLOYMENT RATE**

The 1991 census recorded an unemployment rate of 18.5% among Vietnamese males 15 years and over (Table 9.11). This figure was more than double that compiled for the entire male population in the metropolitan area. The Vietnamese unemployment rate was also higher than that of any of the other minority groups. Of the other groups, only Blacks, West Asians and Arabs, as well as Southeast Asians and Latin Americans approached the Vietnamese figure. Vietnamese men 25 years and over displayed the highest unemployment rate of all of the minority groups. The Vietnamese rate of 17.2% was again well over double the figure for the entire male population in the CMA. Of the other groups, only West Asians and Arabs, Latin Americans, and Southeast Asian men approached or surpassed the 15% unemployment plateau.

The unemployment rate among Vietnamese men 25 years and over was a bit lower than that observed among Vietnamese men as a whole. These differences reflect the fact that unemployment rates were higher among the Vietnamese male population 15-24 years of age. Perhaps the most important
trend here, however, was not the relatively small differences in unemployment rates among the different age groups but the depressingly high unemployment rates among both cohorts of Vietnamese men.

Similar to their male counterparts, Vietnamese women 15 years and over displayed the highest unemployment rate of all of the “visible minority” groups in the Toronto metropolitan area. The rate for Vietnamese women was an astounding 20% - well over double the figure for the entire female population in the CMA and a few percentage points higher than the figure observed among Vietnamese men. Of the other groups, only South Asian, West Asians and Arabs, Southeast Asians and Latin American women registered an unemployment rate exceeding 15%. Interestingly, as a group, Vietnamese women 25 years and over exhibited a slightly higher unemployment rate than the entire female Vietnamese population 15 years and over. The unemployment rate of Vietnamese women 25 and over was about 21%, this was almost three times the unemployment rate for the total female population in the metropolitan area.

CLASS OF WORKER AND SELF-EMPLOYMENT

About 96% of enumerated Vietnamese men in the metropolitan area were employees compared to about 88% of the total male population (Table 9.12). Only a very small proportion of Vietnamese men were self-employed, either in incorporated or unincorporated businesses. About 4% of Vietnamese men were self-employed compared to almost 12% of the total male population in the CMA. Vietnamese men were less likely to be self-employed than members of most of the other minority groups as well. Of the other groups, it was the extent of self-
TABLE 9.11
UNEMPLOYMENT RATE, MALES AND FEMALES
VIETNAMESE AND OTHER VISIBLE MINORITY GROUPS
TORONTO CMA, 1991

Unemployment Rate, %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Males 15 Years and Over</th>
<th>Females 15 Years and Over</th>
<th>Males 25 Years and Over</th>
<th>Females 25 Years and Over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnamese</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>20.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Asians</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koreans</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipinos</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southeast Asians</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Asians/Arabs</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin Americans</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>18.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 9.12
CLASS OF WORKER, MALES AND FEMALES, 15 YEARS AND OVER
VIETNAMESE AND OTHER VISIBLE MINORITY GROUPS
TORONTO CMA, 1991

Class of Workers by Category, %\(^1\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class of Workers</th>
<th>% Employees</th>
<th>% Self-Employed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>87.8</td>
<td>94.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnamese</td>
<td>96.0</td>
<td>94.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>93.9</td>
<td>97.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Asians</td>
<td>91.5</td>
<td>96.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>87.4</td>
<td>93.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koreans</td>
<td>59.6</td>
<td>63.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>88.0</td>
<td>92.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipinos</td>
<td>96.7</td>
<td>97.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southeast Asians</td>
<td>95.6</td>
<td>96.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Asians/Arabs</td>
<td>82.7</td>
<td>92.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin Americans</td>
<td>94.8</td>
<td>97.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\)Self-Employed includes enumerated respondents who claimed they were self-employed in both incorporated and unincorporated establishments, % do not add up 100% in all rows.

employment among West Asians and Arabs and especially Korean men which stands out.

Somewhat similar trends were apparent among females 15 years and over (Table 9.12). Around 94% of Vietnamese women were employees, paralleling the proportion among all women in the metropolitan area. Just over 5% of enumerated Vietnamese women were self-employed in 1991. This figure was about the same as registered by the entire female population in the CMA which was several percentage points lower than the average for the overall male population. Each minority group exhibited very low proportions in the self-employed category with the exception again of the Koreans. The discrepancy in proportions of self-employed among Korean women, the total population, and most of the other minority groups was even greater than it was among the men.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

The census data paint a very distressing picture. Compared to the total population and other minority groups, Vietnamese men and women were very much overrepresented in the so-called secondary sector jobs, particularly in certain manufacturing positions within the broad category of product fabricating, assembly, and repair and to a lesser extent service-related jobs in accommodations, food, and beverages. At the same time, Vietnamese were underrepresented in primary sector jobs in managerial, administrative, and related occupations and the professions including finance, insurance, and real estate, business services, education services, government services, and health and social services. It is of course these latter positions that often tend to be of more
stable duration and are better compensated in terms of salary and benefits. The income status of Vietnamese in Toronto was also one of extreme marginality. The average income of Vietnamese men and women who worked full-time was about 60-70% that of the average for the total population in Toronto. In several income categories, Vietnamese were at or near the bottom compared to other visible minority groups. Equally sobering were the unemployment rates enumerated among persons of Vietnamese ethnic origin. Unemployment rates exhibited by Vietnamese men and women were more than double the average for the entire population of both genders in the Toronto metropolitan area. The Vietnamese unemployment rate was also higher than that found among any of the other visible minority groups – it approached 20% among men and among women exceeded this figure. It is possible that the very high unemployment rate exhibited by Vietnamese men and women may in fact be related to their concentration in manufacturing jobs, especially positions in product fabricating, assembly, and repair. Restructuring and the resulting deindustrialization of the Toronto economy over the 1980s and early 1990s resulted in the loss of thousands of manufacturing jobs, particularly, in the low-value added industrial sectors where immigrants in the city have traditionally found employment (Preston and Giles, 1997). Furthermore, the 1991 census enumeration was conducted at the time of a recession. An estimated 60,000 manufacturing jobs were lost in the Toronto region between 1990 and 1992 alone (Murdie, 1995). It is likely that the recession took a particularly severe toll on the Vietnamese labour force, given the occupational distribution of the population.
Social scientists in the U.S. and Canada have identified a number of circumstances which seem to be related to the socioeconomic adjustment of Vietnamese refugees and immigrants. Scholars have noted a positive correlation between length of residence and the occupational adaptation of Vietnamese and Southeast Asian refugees as a whole (Rumbaut, 1989a; Beiser and Johnson, 1994; Rumbaut, 1995; Montgomery, 1996). There is agreement among most scholars that fluency in English is a key intervening variable influencing socioeconomic trajectories of Vietnamese in the context of North America (Neuwirth, 1987; Samuel, 1987; Rumbaut, 1989a; Rutledge, 1992; Neuwirth, 1993; Hung and Haines, 1996; Lam, 1996). As observed in an earlier chapter, compared to most of the other major visible minority groups residing in Toronto, the Vietnamese have arrived relatively recently. The 1991 census figures also showed that the Vietnamese population in Toronto possessed less facility in English or French, as well as more limited backgrounds in formal education when compared to other predominantly visible minority groups. The Vietnamese distribution on these latter variables may be attributed to the fact that many Vietnamese came to Canada as refugees or family-sponsored as opposed to independent immigrants. Thus, the socioeconomic profile of the Vietnamese relative to other groups may be partially accounted for by the differential context of their arrival.

Age and health have also been found to be correlated to economic adjustment among Vietnamese refugees (Chan, 1983; Chan, 1987; Chan and Lam, 1987; Rumbaut, 1989a; Rumbaut, 1991; Beiser and Johnson, 1994; Hung
and Haines, 1996, Lam, 1996). Older Vietnamese, especially those who migrated when they were older than 40 years of age, often experience a very difficult time finding meaningful employment. The poor socioeconomic adaptation of older Vietnamese is in part related to the extreme hardship older refugees and immigrants confront in attempting to learn and use English. Physical and mental health problems are also not uncommon among many Vietnamese who came to Canada or the U.S. as refugees. These difficulties pose obvious barriers to obtaining and holding onto well-compensated, long-term employment.

Gold and Kibria (1993) argue that a “blocked mobility thesis” of ethnic and racial labour market segmentation is applicable to the experiences of many Vietnamese-Americans. Lam (1996) makes similar claims in his longitudinal study of Vietnam-born ethnic Chinese residing in Montreal. The “blocked mobility thesis” posits that ethnic immigrants groups face structural and cultural barriers as well as discrimination in the host society, all of which serve to restrict their entry into mainstream socioeconomic activities. Lam (1996) conducted ethnographic interviews with about 50 Chinese-Vietnamese individuals at three intervals – 1981, 1986, and 1991. He notes that the economic incorporation of his research population reflected the consequences of being effectively blocked by institutional barriers encountered in the mainstream Canadian economy.

Lam writes of his informants:

“A smooth and rapid entry into the Canadian mainstream economy was hindered by factors such as non-recognition of their professional qualifications by potential employers, effective controls by professional associations or licensing bodies in making decisions regarding entry into the professions and licensed occupations and discriminatory practices
used against these Vietnamese-Chinese refugees by some employers.” (Lam, p. 163)

Lam emphasized that underemployment as opposed to unemployment was the predominant long-term labour market experience of his research subjects. Many of his respondents, a decade after coming to Canada, were still trapped in a cycle of dead-end jobs working in low-skilled secondary and informal sector positions such as janitorial work, cooking and dishwashing in restaurants, factory employment and general labourer jobs. These positions of course tend to be of short-term duration, lack security and benefits, and are usually associated with small non-unionized employers who pay close to the minimum wage.

According to several American scholars, long term underemployment and downward occupational mobility in low-paying jobs have also been a common experience among Vietnamese in the United States (Bach and Carroll-Seguin, 1986; Haines, 1987; Caplan, Whitmore, and Choy, 1989; Bach and Agiros, 1991; Hein, 1993; Rumbaut, 1995). In an overview of the adaptation of Indochinese refugees, Haines (1996) cites a 1992 national survey conducted by the U.S. Office of Refugee Resettlement. In this particular study, 11.2% of the Southeast Asian refugees interviewed had possessed professional or managerial backgrounds in their home countries but only 0.9% of these same persons had achieved similar types of work in the United States. Haines also notes that in the 1990 U.S. census, Vietnamese participated in the labour force at about the same rate as the general U.S. population (64.5% for the Vietnamese as opposed to 65.3% for all Americans). However, at the same time, Vietnamese across the
United States earned a much lower per capita individual income ($9,033 as opposed to $14,420 for all Americans).

Several of my own informants, including a number of Vietnamese employment counselors, noted that a similar pattern of underemployment in low-paying jobs primarily in the secondary sector of the economy mixed with occasional bouts of unemployment is a common labour market trajectory of Vietnamese in the Toronto area. This situation does not necessarily improve with time spent in Canada. Many Vietnamese who came to Canada in their late teens or in early adulthood in the early to mid-1980s continue to experience only a marginal relationship to the mainstream labour market.

Confronting restricted access to attractive, well-paid employment in the mainstream labour market, Vietnamese refugees and immigrants use a variety of means to support themselves. Many Vietnamese find work within the so-called informal sector of the economy. Lam (1996) observed babysitting, electronics repair, hairdressing, and cooking food at home for sale at restaurants and groceries were common income-earning activities of his Chinese-Vietnamese informants in Montreal. In Toronto, I have interacted informally with many Vietnamese who engage in these and other informal income-producing activities including wormpicking, yard care, home renovation, and door-to-door sales of chimney caps. In addition I have met many Vietnamese who own industrial strength sewing machines which they use to sew garments at a piece rate for garment manufacturers in Toronto. The classifieds in any given issue of Thoi Bao, the highest circulated Vietnamese language newspaper in Toronto, usually
contain many advertisements placed by garment manufacturers seeking Vietnamese labour. An example of such an advertisement appeared in both English and Vietnamese in the October 8, 1998 edition: "Wanted!! Experienced Sewing Machine Operator With Own Single and Serger Machine".

Lam (1996) found that a number of his Chinese-Vietnamese informants had given up hope of achieving worthwhile employment in the mainstream economy and had opened up small businesses, particularly restaurants and groceries. Gold (1992, 1993) writes of a similar response among Chinese-Vietnamese in Southern California to institutional barriers and blocked socioeconomic mobility. In Orange County, California "Little Saigon", a large enclave of co-ethnic commercial and service establishments mostly owned by Chinese-Vietnamese, has arisen. In contrast to the apparent Chinese-Vietnamese proclivity towards employment in self-owned businesses, the census data make it clear that a turn to self-employment is not common among ethnic Vietnamese in Toronto. In fact, the enumerated population of Vietnamese ethnic origin exhibited lower levels of self-employment compared to the total population of the CMA as a whole as well as most of the other minority groups.

Many Vietnamese have utilized friendship and kinship networks to pool socioeconomic resources and achieve economic self-sufficiency in spite of their marginalized position within the mainstream economy. This phenomenon of resource pooling has been well-documented in the literature on Vietnamese socioeconomic adaptation in the U.S. (Haines, Rutherford, and Thomas, 1981; Haines, 1988; Caplan, Whitmore, and Choy, 1989; Kibria, 1989; Kibria, 1993;
Kibria, 1994; Zhou and Bankston, 1994; Hung and Haines, 1996; Zhou and Bankston, 1998). I have observed a similar economic survival strategy practiced among many Vietnamese families in the Toronto area. Vietnamese households are often large, consisting of older parents and numerous grown children as well as young people. The members of the household typically contribute their various sources of income (paycheck, cash earned from “informal sources”, and government social assistance checks) to the female parent. This older woman, in turn, decides how the total sum should best be used to meet the needs of the individual members and the family as a whole.

Many Vietnamese extended families in Toronto have utilized such a strategy to achieve a variety of goals intended to improve the long-term socioeconomic trajectory of the household. These families usually consist of several adult members who have pooled their resources to help pay for the university schooling of young family members as well as to purchase single-family homes in outlying areas of the metropolitan area. In sum, the family functions together as a cohesive economic unit combining enough resources for subsistence despite the often meager financial contributions of individual members.
CHAPTER TEN
INTERACTIONS OF THE VIETNAMESE WITH THE MEDIA AND THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM IN TORONTO

INTRODUCTION

A number of contemporary scholars have documented the role of the mainstream media in producing and disseminating popular images of certain minority groups. There is a considerable body of empirical research which has systematically linked media portrayals with the wider public’s attitudes towards racial and ethnic minorities. The bulk of these studies have been conducted in the United States and have focused upon the societal impact of the media’s common linkage of ‘race’ and crime in news accounts (Bobo, 1997). Social construction theorists have taken a particularly strong interest in the media’s representation of minority group “otherness”. It has been argued that the media may play an important role in shaping general public attitudes of receptivity or opposition to new immigrants and refugee minorities. A number of social scientists have recognized that the media is often a key player in a process of ‘racialization’ which may negatively impact the interactions of minority groups with institutions of the host society including the education sector, the criminal justice system and the labour market, thus serving to hinder the adaptation process (Hall et al, 1978; Indra, 1979; Indra, 1981; Dijk, 1991; Ungerleider, 1991; Creese, 1993; Darder, 1995; Henry, 1995; McCormick, 1995; Smith and Feagin, 1995; Smith and Tarallo, 1995; Valle and Torres, 1995; Creese and Peterson, 1996; Morrison, 1996; Hall, 1997).
The first part of the chapter will assess interactions between persons of Vietnamese origin and the mainstream Toronto media. The following research questions will guide the analysis: What have been the major themes of the portrayals of the Vietnamese in the Toronto print media since their initial arrival in large numbers during the “Boat People” crisis in the late 1970s? What possible implications have these portrayals had for the perceptions the larger Toronto public possesses of Vietnamese-Canadians generally? How have community activists attempted to bring about change in reporting practices and improve overall portrayals in the mainstream Toronto newspapers?

