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ABSTRACT

The universe of Japanese immigrants selected for this study consisted of a diverse group such as the kika nisei (returned second generation), the yobiyose (sponsored immigrant), and the gijutsu imin (technical immigrant). Each group possessed different characteristics. This present paper is limited in scope to the yobiyose and gijutsu imin because it is extremely difficult to determine objectively the exact status of the kika nisei with respect to immigration. In contrast to the pre-war Japanese immigrants composed mainly of farmers and fishermen, the post-war immigrants consisted of those with a diverse range of occupations such as craftsman, technicians, musicians, clerks, scientists, engineers, artists, and architects, to mention only a few. Differences in the occupational skills possessed by the various immigrant groups resulted in different adjustment processes during their initial settling-in period in Canada. Some immigrants were able to secure immediate employment and others were not. Consequently, the characteristics which the immigrants brought with them from Japan became an important factor for both employment and integration in the new host society. (Author/JM)

OCCUPATIONAL AND EMPLOYMENT CHARACTERISTICS OF POST-WAR JAPANESE IMMIGRANTS IN METROPOLITAN VANCOUVER

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ABSTRACT

OCCUPATIONAL AND EMPLOYMENT CHARACTERISTICS OF POST-WAR JAPANESE IMMIGRANTS IN METROPOLITAN VANCOUVER

This paper provides a descriptive account of some of the main characteristics of Japanese immigrants who have come to Canada since the end of World War II. There were three different types of Japanese immigrants. These were the (1) kika nisei (returned second generation), (2) yobiyose (sponsored immigrant) and (3) gijutsu imin (technical immigrant). Differences in the occupational skills possessed by these various immigrant groups resulted in different adjustment processes during their initial settling-in period in Canada. Some immigrants were able to secure immediate employment and others were not. Consequently, the characteristics which the immigrants brought with them from Japan became an important factor for both employment and integration in the new host society.

Occupational and Employment Characteristics of Post-War Japanese Immigrants in Metropolitan Vancouver

1. Introduction

The immediate problem with which this paper is concerned is to provide a descriptive account of some of the occupational and employment characteristics of post-war Japanese immigrants who reside in the metropolitan Vancouver area. First, a brief historical overview of Japanese immigration to Canada will be given. We will note some of the differences between sponsored and non-sponsored immigrants as well as the three different types of Japanese immigrants such as the kika nisei (returned second generation), yobiyose (sponsored immigrant), and the gijutsu imin (technical immigrant). Occupational and employment characteristics, and some of the important cultural differences in the work setting in Canada and Japan will then be described.

2. Historical Overview

With the exception of those who were fisherman, Japanese immigrants to Canada before World War II were generally characterized as unskilled labourers. Although precise details are not available, it has been recorded that the first Japanese to set foot in Canada was a sailor named Manzo Nagano.[1] Nagano first came to New Westminster in 1877 and he managed to remain in Canada for about two years during which time he tried his hand as a fisherman. Nagano returned to Japan but came back to New Westminster in 1884. Later, he proceeded to Seattle where he operated a restaurant but was soon on his way back to Japan. Nagano eventually returned to Canada in 1892 and he settled down in Victoria, B.C. where he opened a Japanese novelty store.

Another early visitor to Canada was a Gihei Kuno, a carpenter from Mio village. He came to Canada in 1877 and was so impressed by the salmon fishing on the west coast that he encouraged many Mio villagers to come to Canada.[2] By 1908,

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[1] Ken Adachi, A History of the Japanese Canadians in British Columbia (Toronto: Japanese Canadian Citizens Association, 1956), p. 1.

[2] Tadashi Fukutake, Man and Society in Japan (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1962), p. 149.

emigration from Japan became a matter of great concern for the Canadian government and thus a series of gentlemen's agreements were made between Japan and Canada.[3]

The general tendency of the Japanese immigrants to make money and then to return to Japan was not limited only to the Japanese fishermen but also extended to the Japanese labourers who came to Canada under contract to work on the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Japanese immigrants were also engaged in the boat building, lumbering, and mining industries and this eventually resulted in economic rivalry between the Japanese and Occidentals in British Columbia.

In 1907, the United States government passed legislative measures which prohibited Japanese immigrants from entering the U.S. This resulted in the mass influx of Japanese immigrants to Canada and the concomitant increase in hostility and prejudice eventually culminated in the Vancouver race riot of September 7, 1907. The Canadian government appointed a Royal Commission and the first Gentlemen's Agreement restricted Japanese immigrants to Canada to the following four classes of people:[4]

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[3]Warren E. Kalbach, The Impact of Immigration on Canada's Population (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1970), p.15.

[4]Adachi, ibid., p. 4.

(1) returning immigrants and their wives and children,
(2) emigrants engaged by Japanese residents in Canada for bona fide personal or domestic service,
(3) labourers under special contracts approved by the Canadian government, and
(4) immigrants brought under contract by Japanese resident agricultural holders in Canada.

With the exception of the first category noted above, an annual quota of 400 persons was established for each of the other categories. By 1924, this quota was further reduced to 150 and in 1928, quota restrictions were imposed to include the wives and children of Japanese residents in Canada.

Since the end of World War II, the number of immigrants of Japanese origin in Canada has increased steadily. This is shown in Table 1. During the initial five year period after the war, there were only 37 Japanese who immigrated to Canada.[5] However, with the legislation of the 1952 Immigration Act and subsequent amendments,[6] the number of post-war Japanese immigrants since 1952 has totaled more than 6,000. Of this total, approximately 1,898 Japanese immigrants settled in British Columbia, mainly in the lower mainland region of the province and excluding the concentration in Ontario, constituted the second largest collectivity of Japanese immigrants in Canada.

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[5] Kalbach, ibid., p. 426.

[6] The Immigration Act. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1968.

TABLE 1

Number of Japanese Immigrants Entering Canada, 1946 - 1971

Year	Number	Year	Number
1946*	3	1959	197
1947	2	1960	169
1948	6	1961**	114
1949	13	1962	141
1950	13	1963	171
1951	3	1964	140
1952	7	1965	188
1953	49	1966	500
1954	73	1967	858
1955	102	1968	628
1956	124	1969	698
1957	185	1970	785
1958	193	1971	815

* Source: Warren E. Kalbach, The Impact of Immigration on Canada's Population, Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1970. pp. 426-27.
(By Ethnic origin)

** Source: Immigration Statistics, Department of Manpower and Immigration.
(By country of citizenship)

Although immigration from Japan increased considerably during the post World War II period, there were fewer immigrants from Japan than from China and India as shown in Table 2.

3. Sponsored and Non-Sponsored Japanese Immigrants

The December 20, 1957 amendment to the 1952 Immigration Act enabled non-Canadian citizens residing in Canada to sponsor the admission of immigrants from Asia. However, it would appear from available immigration statistics that most relative-sponsored immigrants were admitted to Canada prior to this time and that extremely few post-war Japanese immigrants were sponsored by relatives in Canada. Table 3 provides a breakdown of the various forms of sponsorship. The data shown here is based on a random sample of 100 post-war immigrants who resided in the greater Vancouver area.[7]

The distribution of Japanese immigrants by various forms of sponsorship shown in Table 3 illustrates the low proportion of relative-sponsored immigrants. This fact accounts for the lack of kin-oriented social networks of Japanese immigrants in vivid contrast to the Chinese, Italian, and East Indian

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[7] Dissertation research project on post-war Japanese immigrants, Department of Anthropology and Sociology, University of British Columbia, June, 1971.

TABLE 2

Japanese, Chinese, and East Indian Immigrants

to Canada, 1941 - 1970

Five Year Period	Japanese	Chinese	East Indian
1941 - 1945[1]	5	0	5
1946 - 1950[1]	37	2,654	356
1951 - 1955[1]	234	11,524	837
1956 - 1960[1]	868	10,407	2,557
1961 - 1965[2]	861	11,785	8,576
1966 - 1970[3]	3,504	23,218	25,349[4]

1. Source: Kalback, The Impact of Immigration on Canada's Population, p. 43.

2. Source: Canada Year Book, 1941 to 1970.

3. Source: Immigration Statistics, 1966 to 1970 inclusive. Department of Manpower and Immigration, Ottawa.

4. Categorized as Indian Citizenship.

Note: Canada Year Book categorization by ethnicity.