Scholars have amply documented the tensions existing between certain “visible” minority groups and the representatives of the criminal justice system in North America, Britain and other European countries, as well as Australia (Jackson, 1989; Walker, Spohn and DeLone, 1996; Chan, 1997; Bowling, 1998). Certain social scientists have also noted the interrelationship between law enforcement officials and the news media in the process of manufacturing and sustaining the ‘racialized’ imagery of many minority groups within the larger society (Hall et al., 1978).

It is well-known that many of the most significant problems related to criminal justice in the United States are intertwined with the issues of ‘race’ and ethnicity. For example, half of all of the prisoners in the United States (50.2% in January, 1993) were African American, even though blacks represented only about 12% of the total American population. Hispanics constituted 17% of all
American prisoners in 1991, even though they made up slightly less than 10% of the total population. Furthermore, a vastly disproportionate number of African Americans are shot and killed by the police in the U.S. In particular, young black men are the foremost targets of police brutality (Walker, Spohn, DeLone, 1996).

In Canada, scholars have provided evidence of the problematic relationship existing between criminal justice representatives and certain minority populations including blacks and Native Canadians (Cryderman and Fleras, 1992; Henry, 1995). Within Toronto, scholars have devoted considerable attention to relationships between the Caribbean population and the criminal justice system. Allegations of discrimination and mistreatment by local law enforcement representatives as well as several shootings of young black men by Toronto police have been the impetus for protest and advocacy initiatives among black community groups in the city since the late 1970s (Stasiulis, 1982; Jackson, 1993; Henry, 1994; Jackson, 1994; Henry, 1995).

Most North American studies have focused on the experiences of blacks and to a lesser extent Hispanics with the criminal justice system. In neither United States nor Canada has there been much research in regard to the interactions of persons of Asian origin with law enforcement representatives. There is evidence, however, that Vietnamese populations in certain American cities have taken on the characteristics of a 'racialized' minority group in the perceptions of some criminal justice officials. A 1992 article in The Philadelphia Inquirer exposed the local police practice of randomly interrogating uncharged Vietnamese young men for the purpose of taking mugshots. The story noted that
the police had collected almost 400 such photographs for an “Oriental Photo Book” to aid in the investigation of the activities of local Asian gangs (“Police Photo Sweeps Anger Asians: They Were Not Arrested, Yet Their Pictures Ended Up in Mug Books,” Jennifer Lin, The Philadelphia Inquirer, October 25, 1992). The story contributed to efforts among local Vietnamese community organizations to end the police phototaking sessions. Smith and Tarallo (1995) focus attention upon local police and media reaction to a series of crimes which occurred in Sacramento, CA. The police and media discourses surrounding the criminal acts focused on the relationship of the incidents to a scourge of Vietnamese ‘gang’ activity in the state of California despite the lack of any evidence that the Vietnamese-origin perpetrators involved possessed affiliations with ethnic gangs.

The second portion of the chapter is intended to examine relationships between the Vietnamese population, co-ethnic organizations, and the criminal justice system in the Toronto area. The following research issues will guide the analysis: What types of issues and concerns have characterized the experiences of persons of Vietnamese origin with the police and courts in Toronto? By what means have Vietnamese community organizations as well as individual Vietnamese attempted to alleviate police-community tensions and facilitate changes in the practices of law enforcement?

METHODOLOGY

This first portion of this chapter assesses the mainstream Toronto print media’s portrayals of Vietnamese-Canadians over the past two decades and
examines the perceptions and responses of Vietnamese-Canadian community organizations to these representations. The local print as opposed to broadcast media were selected as the research foci in part due to the ease with which the text of old newspaper articles may be researched and retrieved. On the contrary, it is obviously very difficult, if not impossible to gather transcripts of radio or television news broadcasts which aired several years back. While it would have been insightful to also examine portrayals of Vietnamese individuals in the Toronto broadcast media, a case may be made that the print media may actually be a more desirable source for this kind of research. Roberts and Bachen (1981) note that several studies have suggested that newspaper stories tend to have a greater impact upon personal opinion in comparison to news accounts broadcast upon television. These scholars also observe the existence of a body of research which indicates persons of a higher socioeconomic status are more likely to be influenced by what they read in the newspaper compared to those persons possessing fewer resources. It is of course those persons of higher socioeconomic standing who are also the 'gatekeepers' both facilitating and inhibiting the advancement of other individuals – these are the employers, educators, lawyers, judges, etc. in a given society.

The chapter focuses most strongly upon news stories pertaining to Vietnamese individuals within a Canadian context in the three Toronto daily newspapers – The Toronto Star, The Toronto Sun, and The Globe and Mail between 1979 and 1996. Each of these newspapers has been associated with a distinctive philosophical outlook and readership over the past several decades
(Lemon, 1985). At the risk of overgeneralizing, it may be stated that *The Toronto Star* has long been associated with a liberal editorial stance and staunch Canadian nationalism as opposed to the more conservative, pro-business *Globe and Mail*. *The Star* possesses the largest circulation of any daily newspaper in Canada. It covers local Toronto issues in far more depth than *The Globe and Mail*, which despite a primarily Toronto orientation, also has pretensions associated with being Canada's "national newspaper". *The Toronto Sun* is a tabloid with a right-wing political orientation. Its content which emphasizes crime, celebrity news, and sports is very oriented to a working-class readership. In addition to the city's daily newspapers, articles appearing in the weekly newsmagazine *Maclean's* and the monthly *Toronto Life* were also included in the analysis.

Opinions within the Vietnamese 'Community' in regard to mainstream media portrayals and relationships with the criminal justice system were gathered through semi-structured interviews conducted with a total of fifteen Vietnamese staffers employed by ethnic community organizations and social service agencies with large Vietnamese clienteles based in the Toronto area. Representatives were interviewed from community groups including the Vietnamese Association of Toronto, the Society of Vietnamese-Canadian Professionals, the Vietnamese Community of North York, the Southeast Asian Services Centre, and the Southeast Asian Legal Aid Clinic. Also participating in the study were Vietnamese employees of the Toronto Board of Education, a refugee reception centre, and several neighbourhood health clinics with large Vietnamese service populations. Internal documents and memorandums provided by one advocacy
organization – the Society of Vietnamese Professionals - also contributed significantly to the analysis within both the media and criminal justice sections of the chapter.

I. THE VIETNAMESE AND THE TORONTO MEDIA

TEMPORAL THEMES IN THE MAINSTREAM TORONTO MEDIA’S PORTRAYAL OF VIETNAMESE-ORIGIN INDIVIDUALS

The “Boat People” Crisis 1979-1980

The mainstream Toronto newspapers played an important role in creating public awareness of the Indochinese refugee crisis in the late 1970s. There is little doubt that intense media coverage helped facilitate general public acceptance of the large-scale resettlement of Vietnamese refugees in Canada. Dramatic coverage of the conditions endured by refugees in their escapes from Vietnam also contributed significantly to motivating the large number of voluntary groups, notably church congregations, who privately sponsored Vietnamese refugees for resettlement within Canada (Adelman, 1982; Lam, 1996).

In 1979 both The Globe and Mail and The Toronto Star ran a series of news stories, which detailed the perilous circumstances of flight and the miserable conditions found in the refugee camps located throughout Southeast Asia. Sample headlines of these articles included: “Boat People Tell of Rape, Robbery and Murder,” (Gerald Utting, The Toronto Star, Jan. 15, 1979); “Viet’s Horror: Cruel Sea, Dying Children,” (Gerald Utting, The Toronto Star, Jan. 16, 1979); “Starvation Squeezed Family Out,” (Gerald Utting, The Toronto Star, Jan. 17, 1979); “Refugee Crisis is Just Beginning,” (John Fraser, The Globe and

The Toronto Star, in particular, took an advocacy position in support of Canadian resettlement of the refugees. In 1979 and 1980 it ran several news stories concerning the contributions earlier waves of refugees had made to Canadian society: “‘Refugees’ Recipe is Hard Work: Guts, Ambition Put Them On The Road to Success in Canada,” (Carola Vyhnak, The Toronto Star, Jan. 16, 1979); “Most Refugees are ‘Ideal People’, Cullen Says,” (Terrance Wills and Tom Harpur, The Toronto Star, Jan. 17, 1979). Other stories in The Star during this time period were apparently intended to alleviate public anxiety over any possible negative societal impact which might arise as a consequence of admitting large numbers of Vietnamese refugees. The headlines of several articles were particularly striking in this regard: “Boat Children Quick To Learn English,” (David Vienneau, The Toronto Star, July 25, 1979); “Boat People Will Adjust Easily: Metro Chinese” (Peter Goodspeed, The Toronto Star, August 9, 1979); “Viets Rescuing Our Rag Trade: Labor Starved Factories Grab Boat People to Get Machines Humming Again,” (Louise Brown, The Toronto Star,

However, not all of the articles from this initial period of large-scale resettlement can be construed as having encouraged public support for the admission of the refugees. In the same era, a number of articles appeared which raised ominous questions about the high expense and potential impact of the “Boat People” refugee flow upon the job market, the low-income housing sector, public health, and the social service delivery system: “Viet Refugees: Metro Warned of Future Crisis,” (*The Toronto Star*, August 8, 1979) “Refugees Pose Housing Problem.” (Unsigned, *The Globe and Mail*, July 26, 1979) “Spread of Hepatitis by Refugees Feared,” (Barbara Yaffe, *The Globe and Mail*, August 15, 1979); “Ontario Resettlement Efforts to Cost Millions, Baetz Says,” (Margaret Minnewicz, *The Globe and Mail*, August 15, 1979); “Report Warns of ‘Nightmare’ in Refugee Jam,” (Unsigned, *The Globe and Mail*, July 26, 1979). In the Fall of 1979, *The Globe and Mail* ran advertisements purchased by the National Citizens’ Coalition which warned of the potentially dire consequences of the impending Indochinese refugee flow upon housing, the food supply, health services, the education system, and other social service programs within Canada. These advertisements were immediately condemned by federal immigration officials and the editorial boards of several major newspapers including *The Toronto Star*, and *The Globe and Mail*.

Overall, it may be stated that the tone of the coverage at the beginning of the large scale Vietnamese refugee resettlement was generally supportive and at
times stridently advocative. The Toronto newspapers including *The Star, The Globe and Mail*, and also *The Toronto Sun* attempted to solicit public acceptance and approval for the admission of significant numbers of refugees from Vietnam. The mainstream Toronto print media also offered publicity and editorial support to campaigns intended to recruit private refugee sponsors.

**Early to Mid-1980s -- A Predominant Focus upon Adaptation Problems and General Dysfunction Among Resettled Refugees**

By the early 1980s, the overall number of articles concerned with Vietnamese refugees decreased significantly in the major Toronto newspapers. The articles that did appear increasingly adopted a far different tone. Most of them understandably focused upon general problems of adaptation experienced by the refugees in their new lives. Articles focused upon 'culture shock', language difficulties, mental health problems, unemployment, and youth gangs:

resettlement of many Vietnamese, the overriding emphasis of news stories in the early to mid-1980s was upon the adjustment difficulties Vietnamese refugees seemed to be experiencing within Canadian society.

The prevailing reference to persons of Vietnamese origin as "refugees" and "boat people" was a common theme in the articles which appeared in this era and has in fact continued in newspaper coverage of stories involving the Vietnamese population to the present day. One of my interview subjects noted that even the most the positive stories about Vietnamese-Canadians have tended to focus upon the "refugee" angle, discussing the personal achievements of individuals who have overcome significant obstacles. This service agency employee asked rhetorically: When will the Vietnamese people cease being "refugees" in the nomenclature of the mainstream media and begin to be considered as just regular Canadians? The majority of Vietnamese have been in Canada for more than a decade and many have become fairly well-established socioeconomically. Several of my interview subjects believe that a preoccupation with the "refugee" status of Vietnamese persons permits only a one-dimensional portrayal of the Vietnamese experience in Canada.

Mid-1980s to Present – Representations of the Vietnamese as the Racialized 'Other': 'Gangs', Organized Crime, and Criminal Fraud in the "Vietnamese Community"

By the mid-to-late 1980s, the mainstream Toronto newspapers had shifted emphasis from a focus upon general adaptation difficulties to portrayals of one particularly vivid manifestation of social dysfunction among the Vietnamese population – involvement in criminal activity. While the first crime stories

Using CD-ROMs compiled by Canadian News Disc, a statistical analysis was conducted to examine the content of articles mentioning the word "Vietnamese" in a Toronto or Canadian context which appeared in The Toronto Star and The Toronto Sun over selected time periods. The Toronto Star data was compiled for the dates extending from May 25, 1986 to Oct. 31, 1996. Information included from The Toronto Sun was gathered for a shorter period lasting from Jan. 31, 1994 to Oct. 31, 1996. These time periods were used because they are dates for which articles were available on CD-ROM from the two newspapers.

For the purpose of the analysis, articles appearing in these publications were classified into four categories. The first category involved news stories describing incidents of crime. The second grouping included articles focusing upon social problems and adaptation difficulties experienced by Vietnamese in the course of their interactions with the mainstream society. The third group of articles were those which discussed a variety of unfortunate incidents involving persons of Vietnamese origin – these included automobile-related casualties,
accidents on the job, a death in a Toronto prison, and searches for missing Vietnamese children and disabled persons within Toronto etc. The fourth and final category included stories of a positive tone. Articles falling within this very broad classification covered a wide variety of topics.

The analysis clearly shows articles about Vietnamese persons in the two Toronto newspapers have been strongly oriented to crime-related incidents. Over the period of a decade, about 54% of the 391 articles which appeared in a keyword search of The Toronto Star CD-ROM database discussed Vietnamese involvement in crime. Slightly less than 20% of the stories in The Star focused upon the difficulties Vietnamese were experiencing in their relationships with the mainstream society. Predominant themes in this second group of stories included the opposition of Vietnamese-community activists to the collection of race-based crime statistics in the early 1990s, community protests concerning media portrayals and police mistreatment, funding woes of Vietnamese social service organizations as well as coverage of individual acts of prejudice, racism, and violence directed towards Vietnamese individuals by representatives of the criminal justice system, in the labour market, and in the Toronto schools. About 3% of the stories in The Toronto Star described accidents involving persons of Vietnamese origin while 23% of the articles could be classified as positive stories. Articles falling within this very broad classification covered many topics including reunions of Vietnamese refugees with their family members in Canada, the annual anniversary of the Vietnamese arrival in Canada, Vietnamese New Year's Celebrations and festivals at Vietnamese Buddhist temples, case studies
of Vietnamese immigrants and refugees who have “made it” in Canadian society, write-ups of Vietnamese young people who have achieved academic and athletic success in the Toronto schools, and profiles of the work performed by social service agencies which include Vietnamese among their clients.

An overwhelming emphasis upon Vietnamese involvement in crime is apparent in the data compiled for the tabloid The Toronto Sun over a shorter time period of slightly less than three years. Over 90% of the 78 Sun articles found in the CD-ROM database which mentioned “Vietnamese” within a Canadian context described incidents of crime. About 2% of the stories focused upon social problems and difficulties experienced by the Vietnamese in their interactions with Canadian society, 1% described accidents involving persons of Vietnamese origin, while just 3% of the articles described events of a positive nature. The almost exclusively crime-oriented focus of The Sun’s coverage has made it a target of protest among Vietnamese community organizations as will be discussed below.

The Mainstream Media and the Racialization Process

‘Racialization’ may be defined as the circumstances by which certain social characteristics and behaviours come to be identified with the ‘race’ or ethnic origin of individuals (Miles, 1993; Omi and Winant, 1994; Miles, and Torres, 1996). The media is a key institution in society promoting the ‘racialization’ process (Satzewich, 1990; Henry 1995). Over the past decade, frequent references to Vietnamese individuals accused of involvement in criminal activity have appeared in the mainstream Toronto newspapers. Three
key elements in the media’s coverage seem particularly conducive to the formation and perpetuation of negative stereotypes and the ‘racialization’ of the Vietnamese-origin population in the larger public consciousness. These include the endemic practice of ‘race-tagging’ in newspaper stories, the positing of cultural factors as explanation for criminal behaviour among persons of Vietnamese ethnic origin and the strong correlation made in many articles between incidents involving Vietnamese and Toronto neighbourhoods with strong and often negative public connotations.