TABLE 3

Types of Sponsorship of Post-War Japanese Immigrants to Canada

Sponsored by	Number in Survey
1. Spouse	3
2. Other Relatives	7
3. Future Employer	10
4. Canadian Friend	5
5. Business Acquaintance	2
6. None	73
Total	100

social network patterns which are predominantly kin-oriented.[8]

The universe of Japanese immigrants selected for our study consisted of a diverse group such as the kika nisei (returned second generation), the yobiyose (sponsored immigrant), and the gijutsu imin (technical immigrant). Each group possessed different characteristics and thus a brief account of each will explain why this present paper will be limited in scope to the yobiyose and gijutsu imin.

The outbreak of the Second World War resulted in the mass evacuation of all persons of Japanese ancestry from the coastal areas of British Columbia. One of the consequences of the Canadian Government War Measures Act was that Japanese families, both citizens and aliens, were relocated to various centers in the interior of British Columbia, and in Alberta, Manitoba and Ontario. After the relocation, those who elected to return to Japan renounced their Canadian citizenship and were repatriated. The real victims of this episode were the

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[8] See Stanford M. Lyman, "Contrasts in the Community Organization of Chinese and Japanese in North America," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 5, 1968, pp. 51-67. Clifford J. Jansen, "The Italian Community in Toronto," in Jean Leonard Elliot, ed., Immigrant Groups (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1971), pp. 207-15. Joy Inglis and Michael N. Ames, "Indian Immigrants in Canada," The Indo-Canadian, Vol. 4, No. 4 - Vol. 5, No. 1, 1968, pp. 2-6.

Canadian-born Japanese who were still minors at this time and consequently exercised no option and just followed their parents back to Japan.

After the end of World War II, a number of Japanese-Canadians returned to Canada. They were known as the kika nisei or the "returned second generation" and were usually sponsored by relatives who resided in Canada. It is extremely difficult to determine whether the kika nisei were officially included in the Canadian government immigration statistics for the period 1946 to 1952 since it was only after the legislation of the 1952 Immigration Act[9] that a Canadian citizen resident in Canada was able to sponsor a wife, husband, or unmarried dependent under 21 years of age. It is quite conceivable that the 40 or so Japanese immigrants who entered Canada between 1946 and 1952[10] may have been those who had earlier renounced their Canadian citizenship due to the political considerations of the time. There are, of course, numerous factors to be taken into account before one may attach the "immigrant" label to the kika nisei. However, that is beyond the immediate

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[9] Immigration Act. 1968. Ottawa: Queen's Printer.

[10] See Table 1, p. 6.

concern of this paper and it will suffice to note that the kika nisei constituted one group of Japanese frequently included under the rubric of post-war Japanese immigrants.

The number of Japanese immigrants to Canada gradually increased as a result of the 1952 Immigration Act. This increase was further facilitated by the subsequent Order in Council PC 1957 - 1675 which "enabled residents (non-citizens) to sponsor the admission from Asia and other countries of their spouses, unmarried minor children and aged parents."[11] Sponsored Japanese immigration to Canada, or the yobiyose, was the highest between 1952 and 1965.

Until 1965, post-war Japanese immigrants to Canada were mostly relative-sponsored, enabling immigrants who lacked both educational experience and occupational skills to enter Canada. This usually resulted in the employment of the Japanese immigrant in his or her sponsor's family occupation or in some other make-shift work arrangement within the ethnic community. The only Japanese community in British Columbia is Steveston. It had its origin in the mass transplantation of a fishing village from Mio-mura, Wakayama Prefecture, Japan. Emigration from Mio-mura reached its peak in 1926.[12] Consequently, after

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[11] Kalback, op. cit., p. 23.