‘Race-Tagging’

A number of my research informants expressed concern over the practice of ‘race-tagging’ – this is the identification of persons by ‘race’ or ethnic origin in a news account even if these “facts” are irrelevant to the story (Fleras, 1994). Several of my interview subjects expressed anger related to their belief that the mainstream Toronto print media commonly reported the ethnicity of Vietnamese persons involved in criminal incidents but did not often do the same for persons of white European ethnic origin involved in similar types of crimes. Some of my informants expressed their view that ‘race-tagging’ is particularly harmful because it facilitates the development of stereotypes of Vietnamese persons as being disproportionately involved in crime compared to other segments of the population. An analysis of articles shows ‘race-tagging’ of Vietnamese individuals has been a common practice in the crime reporting of Toronto newspapers since the mid-1980s. A 1987 Toronto Star article about the disappearance and subsequent safe return of a 12 year old girl stated: “the girl
was found in a house in North York where a group of Vietnamese youths live.”


Informants note that race-tagging has been particularly common in stories about insurance and credit card fraud in Metropolitan Toronto and southern Ontario. A 1994 article about the bust of a credit card scam pointed out: “A Scarborough man, working as a night auditor at the CN tower at that time, provided the credit card information to a Vietnamese-based organization, which ran the operation from a downtown condo-minium,” (“12 Arrested as Credit Card Scam Busted,” Bob Mitchell, The Toronto Star, Dec. 12, 1994). “A Crash Course in Fraud”, an article by a columnist in The Toronto Sun, opened with this paragraph: “Think you pay too much for car insurance? Well you probably do.
And guys like Nhu Tung Dinh can provide you with a million reasons why.” The
writer of the column went on to note: “through a Vietnamese interpreter, Dinh
has been instructed to return to see Judge Dassell on Nov. 6 to be sentenced for
his role in the fraud.” (“A Crash Course in Fraud,” Heather Bird, The Toronto

Especially inflammatory has been The Toronto Sun’s reporting on
Vietnamese convicted criminals ordered deported from Canada. These stories
have received considerably more play in The Sun compared to the other Toronto
dailies. Tom Godfrey, a crime beat reporter for the newspaper, has specialized in
writing such stories involving Vietnamese and certain other immigrant groups. A
1995 article began: “A Vietnamese boat person ordered deported for murder may
never leave because Canada has no deportation agreement with Vietnam.” The
article went on to note: “He fled Vietnam by boat for a Hong Kong refugee camp
and was chosen by the Canadian government to resettle here.” (“Killer Might Get
Other deportation stories in The Sun possessed the following headlines: “Board
Deports Thug to Vietnam.” (Tom Godfrey, The Toronto Sun, May 29, 1994);
“Refugee Thief Gets the Boot,” (Tom Godfrey, The Toronto Sun, Jan. 15, 1995);
“Cost us 500Gs, Violent Vietnamese Criminal Ordered Deported,” (Tom
Godfrey, The Toronto Sun, June 26, 1995 ); “Lawbreakers Getting the Boot;
Vietnamese, Chinese Criminals Now Face Deportation,” (Tom Godfrey, The
Toronto Sun, Oct. 13, 1995). Undoubtedly, The Sun’s preoccupation with these
types of stories helps create a public perception that immigrants and refugees
who originate from Vietnam tend to cause trouble after they come to Canada. The Sun’s emphasis on deportations linked to criminal behaviour among Vietnamese refugees is also reflective of a general ambivalence and at times outright hostility in the mainstream Canadian press concerning the federal government’s perceived lackadaisical screening of various groups of “visible minority” refugees for admission into the country (Creese, 1993).

A “Culture of Violence”

Particularly harmful in the eyes of several of my research informants is the tendency of some criminal justice officials to make comments to the media linking criminal behaviour of perpetrators to past experiences in Vietnam and to the negative influence of Vietnamese “culture” generally. Numerous examples of such statements may be gleaned from newspaper accounts over the years. A 1987 story in The Toronto Star discussed the possible involvement of Vietnamese-American gangs in criminal activity within the Toronto area. In the article, a Massachusetts police officer noted “highly mobile’ Vietnamese gang members had come of age ‘in an atmosphere of violence’ in refugee camps located in Southeast Asia. (“Police Suspect U.S. Asian Gangs in Metro Holdups,” Don Dutton, The Toronto Star, Jan. 23, 1987). In a 1991 Globe and Mail article, the newspaper’s police reporter, quoting Alberta police officers, attributed a string of violent crimes involved perpetrators of Vietnamese national origin to a “generation of young, often rootless males who came out of Vietnam’s postwar era.” (“Police Face Long Haul in Chinatown Slayings: Reluctance of Vietnamese to Provide Information a Factor in Investigations,”
Timothy Appleby, *The Globe and Mail*, March 5, 1991). In a 1994 *Toronto Sun* article, a police detective stated that many immigrant youth including some Vietnamese teenagers bring the lawless elements of their countries to metro Toronto’s streets. The detective argued that in countries such as Vietnam, where abject poverty is commonplace, violence is a way of staying alive. He went on to comment: “It shouldn’t come as any surprise that when people come to Canada it is acted out.” (“‘Trash’ Time, Violent Teens Irk Cop,” Jonathan Kingston, *The Toronto Sun*, Sept. 1, 1994). In a 1994 *Globe and Mail* article an RCMP drug officer based in British Columbia stated his belief that there is a cultural element to drug crimes committed by Vietnamese in Canada. He commented: “Vietnamese trafficking is part of their culture and what I mean by that is that these people come from a war-torn country, they’ve grown up all their lives fighting to survive each day to live; in Canada we take that for granted, we don’t understand that.” (“Community Decries Crime Stigma. Drugs; While Police Say Not All Nanaimo Vietnamese Deal, Some Do, And They Represent a Big Problem.” (Craig McInnes, *The Globe and Mail*, Nov. 22, 1994).

Intersections of ‘Race’, Ethnicity, and Place

Social geographers have recognized important spatial aspects of the construction of popular representations of some minority groups. These scholars have noted that ‘racialized’ stereotypes of minority groups may gain a particular potency when linked with certain neighbourhoods tagged with negative public imagery (Anderson, 1987; Anderson, 1988; Anderson, 1991; Jackson, 1993; Jackson, 1994). In turn, these stereotypes may in various ways influence the life
chances of minority group members living in these communities (Bauder, 1998). Many of my research informants perceive a series of sensationalistic media reports of violent crimes perpetrated by so-called Vietnamese “gangsters” in Toronto’s Chinatowns left strong imprints in the collective consciousness of the host society. Several informants noted the pervasiveness of “racialized” stereotypes linking Vietnamese young males to gang activity perceived to be prevalent in the city’s Chinatown neighbourhoods. The enduring power of such stereotypes is easily understood considering the tone of the media’s coverage of “crime waves” within the Chinatowns during the late 1980s and the early 1990s, as well as the ongoing reports linking so-called Vietnamese “gangs” to crimes occurring in Toronto’s Chinatowns. Articles in these earlier time periods were filled with sensationalistic language. A 1986 Toronto Star article headlined: “Terror in Chinatown: Gangs Put Chinatown Under Siege” stated: “In Toronto’s Chinatown, many are talking openly of their fear and anger over the new wave of extortions, robberies, and other violence. The victims blame much of the trouble on a small group within the community, mainly new gangs of young Vietnamese – and police agree.” The same article continued with a quotation from a Chinatown businessman: “They don’t respect life at all after years of war...They are not afraid of police, of the courts, of jail. They are not even afraid of dying.” (“Terror in Chinatown: Gangs Put Chinatown Under Siege,” Don Dutton and Cal Millar, The Toronto Star, September 6, 1986).  

A January 1991 article in The Star headlined “New Gangs Terrorize Chinatown” used particularly vivid language to portray Vietnamese “gangsters”

Also in 1991, at the time of a string of violent crimes in Chinatown, the national news magazine Maclean’s featured a cover story headlined “Terror in the Streets: Young Asian Gangs Are Spreading Fear, Violence – And Death – in Canadian Cities.” (Brian Bergman, Maclean’s, March 23, 1991). On the front cover of this issue was a photo of an Asian man wearing a leather jacket perched against a dark brick wall, waiting to fire a pistol. Inside the magazine, several pages of sensationalistic text and photos discussed the growing scourge of
Vietnamese and Chinese gangs in major Canadian cities including Toronto. A sidebar in the table of contents placed next to a grisly photo of a crime victim read: “Terror in the Streets: Young ruthless Vietnamese and Chinese gangsters are pursuing their criminal ambitions and deadly turf wars with a ferocity that is establishing a new threshold of violence in Canadian cities. Their activities range from armed robbery and extortion to prostitution and heroin trafficking.”

Two years later, *Toronto Life* magazine featured its own very detailed and sensationalistic account of Vietnamese “gang” activities in Toronto’s Chinatowns: (“Murder at the Kim Bo: Vietnamese Gangs Are the New Scourge of Chinatown and a 1990 Murder at a Dundas Street Restaurant Illustrates the Many Difficulties of Solving and Persecuting Their Crimes,” Gina Mallet, *Toronto Life*, February 1993.) This particular article was accompanied by gory pictures from Chinatown crime scenes and mugshots of alleged Vietnamese gangsters.

Over the past decade, the Toronto newspapers have also contained many reports situating crimes involving Vietnamese victims and perpetrators within two neighbourhoods widely identified in the Toronto public consciousness with low income housing, prostitution, drug dealing, and violence. Several articles have linked Vietnamese crime to the Parkdale neighbourhood in Toronto’s west end. Some of these stories have discussed the suspected involvement of organized Vietnamese gangs in heroin trafficking in the neighbourhood: “More Shops to be Closed in Drug Battle,” (Royson James and Jim Byersk, *The Toronto Star*, Aug. 12, 1989); “Parkdale Residents Protest Bail Releases,” (Moira Welsh,
The Toronto Star, March 29, 1993; “Store Licence at Stake in Parkdale Drug Fight,” (Mark Zwolinski, The Toronto Star, June 11, 1993). A Toronto Sun story which appeared in 1995 conjured up imagery linking Vietnamese individuals to the drug trade in Parkdale. The following is an excerpt from this article: “Nick sees no irony in his words, sitting here waiting to peddle his heroin while on parole and living in a halfway house. No damage, he says, but here he is still shooting up, still hustling his heroin to the working girls of Parkdale. He’s a dealer with a conscience of course. He buys his rock of heroin from only one ‘reputable’ Vietnamese supplier whose quality is safe. He would never sell to kids, he says, or novices.” (“Smack’s Back, Heroin So Pure It Can Kill Before the Needle Out of the Arm is Flooding Metro Like Never Before. And It’s So Cheap Its Becoming Fashionable,” Michele Mandele, The Toronto Sun, Feb. 26, 1995).

Several newstories have reported violent crimes involving patrons of Vietnamese national origin which have occurred at karaoke bars located on Ossington Street in Parkdale: “Karoake Killer, 21, Gets Life Sentence,” (Gary Oakes, The Toronto Star, Jan. 13, 1994), “Killer Gets Life; Shot 2 Men in Karoake Bar,” (Tracy Nesdoly, The Toronto Sun, Jan. 13, 1994), “Robber Jailed Four Years: Karoake Bandit”, (Sam Pazano, The Toronto Sun, Sept. 9, 1994). To most Torontonians whose only exposure to Vietnamese nightlife comes through such news stories, these portrayals of Chinatown and Parkdale streetscapes dotted with all-night Vietnamese karaoke bars and cafes represents an exotic underworld of the “other” with seedy and often violent undertones.
Numerous crime digest briefs over the years have also identified Vietnamese involvement in criminal activity in the Jane-Finch area, a neighbourhood in suburban Toronto which has long been linked in the 'racialized' media discourse with low-income high-rise housing and violent crime involving minority groups (Jackson, 1993, Henry, 1994; Henry, 1995). A 1990 Toronto Star article about a physical altercation contained the following paragraph: “The two victims who spoke only Vietnamese, would tell police little about what they were doing in the Jane-Finch area shortly before 1 A.M yesterday,” (“Retaliation Feared After Stabbing,” Unsigned, The Toronto Star, August 17, 1990). Crime digest items over the past decade have frequently made reference to Vietnamese involvement in incidents occurring in the “Jane-Finch” neighbourhood. To summarize, the media's association of Vietnamese involvement in crime with Chinatown, Parkdale, and the Jane-Finch neighbourhood has served to strengthen public perceptions of the deviant character of persons of Vietnamese origin and this is especially so given the fact that both neighbourhoods possess sizable Vietnamese residential concentrations. It is not difficult to see how the opportunities for mobility and life chances of Vietnamese young persons coming of age in such communities as Parkdale and Jane-Finch could be negatively impacted by such imagery. For example, the possession of a home address associated with the Jane-Finch or Parkdale neighbourhoods could potentially influence the behaviour of criminal justice officials, educators, and prospective employers they might come into contact with.
Positive Portrayals in the Mainstream Toronto Press

While it must be stressed that the overwhelming majority of articles which have appeared about Vietnamese-origin individuals in a Canadian context within the mainstream Toronto newspapers have unfortunately and probably harmfully been preoccupied with crime, other stories have appeared which have provided more positive portrayals. A few key themes can be identified in these articles. Some stories over the years have discussed community gatherings held to commemorate the anniversary of the Vietnamese “boat people” exodus and arrival in Canada in the late 1970s as well as the annual Vietnamese New Year Tet Festivities in the city: “10 Years on Solid Ground,” (Catherine Dunphy, *The Toronto Star*, March 9, 1989); “Boat People Celebrate ‘Miracle’ Viet Nam Refugees Now Here 10 Years,”; (Paul Watson, *The Toronto Star*, June 23, 1989); “From Hell To Paradise, Boat People Remember,” (Maureen Murray, *The Toronto Star*, March 3, 1996); “Tet Festival Inspires Memories of Viet Nam,” (Pat McMenly, *The Toronto Star*, January 26, 1987). Family reunions involving Vietnamese refugees who have brought their families over from Vietnam have also been the topic of a few articles: “Ex-Refugee Wins Fight for Family to Join Him.” (Phinjo Gombu, *The Toronto Star*, April 14, 1994); “Vietnamese Family Reunites At Last: ‘I Can’t Even Look at Him, I’m Too Happy,’ Wife Says,” (Caroline Mallan, *The Toronto Star*, May 24, 1994).

Some news stories have discussed the impressive personal achievements of individual Vietnamese following their arrival in Canada. A 1988 story profiled

**THE RESPONSE OF VIETNAMESE-CANADIAN COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS**

Protesting the media's predominant emphasis upon crime in its portrayals, Vietnamese organizations including the Vietnamese Association of Toronto, the Metro Toronto Chinese and Southeast Asian Legal Aid Clinic, the Vietnamese Community of North York, and the Society of Vietnamese-Canadian Professionals have written and phoned mainstream newspapers. A coalition of Vietnamese organizations signed a letter of protest to *The Toronto Sun* following
a series of particularly inflammatory articles in 1994. The Society of Vietnamese-Canadian Professionals has been especially active in challenging media representations of the Vietnamese. This organization which is primarily composed of Vietnamese-origin individuals employed in various professions including medicine, engineering, law, and education owes its existence to the anger local police practices and media portrayals generated among its founding members in the early 1990s. At a 1993 symposium also attended by representatives of the police and Asian community groups, Michael Dang, a spokesperson for the society, made the following statement:

"The Toronto Sun never ceases to amaze the public with these kinds of headlines: 'Trouble in Little Saigon, Two Shot Dead at Vietnamese Café'; 'Two Vietnamese Young Men Were Shot to Death...''A New Street War in Metro's Asian Community.' These are the images the media paints of our community." "...The media does not realize that criminal elements welcome these sensational writings. It reigns fear, submission, and intimidation to our community, just as they want it. These images are also a potential fuel for the building of stereotypes and racial prejudices. This is at a time when our community are working very hard to integrate with the rest of Canada, when Vietnamese youths are excelling in schools and athletics. If this trend is allowed to continue unabated, the media will be seen to build further barriers for Vietnamese youths within our society, from education to employment."

Mr. Dang continued:

"Here are our community's requests: Foremost we would like the (police) force to be open to the public yet be sensitive when releasing racial info of individuals involved in criminal activity. We feel that the police could not possibly check the true identity of the individual at the scene of a crime to know whether that Asian person is a Vietnamese, a Chinese-Vietnamese, or any other Asian descent when this info is given to the media. To the media, we feel they are doing us an injustice by portraying our community as being chaotic and youth-gang mongering. They should strike a balance and copy the example of the media in the U.S. and Europe who published stories depicting our achievements since the 'boat people' era." (Michael Dang, Vice-President, Society of Vietnamese-Canadian Professionals, Police Community Partnership: A
At a 1994 joint Conference on Asian Communities and Policing with the Metropolitan Toronto Police and several Chinese organizations, the Society recommended that the police not use the descriptions "Vietnamese" and "Oriental" when they disclose crime information to the news media. If it was deemed necessary to provide a description of a perpetrator it was suggested that the less harmful term "Asian" be used. At the time, a police media relations officer stated that he would ask his office to implement the recommendation. This organization's request of the police demonstrates its recognition of the important interrelationship between police officers and crime reporters in the dissemination of public stereotypes of persons of Vietnamese origin in Canadian society. Members of the Society of Vietnamese-Canadian Professionals also met with the editor of The Toronto Sun in 1994 with the goal of sensitizing him to the negative impact of his newspaper's reporting practices.

II. THE VIETNAMESE AND THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM IN TORONTO

A number of informants argued that Vietnamese-Canadians have commonly experienced prejudice, discrimination, and mistreatment in their encounters with representatives of the criminal justice system in the Toronto area. Three informants who have counseled low-income Vietnamese clients at a legal aid clinic pointed out that in the course of their work they have heard of many cases of mistreatment of Vietnamese persons at the hands of law enforcement officers. The legal aid counselors argued that among the Vietnamese
population there are widespread perceptions that the police on occasion harass Vietnamese individuals, asking for their identity in various situations. The counselors had heard first-hand of many incidents in which Vietnamese motorists believed they were singled out as a visible minority, stopped by police, and given tickets for minor infractions including violations of seatbelt laws. Harassment by mall security staff is also perceived to be commonplace. The legal aid workers related a number of incidents in which they believed Vietnamese were unjustly suspected of shoplifting. One of the counselors noted that he himself was once handcuffed by a police officer for a few minutes following a false accusation of shoplifting at the Eaton Centre in downtown Toronto.

Several informants stated that many of the problems with law enforcement are the result of cultural misunderstandings and language barriers, as well as the prejudices of individual police officers. Cultural misunderstandings have followed from differences in verbal communication norms. In Vietnamese culture, it is normative to avoid direct eye contact when engaged in conservation with a person commanding a show of respect because a stare is perceived to be a challenge and a sign of disrespect. There have been cases in Toronto in which Vietnamese individuals felt that the police perceived them to be guilty because they avoided eye contact while being questioned.

Many of my informants stated that the language barrier often places Vietnamese persons at a distinct disadvantage when dealing with law enforcement officers. The legal aid counselors noted several specific incidents in which their Vietnamese clients were charged with crimes largely because of their
inability to communicate effectively with officers in English. Many of these situations involved fights at bars or clubs and auto accidents in which the other party spoke English fluently. The counselors also mentioned numerous cases in which the language barrier contributed to a “banned for life” penalty for Vietnamese individuals accused of shoplifting.

An informant who has volunteered as a Vietnamese-language translator in the courts observed that many of the lawyers who are hired with public money from the legal aid program do not adequately defend their Vietnamese clients. This volunteer translator has met Vietnamese convicted in the courts who have told him that their lawyers did not explain anything to them. Rather, they told their clients to “just say yes” and plead guilty. Some of these persons, who spoke little English, landed in correctional institutions with little idea of what had transpired in the courtroom in which they were convicted. A legal aid counselor argued that many police officers who encounter situations involving Vietnamese persons do not feel like going through the hassle of getting an interpreter, especially given the requirement that a report describing any given incident must be filed within 24 hours of its occurring.

Several informants believe that ‘racialized’ stereotypes of the Vietnamese are common among some members of the police force. These stereotypes probably have much of their origin in the incidents of drug-running, prostitution, bribery, home invasions, violent crime and general “gang” activity involving some Vietnam-born individuals which have been strongly sensationalized in the mainstream Toronto media in the past decade. Informants related numerous
situations in which Vietnamese persons stated that believed they had received improper treatment from law enforcement officials as a result of their ethnic origin. One such incident received public attention in 1993 when a Metropolitan Toronto police constable was convicted of insubordination by a police complaints commission board of inquiry due to his conduct in a 1991 incident. The inquiry found that the officer had stopped a 30 year old Vietnamese dental assistant for speeding as she was driving her car to attend to 6 A.M. religious services. The officer angrily ordered the woman out of her car and immediately drew his revolver to his side. The inquiry reported: "As she was walking towards the constable, he raised his gun, holding it in two hands, and pointed it at her, and at some point, perhaps when she reached her designated destination at the front of his car, he told her at least once not to move or else, 'I'll shoot your head off.' The woman was handcuffed by another officer. Her new white Honda was searched for drugs, weapons, alcohol, and stolen property, but nothing illegal was found. The women was eventually released without charges. At the inquiry, the officer testified that he had feared while following the woman that she may have been one of four male Vietnamese homicide suspects wanted in a province-wide alert at the time. However, the inquiry commissioner wrote that this was a far-fetched and strange suspicion. Inquiry documents stated that none of the suspects matched the woman in physical description, not to mention gender, and the suspects themselves were reported to be driving a blue sedan." ("Officer Convicted for Drawing Gun: Shocked Motorist Was Told Her Head Would Be \`Shot Off\' Police Board Finds," Joseph Hall, *The Toronto Star*, May 5, 1993).
In another case that received media attention, in 1990 a provincial judge based in Toronto publicly acknowledged that he singled out certain Vietnamese defendants for severe sentences. Explaining why he was sending a first-time offender to prison on a relatively minor offence of improperly storing a firearm, the judge stated: "In Toronto, in these courtrooms, sometimes I send young men from Vietnam to jail rather severely on offences. They've been in Canada a short time, they've been in Canada a year or two or three, and I have to work out a kind of sentence that appears to have no bias. We're supposed to treat everyone in front of us in the same way. Again and again I have to lay out — thankfully not again and again but often — have to lay out sentences trying to make it clear that in the circumstances of the recent immigrant's arrival into Canada, on a charge of threatening or extortion, that's sometimes connected with Vietnamese gangs, and sometimes with not too much evidence in front of me on a sentence hearing, I lay out some severe sentences that wouldn't apply in the same set of facts with someone who'd been in Canada 20 or 30 years."("Investigate this Judge," Unsigned Editorial, The Toronto Star, April 22, 1993, p. A26)

Agencies representing the Vietnamese population have engaged in a range of activities intended to increase police sensitivity and facilitate improved relations between the police and the Vietnamese population. As noted above, the Society of Vietnamese-Canadian Professionals was brought into existence as a result of the concern of its founding members over police and media stereotyping of the Vietnamese population. According to the society's vice president, the public comments of a Metropolitan Toronto police officer served as a key
stimulus prompting a small group of Vietnam-born engineers and teachers to organize the new association. In the summer of 1991, the police sergeant proclaimed that he had collected data which indicated that Vietnamese and mainland Chinese were responsible for the "vast majority" of all crime in Toronto's 350,000 member Asian community. These two groups, he continued, should be "targeted" by immigration investigators for tough measures to identify "phony refugees". To do otherwise, the police sergeant said, would be "hiding our heads in the sand." ("Asian Crime Remarks Trigger New Race Row," The Toronto Star, July 28, 1991). The sergeant was disciplined by the Metro Police Services Board for his comments. The board had declared two years earlier that the police force would no longer compile statistics relating crime to race.

The founding members of the Society of Vietnamese-Canadian Professionals were outraged by the police sergeant's statements. According to the society's vice president, the initial activities of the new organization involved "damage control". The society worked with other advocacy groups - the Chinese-Canadian National Council and the Metro Chinese and Southeast Asian Legal Aid Clinic to initiate discussions with the police. Leaders of the new organization demanded accountability in the work of the police with Vietnamese persons. Members of the society talked to police officials to try to educate them about the background and culture of the Vietnamese, attempting to raise their awareness about Vietnamese concerns in regard to police mistreatment. With the participation of several Chinese organizations as well as the Vietnamese Association of Toronto and representatives of the Metropolitan Toronto police
the society organized conferences on Asian Communities and the Police in 1992, 1993, and 1994. These meetings were funded by the now-disbanded Anti-Racism Secretariat within the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship. At these seminars, special discussion was given to key differences between Vietnamese and Canadian culture which might impact the interactions of law enforcement officers with persons of Vietnamese origin. More specifically, officers were asked to bring in social workers in situations of domestic abuse as opposed to pressing charges under Canadian law. At the conferences, other issues were addressed as well. The Vietnamese and Chinese organizations lobbied against the compilation of crime statistics tied to race. A spokesperson for SVCP noted that only three Vietnamese-speaking officers were employed on a Metropolitan Toronto police force of about 5,400 uniformed officers. Suggestions were given on how to improve Vietnamese representation in law enforcement. Spokepersons for Vietnamese organizations also asked the police to be more sensitive in the information they share with the media.

In sum, events in the early 1990s served as the impetus for community activism carried out with the goal of improving relations between the Vietnamese population and the police force. Representatives of several organizations engaged in discussions with police officials to facilitate cultural sensitivity and awareness among the police force, improve Vietnamese representation on the force, and sensitize police to the role they play in manufacturing public stereotypes as they speculate about the ‘race’ or ethnicity of accused criminals to crime beat reporters.
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The mainstream Toronto media has played an important role in shaping the context of reception Vietnamese refugees and immigrants have encountered in the city. In the late 1970s, the Toronto newspapers offered considerable encouragement and support for the large-scale resettlement of Vietnamese refugees within Canada. Within a few years, the media reoriented its focus to the social problems and difficulties with adaptation that many Vietnamese-Canadians experienced. By the mid-to-late 1980s, Vietnamese involvement in criminal activity was the predominant emphasis of local newspaper accounts. Many of these crime stories focused on violent crime identified with Vietnamese “gangs”. While it may be argued that the media were justifiably focusing public attention on a compelling social issue in Canadian society, the content of these crime reports, some of which used quite sensationalized language, clearly also served to ‘racialize’ the Vietnamese as a problem group within the consciousness of the larger Toronto public.

The daily Toronto newspapers also began identifying the Vietnamese origin of suspected criminals in even the briefest crime digest reports. This ‘race-tagging’ was included in accounts of crimes such as drug-dealing, prostitution, and credit card as well as accident claim fraud. These are the very same types of crimes which the newspapers report on a daily basis usually without any mention of the ethnic identity of those involved. The fact that Toronto media outlets felt compelled to provide the Vietnamese identity of individuals involved in these
capsule reports helped promulgate a "common sense" linkage in public perceptions between persons of Vietnamese origin and involvement in crime.

Within a short period of time, the news media's 'race-tagging' provoked a response from several Vietnamese community organizations. Representatives of these groups attempted to sensitize the management of the mainstream publications to the potential impact of their newspaper's reporting practices upon the adaptation of Vietnamese individuals within the mainstream society. Community activists feared harmful stereotypes were negatively influencing the interactions of Vietnamese-Canadians with the labour market, the education sector, and the criminal justice system in Toronto. The protests of the community groups met with some success. Most of my research informants believe the protests have been largely responsible for somewhat improved media portrayals since 1994. While 'race-tagging' has not completely disappeared from crime stories involving persons of Vietnamese origin, an analysis shows the practice has become notably less common in all three of the mainstream Toronto newspapers since the mid-1990s. However, despite the perceptions of improvement in recent years, there is continuing concern among most informants that the reporting of previous years has left its toll contributing to enduring negative images of Vietnamese-Canadians within the larger public consciousness.

The second half of the chapter addressed the relationship between the Vietnamese population and the criminal justice system. Similar to the experiences of other minority groups in Toronto and other North American cities,
persons of Vietnamese ethnic origin have occasionally experienced tension in their interactions with representatives of the law enforcement system. Cultural misconceptions, the language barrier, and the extreme underrepresentation of the Vietnamese and other Asians on the police force have all contributed to problematic police-community relations. This environment provided the stimulus for several Vietnamese and Southeast Asian organizations to initiate consultations with representatives of the police force in the early 1990s. Staffers of several ethnic organizations argued that the ‘racialized’ stereotypes possessed by some criminal justice officials are particularly harmful and may negatively influence the long-term life chances of many Vietnamese young people in Canadian society. It is in the mainstream news media where such ‘racialized’ imagery achieves popular currency. Certain scholars have recognized that ‘race-tagging’ in crime reporting is a function of the information-sharing relationship between the police and crime beat reporters. Stereotypes linking ‘race’, ethnicity, and crime existing among individual police officers and other criminal justice officials are commonly disseminated into the wider public consciousness in news accounts of criminal incidents. Recognizing the reciprocal relationship among the police and the news media in furthering ‘racialized’ stereotypes, an advocacy organization based in Toronto – the Society of Vietnamese Professionals met with police officials in an attempt to sensitize the force to the negative consequences of speculating about the ‘race’ or ethnicity of those involved in various criminal offences to reporters.
PART IV
CONCLUSION
CHAPTER ELEVEN
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This study has examined the adaptation of a fairly recently arrived, "visible minority" immigrant population of significant size to life in a large, contemporary North American metropolitan area. The research itself was intended to be broad and multi-dimensional in scope. It assessed both the internal character of the Vietnamese aggregate and the relationships of this ethnic population with the host society in the Toronto area. Throughout the study, considerable effort has been made to situate the adaptation experiences of persons of Vietnamese origin within the wider scholarly discourse pertaining to ethnic group adaptation. This concluding chapter will begin with a summary of some of the most compelling findings within each chapter and some possible contributions these results might provide to the literature on the Vietnamese in Canada as well as the broader ethnic studies field. The second portion of the chapter will involve a discussion of some of the implications of the results of this study for the major theoretical paradigms of immigrant adaptation. In the final section, suggestions for possible future avenues of research involving the Vietnamese and other fairly recently arrived immigrant groups will be posited.

THE VIETNAMESE ADAPTATION TO LIFE IN TORONTO

The first portion of the study examined the internal dynamics of the Vietnamese aggregate residing in Toronto. Demographic characteristics, community organization, residential trajectories, and the role of ethnic institutions in the lives of Vietnamese were discussed. Period of arrival data clearly showed the relatively brief period of time the majority of Vietnamese
have resided in Canada compared to the total population as well as most of the other minority groups living in the Toronto metropolitan area in 1991. More than 70% of the enumerated Vietnamese living in Toronto arrived in 1981 or later. The relative recency with which most Vietnamese have moved to Canada has very likely contributed to the population's 1991 representation on a number of variables relative to the entire population and other minorities. These include the significant proportion of Vietnamese who could not speak either English or French, the overall share of the population who were immigrants (over 80%), as well as a high mobility rate over the past five years compared to other groups.

Duration of residence in Canada combined with the circumstances under which most Vietnamese came to Canada — either as refugees or family-sponsored immigrants — also has implications for the Vietnamese in terms of the gender, age, and educational profiles. Unlike the Toronto population as a whole or that of most other minority groups, the Vietnamese population possesses a gender imbalance strongly favouring men. The substantial majority of Vietnamese men enumerated in the census is a function of the disproportionate participation of males in the refugee flow. The large segment of the population which arrived as refugees strongly influences the age profile of the Vietnamese aggregate. The Vietnamese are generally a very young population.

The fact that many Vietnamese arrived in Canada as refugees or as a result of family sponsorship as opposed to as independent immigrants, also likely has had implications for the educational profile of the population. Relative to the entire population and most of the other minority groups, the Vietnamese were
disproportionately represented at the lower educational levels. Conversely, the enumerated Vietnamese population was significantly underrepresented in the university level categories of educational achievement. The demographic profile of the population has significant implications for understanding the formal structure of community organization, residential trajectories, the role of ethnic institutions in adaptation and Vietnamese interactions with mainstream institutions including the labour market, the media and the criminal justice system.