[12] Fukutake, op. cit., p. 152.

World War II, a number of sponsored immigrants came to reside in the Steveston and Richmond areas and were employed in the fishing industry.

Sponsored Japanese immigrants were also destined to the various agricultural areas of southern Alberta, Manitoba, and Ontario. Perhaps, next to those immigrants who were employed in the fishing industry, the immigrants in the various agricultural occupations constituted the second largest group of sponsored immigrants to Canada.[13] The remainder of the sponsored immigrants did not immediately enter the labour force and includes children, housewives, and "picture-brides" to give a few examples.

With the establishments of the Canadian visa office in Tokyo in 1966, a vigorous advertising campaign was launched in Japan to attract highly qualified technical and professional people. It was a great success as evinced by the nearly threefold increase in immigration for that year. (See Table 1). There were significant differences between those Japanese immigrants who entered Canada after 1966 and those who had arrived

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[13] An attempt was made to obtain statistical information from the Department of Manpower and Immigration on sponsored Japanese immigrants to Canada, such as their intended occupation and destination in Canada. Unfortunately, this information was not available due to the confidential nature of other information also on the micro film of the immigrant's application form.

previously. Japanese immigrants to Canada after 1966 were known as gijutsu imin or literally translated "technical immigrants." Unlike their predecessors, the gijutsu imin constituted of both professional and technical people, were highly educated,had several years of experience in their own occupations, and were able to converse in English.

As stated previously, it is extremely difficult to determine objectively the exact status of the kika nisei with respect to immigration because of the numerous political factors such as the various Orders in Council of the wartime period which pertained to citizenship and repatriation that must be considered. It was therefore decided at the outset of this study of post-war Japanese immigrants not to include the kika nisei in the immigrant population. As a result of this decision, the research survey was designed to be representative of the post-war Japanese immigrants which consisted of the yobiyose and gijutsu imin who had entered Canada since the 1952 Immigration Act. The procedure employed to select our sample is provided in Appendix A.

4. Occupational and Employment Characteristics

In contrast to the pre-war Japanese immigrants composed mainly of farmers and fishermen, the post-war immigrants consisted of those with a diverse range of occupations such as craftsman, technicians, musicians, clerks, scientists, engineers, artists, and architects to mention only a few. Table 4 illustrates the percentage distribution of Japanese immigrants by occupation prior to emigration and after arrival in Canada. Appendix B provides the list of occupations selected for each occupational catagory based on Blishen Scores.

It will be noted in Table 4 that eighty four per cent of the immigrants in the semi-skilled and service trades category were able to secure employment in the same occupation as that held prior to emigration. In contrast, it will be noted that those respondents who were farmers or labourers when they were in Japan had all changed their occupation in Canada by the time of our survey. In particular, the farmers had all left the farms for the urban centers in order to seek a "better life." Consequently, care must be exercised in interpreting the data presented in Table 4 in that it is extremely difficult to determine if the immigrant changed occupations on his or her own volition or through circumstances beyond the immigrant's immediate control.

TABLE 4

Change in Occupation of Japanese Immigrants

Category of Last Occupation in Japan	No. in Survey	Per cent whose occupation in Canada at the time of the survey was the same as the last occupation in Japan
1. Professionals	25	48%
2. Proprietory, Managerial, and Lesser Professionals	15	73%
3. Clerical Employees	12	33%
4. Skilled Manual Employees	9	78%
5. Semi-Skilled and Service Trades	32	84%
6. Agricultural, Unskilled Labour	7	0
N =	100	

*See Appendix B for a list of occupations for each of the categories based on Blishen Scores.