The term “community” is best used in only the broadest sense when describing the diverse population of Vietnamese-origin residing in the Toronto area. Key characteristics observed to shape the organization of Vietnamese community life include age and generation, gender, ethnicity, religious affiliation, region of origin in Vietnam, socioeconomic status, date of arrival in Canada and political ideology.

It is particularly striking that in the case of the Vietnamese population, certain facets of differentiation appear to have become especially salient as they have meshed in the setting of Toronto. Region of origin, socioeconomic status, and to a certain extent, time of arrival all seem to play a part in the peripheral role persons of North Vietnamese origin encounter in community-based activities. Many individuals who came to Canada from North Vietnam were resettled from refugee camps in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Leaders of both secular and religious community groups also spoke in general terms of a sense of social distance related to perceived socioeconomic differences which inhibits
interaction between persons of North Vietnamese origin and the Vietnam-born from the South and Central regions of the country.

While very difficult to measure in a systematic manner, there is evidence of a considerable degree of interaction and cross-organizational participation existing between leaders and individual members of most of the ethnic associations. It is notable that to some extent these linkages also appear to be influenced by some of the same variables of social differentiation which structure the organization of community-based activities more generally including age and gender.

The classical ecological model of spatial assimilation has been found to be at least somewhat applicable to the residential trajectories of many immigrant groups. Unlike many of these ethnic populations, most Vietnamese residents of Toronto have lived in Canada for two decades or less. Despite the relatively short duration of time the Vietnamese as a group have spent in Canada, some segments of the population are clearly suburbanizing. Persons of Vietnamese origin who came as part of the initial large-scale "Boat People" migration concentrated almost entirely in neighbourhoods located in central Toronto. The enclaves in east and west end Toronto continued to expand in size until the early 1990s. By the mid-1980s, more outlying communities including the City of York, Downsview, and a couple of Mississauga neighbourhoods were becoming the foci for new clusters of Vietnamese residents. Over the past decade a phenomenal expansion of Vietnamese households has occurred in regions outside the older Toronto central city including the City of York, Downsview, Rexdale,
as well as the cities of Mississauga and Brampton. Some of the Vietnamese residential expansion in the suburbs can be attributed to the decisions of many Vietnamese to buy homes in peripheral locales of the metropolitan area where home prices are generally lower compared to more centrally sited neighbourhoods. Thus, to some extent, it seems fair to conclude that the Vietnamese are already following the parameters set forth by the classical ecological model.

In certain crucial respects, however, the trajectories of Vietnamese residence in the Toronto area contradict the logic of the ecological paradigm. The spatial assimilation model of ethnic residential patterns predicts that with time and increasing acculturation, group members will move to higher status suburban neighbourhoods within a metropolitan area. Much of the Vietnamese residential growth in the suburbs has occurred in very localized, low-rent, high-density apartment corridors. In effect, as the initial residential enclaves have stagnated or even declined in population, Vietnamese concentrations have grown in other immigrant reception areas situated in non-central parts of the metropolitan area. From 1991 to 1997, a very significant proportion of the overall Vietnamese residential expansion was occurring in lower-income suburban districts. The existence of such neighbourhoods are unaccounted for in the ecological model.

The ecological approach to ethnic group adaptation implicitly assumes that a clustering of immigrant group members’ residences and institutions is imperative for the continued maintenance of a vital ethnic community life in a particular city. In this study, some support was found for scholarly arguments
linking residence and participation in the activities of ethnic associations. In the Downsvlew neighbourhood, two congregations exhibited membership highly concentrated in neighbourhoods near the church meeting site. Residential proximity seems to facilitate institutional participation as well as informal social interaction among the worshippers of these two churches.

Of potentially greater significance, however, is the finding that most Vietnamese temples and churches included in the study draw their participants from considerably larger physical areas than the immediate parts of the city in which their meeting sites are located. In fact, some institutions possess memberships which seem to be almost completely unrelated to the geography of members' residences within the larger metropolitan area. The ecological assumption that residential clustering is a necessary condition for the participation of co-ethnics in given community institutions is not supported. Other factors aside from residential location appear to facilitate the involvement of Vietnamese persons in particular institutions. Case studies showed that among most churches and temples, some of these intervening factors included the presence of friends and relatives attending the institution's activities as well as personal preferences for a certain style of worship and/or a specific agenda of services and programs provided by a particular congregation.

In sum, the evidence provided offers strong support for the "community without neighbourhood" model of ethnic community activity in contrast to the ecological arguments which, rather deterministically, emphasize the role of residential concentration in stimulating social interaction and the development
and maintenance of ethnic institutions among immigrant group members. It is possible to conclude that even in the absence of a significant extent of residential clustering, the Vietnamese and other ethnic groups could maintain vital institutions as well as the interpersonal networks of reciprocal exchange which are developed and reinforced through involvement in the activities of ethnic associations.

Findings presented in this study have relevance for the larger debate among scholars concerning the functional significance of ethnic institutions in the lives of participants. Through various means, both Vietnamese mutual assistance organizations and temples and churches were observed to support integration with the Canadian host society. Many of the Vietnamese temples and churches have also attempted on occasion to liaison with the religious institutions of "mainstream" Canadians and have encouraged their members to socialize with those of other ethnic backgrounds possessing the same denominational affiliation.

To a far more significant degree, however, it was observed that Vietnamese mutual assistance organizations as well as temples and churches promote interaction with other Vietnamese and the maintenance of ethnic identity. Brief case studies of several institutions showed that many mutual assistance organizations and temples and churches provide a setting for the development and maintenance of informal networks of reciprocal assistance and social support. Despite the identity maintenance functions of most Vietnamese ethnic associations, it would be misleading to assume that these organizations
have merely transplanted traditional Vietnamese culture to the new Canadian setting. Instead, it is apparent that most of these ethnic institutions have attempted to reintroduce core elements of Vietnamese culture and facilitate co-ethnic interaction in new and innovative ways relevant to the lives of their participants in the Toronto area. This is particularly the case with the religious institutions.

The latter portion of the study assessed the relationship between the Vietnamese population and the host society institutions of the mainstream labour market, the mass media, and the criminal justice system in Toronto. The analysis of 1991 census data indicates the Vietnamese population on average occupies only a very marginal position in the mainstream Toronto economy. In comparison to the entire population and other minority groups living in the Toronto area, both Vietnamese men and women were very much overrepresented in factory jobs, particularly in product fabricating, assembly, and repair. Vietnamese were to a significant degree underrepresented in professional jobs including those in finance, insurance, and real estate, business services, education services, government services, and health and social services. The income status of Vietnamese in Toronto in 1991 was shockingly low. Also distressing were the very high rates of unemployment tabulated among individuals of Vietnamese ethnic origin.

To some extent, the marginal socioeconomic status of the Vietnamese may be tied to the demographic profile and background characteristics of the population. A relatively short duration of residence in Canada, a lack of fluency
in English, limited exposure to higher education, and poor health are variables which may disproportionately affect the socioeconomic adaptation of the Vietnamese given the fact that a large share of the population arrived in Canada as refugees or in the family-sponsorship class as opposed to as independent immigrants in contrast to many other predominantly immigrant minority groups. The “blocked mobility thesis” of ethnic and racial labour market segmentation also seems somewhat applicable to the situation of Vietnamese-Canadians. According to informants, structural and cultural barriers as well as discrimination in the host society (open or more subtle) work together to restrict the entry of Vietnamese individuals into occupations outside of the usually low-paying and poorly compensated secondary sector.

Responding to this marginal relationship with the mainstream labour market, Vietnamese refugees and immigrants utilize various means to achieve subsistence and realize their goals of socioeconomic advancement. Many Vietnamese find employment within the so-called informal sector where wages are untaxed and paid “under the table”. Persons of Vietnamese origin also commonly use friendship and especially kinship networks to pool socioeconomic resources. Vietnamese households are often quite large, consisting of older parents, adult children, as well as young people. The members of the household contribute their various sources of income so that the family as a whole may function as a cohesive economic unit.

The mainstream media has contributed to the context of reception Vietnamese individuals have encountered in the Toronto metropolitan area. Clear
temporal themes were apparent in the media’s coverage of issues pertaining to persons of Vietnamese origin. During the “Boat People” crisis of the late 1970s, the Toronto newspapers provided impressive support for the resettlement of large numbers of Vietnamese refugees in Canada. Many news stories which ran during this period raised awareness in Canada of the situation of the refugees and provided a strong stimulus to encourage private sponsorship and general public acceptance of the resettlement effort.

From the time of the mid-1980s, media accounts became dominated by very negative and at times quite sinister portraits of Vietnamese-Canadians. The crime beat reporters of the daily Toronto newspapers took it upon themselves to speculate about the Vietnamese origin of individuals involved in a wide range of criminal incidents. These crime stories served to ‘racialize’ the Vietnamese in a process similar to that experienced by certain other minority populations which have found themselves situated as problem groups in the larger public consciousness. The Toronto media’s ‘race-tagging’ prompted a strong reaction from several Vietnamese ethnic organizations. Community activists feared the potential impact of harmful stereotypes for the contemporary interactions of Vietnamese persons with the institutions of the host society as well as the possible long-term influence of such negative imagery upon the life chances of Vietnamese young people coming of age in Canada.

Cultural misunderstandings, a language barrier, and underrepresentation of persons of Vietnamese-origin in law enforcement have contributed to occasional tension between the Vietnamese and the criminal justice system in
Toronto. Staffers of several Vietnamese organizations argued that racialized stereotypes of the Vietnamese are common among some individual members of the police force as well as other criminal justice officials including corrections officers and certain judges.

Growing concern about police-community relations in the early 1990s served as the impetus for community activism. Staffers of several organizations became involved in discussions with law enforcement officials intended to facilitate greater cultural sensitivity and awareness among the police, increase Vietnamese representation on the force, and sensitize police officers to their role in manufacturing public stereotypes as they speculate about the ethnic origin of suspected criminals to the news media.

**IMPLICATIONS OF FINDINGS FOR THEORETICAL PARADIGMS OF ETHNIC GROUP ADAPTATION**

**Assimilation Theory**

The observed trajectories of Vietnamese residence in Toronto since the early 1980s would seem to provide modest support for the assimilation point of view. The Vietnamese were initially concentrated in a few central city Toronto neighbourhoods. Since the mid-to-late 1980s, the most significant growth in Vietnamese households has occurred in more outlying parts of the metropolitan area including Downsview, Rexdale, Mississauga, and Brampton. Some of this impressive outward expansion of the population has involved Vietnamese families buying homes in relatively affordable suburban districts. After only a relatively brief period of time in Canada, many Vietnamese have chosen to
purchase homes in suburban regions located a considerable distance from the central city.

It is crucial to note however that much of the suburban growth of the population has occurred within reception areas primarily composed of low-rent, high-rise apartment structures in which Vietnamese residents have clustered. These new, highly localized concentrations of low-income Vietnamese households in certain suburban neighbourhoods have developed in part as a result of the process of chain migration and are indicative of the continued relevance of co-ethnic social networks to Vietnamese living in these areas.

Cultural Pluralism

The evidence provided in this study does offer considerable support for the cultural pluralism paradigm. Pluralist scholars have argued that ethnic communities provide members with both instrumental and expressive resources. The cultural pluralism model posits that, over time, despite the socioeconomic mobility of individual members, ethnic groups may persist as bases of solidarity and primary interaction. Many examples of the continued relevance of in-group interaction to Vietnamese-Canadians were observed throughout the study. These include the residential clustering noted above and the impressive degree of Vietnamese participation and utilization of ethnic social networks based in temples and churches and certain mutual assistance associations. I observed a significant proportion of the membership of particular churches and temples as well as other ethnic associations were persons who have resided in Canada for fifteen years or longer. A few associations – most notably, a Buddhist group and
a professional society—were primarily composed of Vietnamese individuals well-established in Canadian society. Despite a fairly long residence in Canada, participation in ethnic institutions remains important to the participants in these institutions. It should also be pointed out that Buddhist, Catholic, and Protestant congregations possess youth organizations in which young people who have primarily come of age in Canada are strongly involved.

Structural Theories

The research findings indicate that structural-oriented explanations of ethnic group adaptation have merit. Within the Toronto housing market, the Vietnamese population is concentrated in neighbourhoods where the average and median incomes of residents are far below those associated with the metropolitan area as a whole. Vietnamese residential patterns are clearly tied to the very low average incomes Vietnamese men and women earn on average. These meager incomes are a function of the occupational distribution of the population. Vietnamese are disproportionately concentrated in factory and other secondary tier jobs compared to the population as a whole and most other ethnic groups. Census data also indicate enumerated Vietnamese men and women were more likely to be unemployed and/or receiving government transfer payments compared to the entire population in 1991. It is also not difficult to see a connection between the socioeconomic circumstances and "visible minority status" of the population, and the images presented in the mainstream Toronto media of the Vietnamese as a "racialized" "other." According to informants, the dissemination of these representations to the wider population has likely had
negative implications for the interactions of Vietnamese individuals with host society actors including criminal justice officials, the schools, and prospective employers.

The Ethnic Enclave Model

The difficulties many Vietnamese experience in their interactions with host society institutions has clearly served as a stimulus for the activation of co-ethnic social networks as a means of mutual support and also collective action as posited by contemporary theorists who emphasize the situational basis of ethnic identity. This study provided several examples of the expression of agency among Vietnamese as both individuals and as collectivities in efforts to influence their own adaptation in Toronto. Advocacy organizations including the Society of Vietnamese Professionals and the Metro Toronto Chinese and Southeast Asian Legal Aid Clinic came into being as a result of the concerns of their founders in regard to the relationships existing between persons of Vietnamese origin with host society institutions including employers, the criminal justice system, and the mass media. This study has also discussed some of the means by which Vietnamese residing in Toronto have achieved subsistence and even socioeconomic mobility despite the institutionalized barriers to their full incorporation in the mainstream Canadian economy. These collective strategies include participation in networks of interpersonal support based in ethnic institutions (particularly temples and churches) as well as households.

It is important to point out, however, that Vietnamese community associations and the constituent interpersonal networks associated with them are
not utilized solely for the instrumental functions they provide to their members. There is a strong expressive dimension to participation in many of these institutions. This is due to the opportunity they provide for individual members to socialize and worship in the Vietnamese mother tongue with individuals possessing similar life experiences. It should also be pointed out that little evidence was encountered that might suggest significant proportions of ethnic Vietnamese living in Toronto have used self-employment as a strategy of socioeconomic advancement to the same degree as some other ethnic minority groups. The “ethnic enclave” hypothesis which posits an inward turn to the ethnic economy for the purposes of social mobility may be more applicable to the experiences of the Chinese-Vietnamese. Chinese-Vietnamese involvement in self-entrepreneurship has been well-documented in both Canadian and American settings (Gold, 1992; Gold, 1993; Lam, 1996)

Social Construction Approaches

As noted above, there is considerable evidence that Vietnamese individuals have to some degree been constructed as the “other” in their interactions with host society actors. The mainstream media in Toronto has played a key role in producing and reinforcing this imagery. These ‘racialized’ representations have not gone unchallenged. Vietnamese individuals have responded to the media portrayals by phoning newspapers and writing letters to the editor. Leaders of community organizations have met with representatives of both the media and police with the goal of achieving systemic change in both reporting and law enforcement practices.
IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The research findings suggest several avenues for productive future investigation in regard to both the Vietnamese and other immigrant minority populations. The observations made during the course of this study suggest particularly compelling possibilities for future research in the arenas of the housing market, labour market incorporation, ethnic institutions, and the interactions between minority groups and the host society. In the following section suggestions for further scholarly work in each of these realms will be discussed.