In most instances, immigrants with the necessary technical or professional skills and the ability to converse in the English language experience little difficulty in securing employment in the same occupation as that held prior to emigration. An exception to the above generalization occurs when an immigrant although fully qualified must satisfy the residence and certification requirements of the professional association of the province. In this category are the medical doctors, dentists, nurses, lawyers, pharmacists, and to a lesser degree, professional engineers. If the possibility exists that the required certification can be obtained within a few years, then employment in one's chosen profession is deferred until such time and temporary employment is secured in a related occupation. The certification restrictions are not limited to the professions only but may also apply to certain trades with strict union regulations. For example, a barber cannot cut hair without a license which can only be obtained by passing an examination set by the Vancouver Barber's Association. In the event that professional certification is an impossibility because of extreme language or other difficulties, the immigrant will of course change occupation.

Those immigrants who fail to obtain employment which lasts for any length of time should also be noted. If an

immigrant is willing to accept any available employment regardless of how menial the job, his job history tends to be characterized by a succession of temporary jobs. A high proportion in this latter category are those with severe language difficulties. How can such a situation occur when the screening process at the Tokyo visa office appears to be so thorough? One reason is that the immigrant's oral English ability cannot be adequately assessed and thus it is only after the immigrant's arrival in Canada that problems associated with rather routine matters start to accumulate. The other reason is that those who arrive in Canada as tourists and later acquire landed-immigrant status are precisely those immigrants who lack the long term commitment to settle down. They tend to move from one job to another and from one geographic location to another. Those who come as tourists with the intent of obtaining landed immigrant status later also tend to possess lower occupational skill and experience than applicants processed in Tokyo.

Unlike the sponsored immigrants whose employment may have been already determined by their sponsors, the employment opportunities for the non-sponsored immigrants are rather limited. The latter compete immediately with other immigrants and Canadian-born job seekers. If they cannot understand English adequately, they must rely on the ethnic social network to find employment. For the newly arrived Japanese immigrant, the core of such an ethnic network is the Japanese Immigrant

Reception Committee at the Y.M.C.A., from which contacts are made with various organizations, groups, and individuals. The church organizations such as the Japanese United Church, Japanese Anglican Church, Japanese Mission Church, and ethnic associations such as the Japanese Canadian Citizens Association, all form the vital links of the ethnic social network and their members render assistance whenever called upon.

Employment obtained through ethnic affiliation is in most cases only a make-shift arrangement. During the spring and summer months, employment as gardening assistants can be easily obtained, but only a few Japanese immigrants last more than a few weeks in this extremely strenuous occupation. Other sources of temporary employment are hotels, restaurants, paper-box factories, and various delivery services such as the liquor outlets and grocery chain stores. Japanese immigrants who cannot obtain even temporary employment may be sponsored by the Manpower and Immigration department to take an English course so that the immigrant can compete more successfully in the Canadian labour market. In order to qualify for such a course, the immigrant must be unemployed and must provide evidence that he or she is unable to pay tuition for a similar English course given to new Canadians at regular vocational schools.

The number of job changes after arrival in Canada for

various occupational categories is shown in Table 5. In my 1971 survey of post-war Japanese immigrants who resided in the greater Vancouver area, 30 per cent of the respondents had no job change since their arrival in Canada, 27 per cent changed jobs only once, and 26 per cent changed jobs twice. Only 7 per cent of the respondents had changed jobs five or more times. The data presented in Table 5 reveal that skilled manual employees, machine operators, and those in the service trades occupations had a lower percentage of three or more job changes than for any other occupational group.

5. Cultural Differences and Employment

To the casual observer, the organizational structure of a Japanese firm would appear similar to that of Canadian firms of comparable size. In both Japanese and Canadian companies, offices are arranged in hierarchical order, but a closer examination will reveal less flexibility in the Japanese case. Nakane describes the bureaucratic structure of business enterprises in Japan as:

> . . . a proliferation of sections accompanied by finer gradings in official rank. During those twenty years there appeared uniforms for workers, badges (lapel buttons) worn as company insignia and stripes on the uniform cap to indicate section and rank. Workers thus came under a more rigid institutional hierarchy.[14]

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[14] Chie Nakane, Japanese Society (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), p. 17.