The Housing Market

In this study, it became apparent that settlement counselors employed by ethnic associations and immigrant reception agencies had played a part in directing newcomers to vacancies in certain parts of the metropolitan area. As an example, several informants partially attributed the considerable Vietnamese population in the Parkdale neighbourhood to the presence of a refugee reception centre which helped many new arrivals find housing in the nearby area in the 1980s. The role of such institutional actors as mediators in the initial relationship between new immigrants and refugees and the housing market has been largely neglected in the larger literature on ethnic residential patterns. Real estate agents who target specific ethnic groups in their practice also take on a potentially important mediating role in directing persons of a certain ethnic origin to particular neighbourhoods. There are a growing number of Vietnamese real estate agents servicing a primarily co-ethnic clientele in Toronto. Interviews with
co-ethnic real estate agents would likely constitute a valuable resource for more
detailed and comparative future research pertaining to emerging patterns of
homeownership among the Vietnamese and other immigrant minority groups in
the metropolitan area.

The findings also suggest that scholars should pay greater attention to
immigrant reception areas which are emerging in suburban neighbourhoods of
both Canadian and American cities. It may be suggested that the still influential
ecological approach to ethnic residential patterns overemphasizes a central city-
suburban dichotomy which has decreasing relevance in many urban settings. In
Toronto and many other North American cities, immigrant newcomers are
increasingly moving to low-cost rental housing in outlying suburban areas. These
suburban immigrant reception districts have been relatively neglected in the
larger body of research on ethnic residential patterns. Further study of suburban
reception areas is needed along with a reformulation of traditional approaches to
ethnic residential behaviour in order to better account for the existence of such
neighbourhoods. Likewise, my research suggests another issue requiring further
study is the relationship between residence and institutional participation among
a range of ethnic groups in different urban settings. Future empirical work is
needed to address which model best describes the spatial character of
contemporary immigrant ‘communities’ – approaches based upon ecological
reasoning which strongly link ethnic institutional life and residential
concentration or “community without neighbourhood” explanations which
emphasize the decreasing relevance of spatial propinquity for interaction among co-ethnics in a given metropolitan area.

The Labour Market

An analysis of census data revealed an overwhelming concentration of the enumerated Toronto Vietnamese population in manufacturing jobs especially in product fabrication, assembling, and repairing occupations. Unfortunately, the census data do not provide sufficient detail of the specific manufacturing industries in which Vietnamese are most likely to be employed. Further study is needed of the types of occupations in which the Vietnamese and other immigrant minorities are overrepresented compared to the population as a whole in Toronto and other North American cities. In the case of the Vietnamese, it would be compelling to learn some of the reasons such a concentration in manufacturing positions has come about. Several research informants made it clear that given the common language barrier and minority status of the population, these are the highest paying jobs many Vietnamese obtain with the greatest facility. I have heard many anecdotes in relation to certain factories in which large numbers of Vietnamese have found employment in the Toronto area. Potentially useful future work might attempt to discern the role of ethnic social networks in stimulating concentrations of the Vietnamese and other contemporary immigrant groups in particular industries. Importantly, any potential investigation in this area should also pay attention to the way in which these social networks are “gendered” and the somewhat differing representations of men and women in certain occupations as indicated by the census figures. The relationship between
residence and job location and the means by which Vietnamese and other fairly recent immigrants get to work (whether they use their own car, share rides with fellow co-workers, or take public transit) would present another avenue for potentially useful future research.

Ethnic Institutions and Adaptation

Among the Vietnamese in Toronto, some of the most vital and frequently utilized ethnic associations are temples and churches. Case studies made it clear that interpersonal networks based in religious institutions are important sources of mutual assistance and social support for many Vietnamese. Scholars of contemporary immigrant groups often neglect to study ethnic congregations and instead most commonly focus on secular ethnic organizations such as social welfare agencies, fraternal groups, and regional associations. Given the central position of religious institutions in the community life of many of the more recently arrived groups, it seems imperative that the relationship between religion, ethnicity, and group adaptation should merit far greater attention among geographers, sociologists, and other social scientists.

Interactions between Immigrant Minorities and the Institutions of the Host Society

In this study, the sometimes uneasy relationships existing between persons of Vietnamese origin and institutions of the mainstream society in Toronto including the mass media and the criminal justice system were discussed. 'Race' and ethnic conflict as well as the systemic disadvantage and discrimination confronted by minority groups in contemporary Canadian society are issues that are often glossed over by social scientists. This is particularly the
case in Toronto where the elite shapers of the public discourse including many
government officials and academics prefer to promulgate an image of the city as
a kinder, gentler mosaic of multicultural harmony in contrast to an intolerant
American "other" to the south (Croucher, 1997). While several important studies
have documented the experiences of certain "visible minority" groups with the
criminal justice system, the media, and other institutions in contemporary Canada
(Stasiulis, 1989; Jackson; 1993; Henry, 1994; Jackson, 1994; Henry; 1995;
Creese, 1996), these issues merit significantly more scholarly attention among a
greater range of groups in Toronto and other urban centres located in different
regions across Canada.
APPENDIX I
DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIOECONOMIC DISTRIBUTION OF VIETNAMESE IN CANADA, ONTARIO, AND MAJOR CANADIAN CMAS

In this chapter, the demographic and socioeconomic distribution of the Vietnamese populations across nine metropolitan areas (Montreal, Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, Ottawa, Winnipeg, Kitchener, Hamilton, and London) is compared to that enumerated in Toronto, the province of Ontario, and the nation as a whole. The data utilized in this chapter was obtained as a specially tabulated target group profile from Statistics Canada of those persons claiming a Vietnamese ethnic origin as a single response on the 1991 census form. It should be noted from the outset that there are some possible problems which may be associated with this data. The census tabulations supposedly represent a 20% sample of the entire Vietnamese population. However, as noted in Chapter Two, it is likely that census takers missed a sizable proportion of the actual Vietnamese population for various reasons including the language barrier, a lack of familiarity among many Vietnamese concerning the census, and a desire among some Vietnamese to not reveal personal and family information on the census form. One would expect fairly recently arrived Vietnamese to be particularly underrepresented in the census enumeration. In some of the cities discussed in the chapter (especially Kitchener, London, and Hamilton), Vietnamese who had come to Canada just a few years prior to 1991 constituted quite substantial proportions of the population. Making generalizations about the Vietnamese populations in Kitchener, London, and Hamilton may also be especially problematic due to the small sizes of the Vietnamese sample tallied in these three
cities. Due to the limitations associated with the data, care is taken throughout the chapter to stress the demographic and socioeconomic patterns observed may only be said to represent those of the enumerated sample of the population within each geographic area.

DEMOGRAPHY

Gender Distribution

The 1991 census figures indicate a strong gender imbalance favouring males within the Toronto Vietnamese population. Among the enumerated Vietnamese in Canada as a whole, Ontario, and nine other CMAs with significant numbers of Vietnamese, males were in the majority (Table 1). The male proportion of the population ranged from about 52% in Montreal to over 55% in Winnipeg, Hamilton, and Calgary. The male majority among the Vietnamese population in Toronto and across Canada reflects the fact that young men were disproportionately represented in the refugee flow which escaped from Vietnam in the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s (Rutledge, 1992; Haines, 1996).

Age Distribution

In all of the CMAs (Tables 2 and 3), both Vietnamese males and females were overrepresented in the 0-14 and 25-44 age categories. In every CMA but one, the proportion of the male and female population within the 25-44 bracket was greater than 40% of the total enumerated Vietnamese population. Vietnamese men and women were underrepresented in the 45-64 and 65 and over age groups in Canada as a whole, Ontario, and across the nine other metropolitan
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% Female</th>
<th>% Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Canada</strong></td>
<td>38,875</td>
<td>45,130</td>
<td>84,005</td>
<td>46.3</td>
<td>53.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ontario</strong></td>
<td>15,805</td>
<td>18,530</td>
<td>34,335</td>
<td>46.0</td>
<td>54.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Toronto CMA</strong></td>
<td>10,030</td>
<td>11,930</td>
<td>21,960</td>
<td>45.7</td>
<td>54.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Montreal CMA</strong></td>
<td>8,560</td>
<td>9,235</td>
<td>17,795</td>
<td>48.1</td>
<td>51.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vancouver CMA</strong></td>
<td>4,190</td>
<td>4,840</td>
<td>9,030</td>
<td>46.4</td>
<td>53.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Calgary CMA</strong></td>
<td>2,770</td>
<td>3,535</td>
<td>6,305</td>
<td>43.9</td>
<td>56.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Edmonton CMA</strong></td>
<td>2,775</td>
<td>3,210</td>
<td>5,985</td>
<td>46.4</td>
<td>53.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ottawa CMA</strong></td>
<td>1,825</td>
<td>2,085</td>
<td>3,910</td>
<td>46.7</td>
<td>53.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Winnipeg CMA</strong></td>
<td>1,275</td>
<td>1,595</td>
<td>2,870</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>55.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kitchener CMA</strong></td>
<td>1,010</td>
<td>1,115</td>
<td>2,125</td>
<td>47.5</td>
<td>52.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hamilton CMA</strong></td>
<td>730</td>
<td>910</td>
<td>1,640</td>
<td>44.5</td>
<td>55.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>London CMA</strong></td>
<td>550</td>
<td>630</td>
<td>1,180</td>
<td>46.6</td>
<td>53.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Statistics Canada, Customized Tabulation of 1991 data.
**TABLE 2**

**AGE DISTRIBUTION OF MALES VIETNAMESE ETHNIC ORIGIN POPULATION IN CANADA, ONTARIO, MAJOR CMAS, 1991**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>0-14</th>
<th>15-24</th>
<th>25-44</th>
<th>45-64</th>
<th>65+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>43.4</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>46.1</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto CMA</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>48.5</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montreal CMA</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>40.3</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver CMA</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>41.2</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calgary CMA</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>42.4</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmonton CMA</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ottawa CMA</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>47.7</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winnipeg CMA</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>44.8</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitchener CMA</td>
<td>30.9</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>40.4</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamilton CMA</td>
<td>36.3</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London CMA</td>
<td>38.9</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics Canada, Customized Tabulation of 1991 data.
### TABLE 3
AGE DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALES
VIETNAMESE ETHNIC ORIGIN POPULATION
CANADA, ONTARIO, MAJOR CMAS, 1991

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Females, %</th>
<th>0-14 Years</th>
<th>15-24 Years</th>
<th>25-44 Years</th>
<th>45-64 Years</th>
<th>65+ Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>41.3</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>28.4</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>43.2</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto CMA</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>45.3</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montreal CMA</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver CMA</td>
<td>30.1</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>40.1</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calgary CMA</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>40.8</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmonton CMA</td>
<td>31.9</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ottawa CMA</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winnipeg CMA</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>43.1</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitchener CMA</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>39.6</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamilton CMA</td>
<td>36.3</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>38.4</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London CMA</td>
<td>32.7</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics Canada, Customized Tabulation of 1991 data.
areas. Notable, though, were the greater proportions enumerated within these latter two age categories among both genders in the Montreal CMA.

**Fertility**

Comparing the enumerated Vietnamese populations in Canada, Ontario, and the nine CMAs, the most notable pattern was one of overrepresentation in the four or more children category (Table 4). Indeed, Toronto was the only CMA in which women with four or more children constituted less than 20\% of the total for ever-married females 15 years and over. In Canada as a whole, almost 25\% of Vietnamese women in this group had four or more children in 1991. In terms of birth rates, for Vietnamese women 15 years and over, the Toronto CMA average of 2,363 children per 1,000 women was lower that observed in most of the other cities (Table 5). The Canadian average was 2,670 children born per 1,000 Vietnamese women in this category. For ever-married Vietnamese women 15-44 years old, the Toronto average was 1,686 children born per 1000 women. Among the other CMAs, only Montreal possessed a lower average. As for single Vietnamese women 15 years and over, the Toronto birth rate was 194 children born per 1,000 women. Interestingly, this figure was much higher than that found among Vietnamese women in Montreal and Ottawa where the birth rate for single women was just 95 and 110 respectively. The Toronto birth rate was also higher than the figure for the entire population of Vietnamese single women enumerated across Canada. However, birth rates among single Vietnamese females 15 years and over were higher in London, Vancouver, Winnipeg, Hamilton, and Edmonton in comparison to the Toronto cohort.
## TABLE 4
NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN TO EVER-MARRIED WOMEN
VIETNAMESE ETHNIC ORIGIN POPULATION
CANADA, ONTARIO, MAJOR CMAS, 1991

Number of Children Born to Ever-Married Women, 15 Years and Over, %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>No Child</th>
<th>One Child</th>
<th>Two Children</th>
<th>Three Children</th>
<th>Four or More Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>24.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>21.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto CMA</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>19.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>18.6</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>26.8</td>
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<tr>
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<td>27.8</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>25.8</td>
</tr>
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<td>17.0</td>
<td>28.5</td>
</tr>
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<td>26.1</td>
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<td>30.1</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>20.4</td>
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<td>42.2</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>26.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>28.6</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics Canada, Customized Tabulation of 1991 data.
TABLE 5
BIRTH RATE
VIETNAMESE ETHNIC ORIGIN POPULATION
CANADA, ONTARIO, MAJOR CMAS, 1991

Children Ever-Born Per 1000 Women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ever-Married Women, 15 Years And Over</th>
<th>Ever-Married Women, 15-44 Years</th>
<th>Single Women 15 Years And Over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>2670</td>
<td>1874</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>2465</td>
<td>1817</td>
<td>183</td>
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<td>Toronto CMA</td>
<td>2363</td>
<td>1686</td>
<td>194</td>
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<td>2829</td>
<td>1631</td>
<td>95</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vancouver CMA</td>
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<td>329</td>
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<tr>
<td>Calgary CMA</td>
<td>2733</td>
<td>2018</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmonton CMA</td>
<td>2917</td>
<td>2077</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
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<td>110</td>
</tr>
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<td>Winnipeg CMA</td>
<td>3102</td>
<td>2040</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
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<td>2369</td>
<td>1701</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
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<td>2227</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London CMA</td>
<td>2382</td>
<td>2320</td>
<td>348</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics Canada, Customized Tabulation of 1991 data.
Immigrant and Citizenship Status

Among the enumerated Vietnamese populations in Canada as a whole, Ontario, and the nine other CMAs, very similar proportions exhibited immigrant, non-immigrant, and non-permanent resident status in comparison to the Toronto population (Table 6). Interesting trends may be noted, however in terms of citizenship status. The proportion of the enumerated Vietnamese with Canadian citizenship in 1991 was notably lower in the Toronto metropolitan area compared to the populations tabulated in Ottawa and especially Montreal. The Toronto citizenship figure of just over 60% was greater than that exhibited among the Vietnamese population in several CMAs including Winnipeg, Kitchener, London, and Hamilton. In the three latter cities, only slightly more than half of the enumerated Vietnamese population possessed Canadian citizenship in 1991, reflecting the less established character of the population in these urban centres.

Period of Arrival

Comparing the enumerated Vietnamese population in Toronto to that in Canada as a whole as well as Ontario and the nine metropolitan areas, some notable patterns were evident (Table 7). Of particular interest were the rather distinctive characteristics of the Montreal population in terms of time of arrival. Though their proportions were very small, noticeably larger numbers of Montreal Vietnamese arrived in the city prior to 1961 and between 1961 and 1970. More than 40% of the Vietnamese tabulated in Montreal came to Canada in the 1971-1980 period. Only about 55% of Montreal’s Vietnamese arrived between 1981
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Canadian Citizenship</th>
<th>Other Citizenship</th>
<th>Immigrant Pop.</th>
<th>Non-Imm. Pop.</th>
<th>Non-Permanent Resident</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>65.8</td>
<td>34.2</td>
<td>81.8</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>61.1</td>
<td>38.9</td>
<td>81.7</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>61.9</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>82.1</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montreal CMA</td>
<td>77.9</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>81.3</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver CMA</td>
<td>65.5</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>81.2</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
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<td>83.1</td>
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<td>1.5</td>
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<td>Edmonton CMA</td>
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<td>81.7</td>
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<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ottawa CMA</td>
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<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>84.4</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitchener CMA</td>
<td>53.1</td>
<td>47.0</td>
<td>82.2</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamilton CMA</td>
<td>51.1</td>
<td>48.9</td>
<td>80.1</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London CMA</td>
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<td>47.2</td>
<td>76.3</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>4.2</td>
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</table>

Source: Statistics Canada, Customized Tabulation of 1991 data.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Arrivals by Decades</th>
<th>Recent Arrivals</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto CMA</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montreal CMA</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td>1.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver CMA</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calgary CMA</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmonton CMA</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ottawa CMA</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winnipeg CMA</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitchener CMA</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamilton CMA</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London CMA</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics Canada, Customized Tabulation of 1991 data
and 1991. This proportion was far lower than that exhibited by the Vietnamese population in any other CMA, Ontario, or Canada as a whole. The census figures also show that Montreal apparently had the largest Vietnamese population of any Canadian city up until sometime in the early 1980s. After 1981, migration of Vietnamese newcomers to Toronto far surpassed Montreal's intake. The patterns in the census data reflect the fact that up until the 1980s, Montreal possessed the largest and best established Vietnamese community of any city in Canada. In the 1950s and particularly in the 1960s and early 1970s, sizable numbers of Vietnamese came from both North and South Vietnam to study French in Quebec universities. In part as a result of the ongoing war in their home country, many of these visa students stayed in Canada after graduating, often finding work in the professions in which they were trained. Given the fact that Montreal was the only city in Canada with a Vietnamese aggregation of any significance in the mid-1970s, it is not surprising that the initial waves of Vietnamese refugees who arrived in Canada after the fall of Saigon favoured Montreal as a site of resettlement (Dorais et al., 1987; Lavoie, 1989). After the early 1980s, Toronto, Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, and several cities in Southern Ontario attracted a greater share of Vietnamese newcomers. The internal political situation in Quebec (including a referendum in 1980) and widespread perceptions that greater socioeconomic opportunities existed outside the province were key factors in the decreasing share of Vietnamese coming to Montreal after this time period (Lam, 1996).
Another pattern which may be observed in the census figures is the notable recency of arrival of the enumerated Vietnamese populations residing in the Winnipeg CMA, as well as three Southern Ontario cities. 80% or more of the Vietnamese populations tabulated in Winnipeg, Kitchener, Hamilton, and London came to Canada after 1981. In the Kitchener and Hamilton metropolitan areas, the proportion of the population which arrived in Canada after 1988 exceeded 40%. The census figures for Kitchener and Hamilton are supported by the comments of research informants involved in the refugee resettlement of Vietnamese refugees in these two cities. According to these informants, a disproportionate number of refugees arriving in the late 1980s and early 1990s were resettled in Kitchener and Hamilton through the efforts of voluntary groups including mainstream and Vietnamese ethnic churches. Many of these latter arrivals were North Vietnamese who had spent years in refugee camps located in Southeast Asia before being resettled in Canada.

**Knowledge of Official Languages**

Comparing the enumerated Vietnamese population across Canada, Ontario and the ten metropolitan areas, the expected linguistic differences were apparent among the Vietnamese aggregate in Montreal (Table 8). In the Montreal CMA, just over 30% of the counted Vietnamese possessed knowledge of French only and just under 50% claimed to have knowledge of both official languages. Just over 10% of the Vietnamese tabulated in Montreal knew neither French nor English, representing the lowest proportion of all of the CMAs on this variable with the exception of Ottawa. The Montreal figure may reflect the fact that the
Vietnamese population in this city has on average resided in Canada a bit longer than its counterparts in the other metropolitan areas. In addition, the populations in Montreal and Ottawa are a bit more educated and better represented in the professions. The Vietnamese residing in Vancouver, Winnipeg, Hamilton, and London display somewhat larger proportions with knowledge of neither French nor English in comparison to the populations enumerated in Toronto and Canada as a whole. Conversely, the figures for these CMAs may in part reflect the notable recency of arrival of the Vietnamese aggregates in these metropolitan areas. Not surprisingly, scholars in both the United States and Canada have found English language ability among Vietnamese to be related to length of residence.

In terms of knowledge of the Chinese language, the Vietnamese populations in four cities stand out. In Toronto, Edmonton, Calgary, and Vancouver 10% or more of persons claiming a Vietnamese ethnic origin possessed knowledge of Chinese. As few ethnic Vietnamese are fluent in Chinese, the numbers associated with this particular variable suggest that a small but not insignificant number of Chinese-Vietnamese residing in these cities claimed a Vietnamese ethnic origin when responding to the census.

**Highest Level of Schooling**

Looking at the highest level of education achieved, comparing the Toronto Vietnamese population to those in Canada as a whole, Ontario and the nine CMAs also reveals some revealing patterns (Table 9). In terms of the percentage of the 15 and over population in the two categories of less than grade
### TABLE 8
KNOWLEDGE OF LANGUAGES
VIETNAMESE ETHNIC ORIGIN POPULATION
CANADA, ONTARIO, MAJOR CMAS, 1991

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>English Only</th>
<th>French Only</th>
<th>Both French and English</th>
<th>Neither French Nor English</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>61.3</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>77.6</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto CMA</td>
<td>77.3</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>8.8</td>
<td>32.7</td>
<td>45.9</td>
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<td>3.1</td>
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<td>4.4</td>
<td>19.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Calgary CMA</td>
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<td>0.0</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmonton CMA</td>
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<td>0.2</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>63.4</td>
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<td>21.7</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winnipeg CMA</td>
<td>77.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitchener CMA</td>
<td>82.9</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamilton CMA</td>
<td>77.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London CMA</td>
<td>67.7</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics Canada, Customized Tabulation of 1991 data.
9 and grades 9-13 with or without a secondary certificate achieved, the Toronto level of about 70% paralleled the majority of the CMAs. The Toronto enumerated population as well as that residing in the other CMAs was much better represented in these categories associated with a lesser level of formal education achievement compared to the Montreal and Ottawa aggregates. Conversely slightly more than half of the populations in these latter two urban centres had attended university with or without or earning a degree or certificate. The proportion of Vietnamese possessing some experience with a university-level education in Montreal and Ottawa contrasted sharply to the figures observed in the other CMAs, in none of which the percentages of Vietnamese enumerated in the higher education categories exceeded 1/3 of the population.

Mobility

Among Vietnamese populations across Canada (Table 10), the Toronto proportion of movers in the past five years did not differ markedly from that observed in the other CMAs. About 80% of the enumerated population in Toronto and most of the other cities had moved over the half-decade prior to 1991. The one exception to the rule was the Vietnamese population in Montreal in which only about 2/3 of the total populace were movers. Again, this is evidence of the more established character of the majority of Montreal’s Vietnamese. In terms of intraprovincial migration, the Toronto average of about 15% was a bit higher than the norm for Canada as a whole and most of the other CMAs. Only the Vietnamese populations in Ottawa and London exhibited higher proportions of intraprovincial migrants compared to Toronto. In regard to
# TABLE 9

**HIGHEST LEVEL OF SCHOOLING ACHIEVED**  
**VIETNAMESE ETHNIC ORIGIN POPULATION**  
**CANADA, ONTARIO, MAJOR CMAS, 1991**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Less Than Grade 9</th>
<th>Grades 9-13</th>
<th>Trades Certificate Or Diploma</th>
<th>Other Non-University Or Degree</th>
<th>University Without Certificate Or Degree</th>
<th>University With Certificate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>43.2</td>
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<td>14.5</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>16.5</td>
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<tr>
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<td>47.6</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>20.7</td>
<td>47.5</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td><strong>14.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>11.5</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montreal CMA</td>
<td>14.6</td>
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<td>1.7</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>33.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver CMA</td>
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<td>1.3</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
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<td>22.3</td>
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<td>1.0</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
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<td>1.5</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>7.8</td>
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<td>2.0</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>7.4</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1Rows do not add up to 100%

Source: Statistics Canada, Customized Tabulation of 1991 data.
to interprovincial migration, the enumerated Toronto Vietnamese aggregate's proportion of 8% was also a bit larger compared to the average for Vietnamese across Canada and the majority of the CMAs. The most intriguing patterns observed were the disproportionate share of interprovincial migrants found among the Vancouver and London populations. Also striking was the lack of attraction Winnipeg, Edmonton, and Montreal possessed for Vietnamese looking to move outside of their provinces. In addition, interesting patterns were evident in terms of the proportion of external migrants. The share of external migrants among the enumerated Toronto Vietnamese population – 27% - was close to the average for the entire Canadian Vietnamese population. Again, it is the Montreal Vietnamese aggregate which stands out. Only about 15% of the total Vietnamese population in Montreal had migrated to the city from outside Canada in the five years prior to 1991. This number was nearly ten percentage points lower than that registered in any of the other CMAs. These numbers provide further evidence of the earlier date of arrival at which many of the Montreal Vietnamese came to Canada. At the other extremes, London, Hamilton, and Kitchener exhibited external migrant proportions greater than 35%. The figures for these three CMAs are probably indicative of the relative recency of the arrival of many of the Vietnamese residing in these urban areas, a pattern also noted above.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Non-Movers</th>
<th>Movers</th>
<th>Intra-Provincial Movers</th>
<th>Inter-Provincial Movers</th>
<th>External Migrants</th>
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<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
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<td>6.3</td>
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</tr>
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<td>14.6</td>
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</tr>
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<td>2.5</td>
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</tr>
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<td>8.6</td>
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<td>28.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>4.2</td>
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<td>Edmonton CMA</td>
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<td>25.7</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1.4</td>
<td>34.3</td>
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<tr>
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<td>45.9</td>
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<tr>
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<td>82.9</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>43.9</td>
</tr>
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<td>16.1</td>
<td>83.4</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>35.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics Canada, Customized Tabulation of 1991 data.
Religion

Among the enumerated Vietnamese population in Canada as a whole, Ontario, and the nine other metropolitan areas, there were a few notable variations in terms of religious affiliation (Table 11). In every city, Buddhists were the majority. However, the Buddhist plurality ranged from about 28% in Hamilton to over 50% of the population in Winnipeg and Montreal. Catholics made up about 20% of the enumerated populace in all but two of the CMAs. Perhaps the most striking differences among the metropolitan areas may be observed in the Protestant category. In most of the CMAs, the Protestant proportion of the population was 4 to 6%. However, in Montreal the figure was less than 1%. Vietnamese Protestants were very much overrepresented in Kitchener and Hamilton. It is worth noting that in these two cities, Vietnamese evangelical churches have been particularly active. In Hamilton, a Vietnamese evangelical congregation helped sponsored a number of refugees from the Hong Kong camps in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

SOCIOECONOMIC VARIABLES

Occupational Distribution by Gender

Assessing the census data, it is apparent that the Vietnamese male labour force in the Toronto CMA was somewhat underrepresented in managerial/professional occupations in comparison to the average for the Vietnamese population in Canada as a whole (Table 12). Notably, a much higher proportion of Vietnamese men in Montreal and Ottawa worked in these types of jobs compared to all of the other CMAs. The percentage of enumerated Vietnam-
**TABLE 11**

RELIGIOUS FAITH

VIETNAMESE ETHNIC ORIGIN POPULATION

CANADA, ONTARIO, MAJOR CMAS, 1991

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religious Affiliation, %</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
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<td>Toronto CMA</td>
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<td>Vancouver CMA</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winnipeg CMA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitchener CMA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamilton CMA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London CMA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics Canada, Customized Tabulation of 1991

363
ese men working in clerical jobs was low in all of the metropolitan areas including Toronto but the proportion in Ottawa stands out as being significantly higher than in any other city. The proportion of the Toronto Vietnamese male labour force working in manufacturing was a bit higher than the national average for Vietnamese men. Vietnamese males in Ottawa and Montreal were very much underrepresented in manufacturing compared to their counterparts in other cities. Among the other CMAs, only Winnipeg, Hamilton, and Kitchener showed higher proportions in manufacturing compared to Toronto.

Like their male counterparts, Vietnamese women in Ottawa and Montreal displayed greater proportions in managerial/professional jobs compared to women in other cities (Table 13). The percentage of the Toronto female labour force in managerial and professional jobs was very close to the proportion for the Vietnamese female workforce in Canada as a whole. In 1991, Vietnamese females in the Toronto CMA were notably overrepresented in clerical work compared to Vietnamese women in the other cities. There was a wide variation among the CMAs in terms of the proportion of women working in service-related jobs. The percentage of Toronto Vietnamese women employed in services - about 10% - was much lower than the Canadian Vietnamese female average of 19%. Close to 40% of the Vietnamese female labour force in Edmonton and Calgary worked in services. 30% of Vietnamese females were employed in manufacturing in the Toronto CMA. This number was very close to the national average for Vietnamese women. A much higher proportion of Vietnamese women worked in manufacturing in Winnipeg, Hamilton, and especially
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<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>Manu-Fac.</th>
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<td>2.3</td>
<td>6.1</td>
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<tr>
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<td>7.6</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>7.6</td>
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<td>41.0</td>
<td>8.7</td>
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<td>5.4</td>
<td>13.5</td>
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<td>23.8</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
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<td>5.7</td>
<td>18.6</td>
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<td>32.4</td>
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<td>4.5</td>
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<td>39.2</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
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<td>1.7</td>
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<td>14.1</td>
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<td>1.8</td>
<td>4.2</td>
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<td>56.4</td>
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<td>14.9</td>
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<td>7.0</td>
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<td>5.1</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>20.5</td>
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</table>

Full Labels of column headings: Man./Prof. = Managerial/Professional; Manufact. = Manufacturing; Con-Tran = Construction/Transportation; Non-Classif = Occupations Not Classified; Other Crafts/Equipment Operating Occupations not included on table due to small percentages.

Jobs classified as Managerial/Professional include managerial, administrative and related occupations, occupations in natural sciences, engineering, and math, occupations in social sciences and related fields, occupations in Religion, teaching and related occupations, occupations in medicine and health, and artistic, literary, recreational, and related occupations. Jobs classified as Primary include farming, horticultural, and animal husbandry occupations, forestry and logging occupations, and mining and quarrying including oil and gas field occupations. Jobs Classified as Manufacturing include processing occupations, machining and related occupations, and product fabricating, assembling, and repairing occupations. Jobs Classified as Construction/Transportation include construction trades occupations, and transport equipment operating occupations.

Source: Statistics Canada, Customized Tabulation of 1991 data.
TABLE 13
OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION
FEMALE LABOUR FORCE, 15 YEARS AND OVER
VIETNAMESE ETHNIC ORIGIN POPULATION
CANADA, ONTARIO, MAJOR CMAS, 1991

Occupational Distribution, by %

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Man./Prof</th>
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<th>Services</th>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>Con-Fac.</th>
<th>Mater.</th>
<th>Con-Cran</th>
<th>Tran.</th>
<th>Handling</th>
<th>Classif.</th>
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<tr>
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<td>7.1</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>6.4</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>29.9</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>4.9</td>
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<td>30.7</td>
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<td>5.5</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>47.7</td>
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<td>0.0</td>
<td>60.5</td>
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<td>10.5</td>
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<td>36.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
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<td>16.0</td>
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</table>

Full Labels of column headings: Man./Prof. = Managerial/Professional; Manufact. = Manufacturing; Con-Tran = Construction/Transportation; Non-Classif. = Occupations Not Classified. Other Crafts/Equipment Operating Occupations not included on table due to small percentages.

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Source: Statistics Canada, Customized Tabulation of 1991 data.
Kitchener. Vietnamese women in Edmonton were notably underrepresented in manufacturing.

**Industry Divisions**

Census data also make possible a comparison of the proportion of the Vietnamese ethnic origin labour force represented within several industrial categories. The enumerated Vietnamese population in the Toronto CMA displayed a remarkable concentration within manufacturing in 1991. About 44% of the total enumerated Vietnamese labour force were employed in manufacturing (Table 14). Comparing the enumerated Vietnamese labour force in Toronto to that in Canada, Ontario, and the nine CMAs, it is apparent that the Toronto population was overrepresented in manufacturing positions compared to the Vietnamese in all but three other metropolitan areas – Winnipeg, Hamilton, and Kitchener. The Toronto average of 44% in manufacturing was notably higher than the 35% figure for the entire Vietnamese labour force within Canada. The enumerated Vietnamese labour forces in Vancouver, Edmonton, and especially Ottawa, were underrepresented in manufacturing compared to the average for the entire Canadian Vietnamese population.

The Vietnamese displayed tiny proportions in finance, insurance, and real estate jobs in all of the metropolitan areas. In terms of employment in business services, the Toronto figure paralleled the national average of about 5%. Among the CMAs, only Montreal and Ottawa displayed larger proportions in business services compared to Toronto. In the industrial classification of government services, the very small Toronto proportion paralleled that of all the other CMAs
with the notable exception of Ottawa. Nearly 11% of the Vietnamese labour force in the nation's capital was employed in government-related occupations in 1991. No other CMA showed more than 4% in this category. Consistently small proportions of Vietnamese worked in education services in all of the metropolitan areas. In the health and social services category, Montreal stood out among the CMAs with more than 10% of its Vietnamese labour force employed within this job classification. Among accommodation, food and beverage occupations, the Toronto proportion of 6% was only about half of the average for the entire Vietnamese labour force across the nation. Vietnamese populations in Calgary, Vancouver, Ottawa, and Edmonton possessed proportions greater than the national average in this category.

Income

Comparing persons of Vietnamese ethnic origin in the Toronto CMA to the Vietnamese population across Canada, Ontario, and the nine CMAs, some interesting patterns may be identified. The average employment income of Vietnamese men who worked full-time in Toronto was slightly above the average figure for Canada as a whole (Table 15). There was quite a bit of variation among the CMAs on this variable. Vietnamese men in Ottawa and Montreal exceeded $30,000 in average income. Vietnamese men who were employed full-time didn't make much more than $20,000 on average in Edmonton or Winnipeg. The average employment income of Vietnamese men who worked part-time in the Toronto CMA was very close to the national average of about $13,400.
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Industry</th>
<th>Canada</th>
<th>Ontario</th>
<th>Toronto CMA</th>
<th>Montreal CMA</th>
<th>Vancouver CMA</th>
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<th>Edmonton CMA</th>
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</table>

1Percentages for employment in "Primary Industries" and "Service Industries" are excluded due to very low percentages.

Full Labels of column headings: Manufact. = Manufacturing; Con-Util = Construction, Transportation, Communication, and other Utilities, Fin. = Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate; Bus. = Business Services; Govt. = Government Services; Edu. = Education Services; Health = Health and Social Services; Accom. = Accomodation, Food and Beverage Services

Source: Statistics Canada, Customized Tabulation of 1991 data.
Vietnamese men who were employed part-time earned the highest incomes in Montreal, and the lowest in Calgary, Winnipeg, and London.

The average employment income of enumerated Vietnamese females who worked full-time was $22,181 in Toronto. This figure was a bit higher than the Canadian average for Vietnamese women. As with the men, the highest average incomes of Vietnamese women who were employed full-time were registered in the Montreal and Ottawa areas. The lowest average employment incomes were found in Edmonton, Winnipeg, Hamilton, and Vancouver. In these four CMAs, Vietnamese women working full-time made about $4,000-7,000 less than their counterparts in other cities. Among women working part-time, Vietnamese women enumerated in the Toronto CMA displayed an average employment income of nearly $12,000. This figure was a bit higher than that compiled for Vietnamese women across Canada. Of the other CMAs, only women in Ottawa made more on average. In several cities, Vietnamese women working part-time made less than $10,000 annually on average. The metropolitan areas where Vietnamese women possessed the lowest part-time average incomes were Winnipeg, Hamilton, and Edmonton.

Looking at the average income figures for Vietnamese men 15 years and over, the Toronto figure of $20,855 was a little bit above the average for Vietnamese men across Canada (Table 16). Similar to patterns observed above, Vietnamese men in Ottawa and Montreal earned the highest average incomes. In the majority of cities, the average income of Vietnamese men fell below $20,000. The lowest average incomes were found in the Edmonton, London, and
Winnipeg metropolitan areas. Different patterns were apparent in terms of median income. The median income of enumerated Vietnamese males in the Toronto CMA was notably higher than the figure for Vietnamese men across Canada. In no other CMA did the median income for Vietnamese men exceed $20,000. In the majority of the other metropolitan areas, the median figure ranged from $14,000-17,000.

Among Vietnamese women 15 years and older, following the trend observed among the men, average incomes were highest among enumerated Vietnamese women in Ottawa and Montreal. Average incomes were the lowest among women residing in Hamilton, Edmonton, and Winnipeg. As with the men, the highest median income was observed among Vietnamese women in the Toronto CMA. The CMAs in which enumerated Vietnamese women had the lowest median incomes again included Calgary, London, Edmonton and Winnipeg.

**Composition of Total Income**

Assessing the composition of total income among both men and women, Vietnamese in Toronto received a slightly higher proportion of their total income from employment compared to the 84% average for Vietnamese across Canada (Table 17). In Vancouver, Hamilton, and London the percentage fell below 80%. The enumerated Vietnamese in the Toronto area received about 12% of their total income from government transfer payments. In a number of metropolitan areas, transfer payments constituted greater than 15% of income among the Vietnamese population.
TABLE 15  
INCOME, MALES AND FEMALES, 15 YEARS AND OVER  
VIETNAMESE ETHNIC ORIGIN POPULATION  
CANADA, ONTARIO MAJOR CMAS, 1991  

<table>
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<th>Average Employment Income, $</th>
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<td>Males Worked</td>
<td>Females Worked</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Full Year Full Time</td>
<td>Full Year Full Time</td>
<td>Part Year Part Time</td>
<td>Part Year Part Time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>27,972</td>
<td>21,139</td>
<td>13,449</td>
<td>10,362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>27,936</td>
<td>21,820</td>
<td>13,346</td>
<td>11,281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto CMA</td>
<td>28,047</td>
<td>22,181</td>
<td>13,387</td>
<td>11,847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montreal CMA</td>
<td>32,805</td>
<td>24,465</td>
<td>15,426</td>
<td>11,413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver CMA</td>
<td>24,317</td>
<td>17,777</td>
<td>13,008</td>
<td>9,376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calgary CMA</td>
<td>26,047</td>
<td>16,935</td>
<td>11,733</td>
<td>9,163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmonton CMA</td>
<td>22,356</td>
<td>14,312</td>
<td>12,810</td>
<td>8,404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ottawa CMA</td>
<td>31,838</td>
<td>24,393</td>
<td>13,457</td>
<td>12,048</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winnipeg CMA</td>
<td>20,958</td>
<td>16,440</td>
<td>11,454</td>
<td>7,864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitchener CMA</td>
<td>28,149</td>
<td>21,024</td>
<td>13,544</td>
<td>9,420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamilton CMA</td>
<td>29,745</td>
<td>17,376</td>
<td>14,540</td>
<td>8,290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London CMA</td>
<td>24,794</td>
<td>20,990</td>
<td>9,771</td>
<td>9,721</td>
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</table>

Source: Statistics Canada, Customized Tabulation of 1991 data
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Average Income Males</th>
<th>Average Income Females</th>
<th>Median Income Males</th>
<th>Median Income Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Canada</strong></td>
<td>20,171</td>
<td>14,173</td>
<td>17,042</td>
<td>11,781</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ontario</strong></td>
<td>20,541</td>
<td>14,752</td>
<td>19,733</td>
<td>12,868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Toronto CMA</strong></td>
<td>20,855</td>
<td>15,282</td>
<td>20,315</td>
<td>13,518</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Montreal CMA</strong></td>
<td>22,045</td>
<td>15,355</td>
<td>15,459</td>
<td>11,264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vancouver CMA</strong></td>
<td>17,929</td>
<td>13,252</td>
<td>15,289</td>
<td>11,873</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Calgary CMA</strong></td>
<td>19,512</td>
<td>12,347</td>
<td>16,877</td>
<td>10,979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Edmonton CMA</strong></td>
<td>16,724</td>
<td>11,475</td>
<td>14,490</td>
<td>10,781</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ottawa CMA</strong></td>
<td>21,654</td>
<td>16,341</td>
<td>17,844</td>
<td>12,444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Winnipeg CMA</strong></td>
<td>15,416</td>
<td>10,756</td>
<td>15,308</td>
<td>9,841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kitchener CMA</strong></td>
<td>19,678</td>
<td>13,637</td>
<td>18,667</td>
<td>12,469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hamilton CMA</strong></td>
<td>19,892</td>
<td>11,601</td>
<td>16,591</td>
<td>12,153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>London CMA</strong></td>
<td>16,130</td>
<td>13,342</td>
<td>14,963</td>
<td>10,779</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics Canada, Customized Tabulation of 1991 data
TABLE 17
COMPOSITION OF TOTAL INCOME, MALES AND FEMALES
VIETNAMESE ETHNIC ORIGIN POPULATION
CANADA, ONTARIO, MAJOR CMAS, 1991

Composition of Total Income, %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Employment Income</th>
<th>Government Transfer Payments</th>
<th>Other Income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>83.8</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>85.0</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto CMA</td>
<td>86.3</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montreal CMA</td>
<td>84.4</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver CMA</td>
<td>77.0</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calgary CMA</td>
<td>86.0</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmonton CMA</td>
<td>80.3</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ottawa CMA</td>
<td>85.0</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winnipeg CMA</td>
<td>82.7</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitchener CMA</td>
<td>85.6</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamilton CMA</td>
<td>74.0</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London CMA</td>
<td>70.0</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics Canada, Customized Tabulation of 1991 data
Unemployment Rate

Comparing Vietnamese in the Toronto CMA to those across Canada among males 15 years and over, the 18.5% unemployment rate of enumerated Vietnamese men observed in Toronto was a bit higher than the national average (Table 18). However, Vancouver, Winnipeg, London, Kitchener, and Hamilton exhibited unemployment rates above 20%. At the other extreme, about 10% of enumerated Vietnamese men were unemployed in Calgary and Ottawa. The 17% unemployment rate of Vietnamese men 25 and over in Toronto was a percentage point higher than the national average. Of the other metropolitan areas, unemployment rates exceeded 20% in Vancouver, Kitchener, Hamilton, and London. Unemployment rates were again the lowest in Calgary and Ottawa.

The unemployment rate of Vietnamese women 15 years and over in Toronto was about a percentage point higher than the Canadian average. Other CMAs in which the unemployment rate exceeded 20% were London, Kitchener, Vancouver and Hamilton. Vietnamese women 15 and over exhibited the lowest rates of unemployment in the Ottawa and Edmonton CMAs. Among women 25 years and over, only those in Vancouver and Hamilton displayed higher unemployment rates than that observed among the Toronto population of this cohort. The lowest unemployment rates were again tabulated among women in Ottawa and Edmonton.

Rates of Self-Employment

Assessing differences among the Vietnamese populations in the various CMAs in terms of self-employment rates, in general the census data indicate that
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Males 15 Years and Over</th>
<th>Females 15 Years and Over</th>
<th>Males 25 Years and Over</th>
<th>Females 25 Years and Over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>18.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto CMA</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>20.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montreal CMA</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver CMA</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>28.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calgary CMA</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmonton CMA</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ottawa CMA</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winnipeg CMA</td>
<td>25.1</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitchener CMA</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamilton CMA</td>
<td>33.0</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>32.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London CMA</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>% Employees</th>
<th>% Self-Employed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>94.1</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>95.9</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto CMA</td>
<td>96.1</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montreal CMA</td>
<td>90.9</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver CMA</td>
<td>88.7</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calgary CMA</td>
<td>95.8</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmonton CMA</td>
<td>98.3</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ottawa CMA</td>
<td>96.7</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winnipeg CMA</td>
<td>97.6</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitchener CMA</td>
<td>97.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamilton CMA</td>
<td>97.2</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London CMA</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1Self-Employed includes enumerated respondents who claimed they were self-employed in both incorporated and unincorporated establishments, % do not add up to 100% in all rows.

Source: Statistics Canada, Customized Tabulation of 1991 data.
TABLE 20
CLASS OF WORKER, FEMALES, 15 YEARS AND OVER
VIETNAMESE ETHNIC ORIGIN POPULATION
CANADA, ONTARIO, MAJOR CMAS, 1991

Class of Workers by Category, %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>% Employees</th>
<th>% Self-Employed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>93.3</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>95.5</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto CMA</td>
<td>94.4</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montreal CMA</td>
<td>91.6</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver CMA</td>
<td>91.4</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calgary CMA</td>
<td>91.4</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmonton CMA</td>
<td>97.3</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ottawa CMA</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winnipeg CMA</td>
<td>97.2</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitchener CMA</td>
<td>98.7</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamilton CMA</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London CMA</td>
<td>92.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1Self-Employed includes enumerated respondents who claimed they were self-employed in both incorporated and unincorporated establishments, % do not add to 100% in all rows.

Source: Statistics Canada, Customized Tabulation of 1991 data.
self-employment rates were very low among persons of Vietnamese origin in major cities across Canada. Both men and women were more likely to own their own businesses in Vancouver and Montreal compared to the other cities (Tables 19 and 20). In only these cities did the rate of self-employment among men and women approach or exceed 10%.

**SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION**

This analysis of the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the Vietnamese populations residing in major urban centres has shown the considerable diversity existing among the Vietnamese diaspora residing across Canada. The most notable findings relate to the observed differences between the Montreal and Ottawa populations compared to those Vietnamese residing in other cities. A much higher proportion of the Vietnamese enumerated in Montreal and Ottawa arrived in Canada before 1980. In Montreal in particular, the gender imbalance favouring males was not as severe and nor was the age distribution so strongly dominated by the younger adult cohorts. Reflecting a more established character, the Montreal and Ottawa populations displayed a higher % of Canadian citizenship, less recent mobility, greater facility in the official languages of English and French and much more representation in the university-level categories of education achievement. The populations in the two cities also exhibited a far more balanced distribution in the spectrum of occupations include managerial/professional, health and social services, and government positions compared to the striking concentration in manufacturing found among Vietnamese men and women in most of the other cities. In addition,
Vietnamese in Montreal and Ottawa earned higher incomes and depended less on income from transfer payments compared to the populations enumerated in other Canadian cities.

To some extent it would appear that Vietnamese in Montreal and Ottawa have had greater success in achieving incorporation in the better compensated “primary” sector as opposed to the “secondary” component of the mainstream labour market. This situation probably reflects in part the longer duration many Vietnamese in these cities have resided in Canada compared to their compatriots in Toronto and other cities with populations composed of even greater proportions of individuals who arrived after the mid-1980s including Vancouver, Winnipeg Hamilton, London, and Kitchener. However, it should be pointed out that the life history and human capital resources of many of the Vietnamese residing in Ottawa and Montreal differs considerably from the bulk of the populations residing in the other urban centres. Many Vietnamese came to Quebec in the 1960s and 1970s not as refugees but as visa students and stayed after finding jobs in the professions including the government bureaucracy, health care, and education (Dorais et. al. 1987). The census figures also indicate that Montreal and Ottawa also possessed larger percentages of Vietnamese who came to Canada as refugees in the 1970s as opposed to the 1980s. American scholars have noted that refugees who came to the U.S. in the first wave of migration after 1975 generally possessed more personal resources in terms of past education, facility with English, and past occupational skills. Many of these individuals were former members of the South Vietnamese elite.
and had held positions in the government, military, or professions (Rutledge, 1992; Hein, 1993).

The rather unique demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the Montreal and Ottawa aggregates also likely reflect a process of self-selection. Several informants pointed out that many Vietnamese initially resettled in Montreal eventually moved to other Canadian cities due to fears for their own future and that of their children given the political instability and social climate associated with ethnic nationalism in the province. The Vietnamese who have opted to stay in Montreal may be disproportionately those who have become well-established in the city. In Ottawa, a somewhat similar process may have taken place. In marked comparison to cities such as Toronto, Hamilton, London, Kitchener, and Vancouver, the structure of the city’s economy is dominated by occupational sectors in which fairly recent Vietnamese immigrants and refugees are not terribly likely to find employment including managerial/professional and government positions. Consequently, those Vietnamese who do reside in the Ottawa CMA are more likely to have lived in Canada for a greater period of time while also possessing the human capital resources necessary for employment in the local economy.
APPENDIX II
KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW SUBJECTS

Mutual Assistance Associations


Social Service Agencies

Social Service Agencies Continued


Temples and Churches


Ethnic Media Outlets
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