TABLE 5

Number of Job Changes in Canada for
Different Occupational Categories

Occupational Category at time of emigration	No. in Survey	Number of Job Changes in Canada								per cent 3 or more job changes
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
		%								
1. Professionals	25	16	28	40	12	4				16%
2. Proprietory, Managerial, and lesser Professionals	15	47	20	13	13	7				20%
3. Clerical Employees	12	25	33	17			17		8	25%
4. Skilled Manual Employees	9	33	45	11		11				11%
5. Semi-Skilled & Service Trades	32	38	25	25	6		6			12%
6. Agricultural, Unskilled Labour	7	14	14	43			29			29%
Total	100	30	27	26	7	3	4	2	1	17

One might expect that the emphasis on finer rank differentiation in Japanese firms would result in different operational and administrative procedures employed by firms in Japan when compared to those in Canada.

Some of the problems facing the Japanese immigrant seeking employment in Canada may have their source in these organizational and procedural differences. In Japan, an individual's social and educational background is considered quite important when it comes to employment, but a letter of recommendation submitted with the job application is equally important. Employment in a medium to large Japanese firm is usually a life-time commitment and it is difficult to differentiate between the normal social relations of one's home and those of the company. A Japanese company provides housing, medical and hospital benefits, recreational facilities, group outings, and numerous other services. Given this paternalistic nature of a Japanese firm, the letter of recommendation serves a similar purpose as the nakodo (marriage broker) and often the procedure followed in the employment process can be as time consuming as that of an arranged marriage.

The Japanese term for the "go-between" in the employment process is called the kone, which means "connection."[15]

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[15] For a brief description on how to establish a kone, see Ezra F. Vogel, Japan's New Middle Class (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965), p. 61.

It refers to a person, or a friend of a person, who is already employed in a company in which the individual sought future employment. Thus a letter of introduction by a kone is always in great demand. In actual fact, most people have to be satisfied with letters written by a friend or a friend of a kone. In other words, the resources of a social network are frequently employed in securing employment in Japan.[16] In contrast, the newly arrived Japanese immigrant in Canada is unable to utilize the social network well established in Japan. Furthermore, the curriculum vitae and letters of recommendation are not of importance in Canada and the immigrant is forced to seek out his own source of employment.

Even with the absence of a kone in Canada, Japanese immigrants soon establish social contacts to whom the traditional role performed by the kone in Japan is directly transferred. If the social contact happens to be a Japanese immigrant who had arrived in Canada a few years earlier, then he or she acts as the sempai or senior immigrant and subsequently assumes the role assigned to the kone in securing employment.

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[16] For the North American case, see Fred E. Katz, "Occupational Contact Networks," Social Forces, 37 (October, 1958), pp. 52-55.

In Canada, this results not in writing letters of recommendation, but making personal visits to possible employment sources together with his kohai or junior immigrant friend. Even in the event that immediate employment is not obtained, the kohai immigrant can more or less rest assured that his sempai will eventually succeed in finding suitable employment. In this manner, a system of mutual obligations is established between the sempai and kohai.

If the new social contact in Canada happens to be a Canadian or a Japanese Canadian, the role of a kone cannot be readily transferred as this is an alien concept altogether in Canada. Numerous Japanese immigrants have assumed that once a friendly contact was made with a Canadian or a Japanese Canadian, employment opportunities would soon materialize but such contacts alone have not been very fruitful.

When seeking employment in Canada, the Japanese immigrant often does not make a second call back to a prospective employer, because a person brought up in Japan tends to attach greater significance to indirect answers. In Japan, it is often common not to give a negative response to a question too directly. A series of indirect and abstract excuses will often suffice to convey to the respondent the negative feelings of the speaker. Thus, in the Canadian situation, if an employer should reply that possible job vacancies will not occur until the following month, the Japanese immigrant interprets this

to mean an outright job refusal and consequently fails to return for a follow-up job application.

The Japanese practice of inducing life-time commitments through numerous incentives at regular intervals contrasts sharply with the experience of abrupt termination of employment without any explanation in Canada. In the more fortunate instances, notice was given a few days in advance. The possibility that termination of employment was less related to the technical or professional competence of the Japanese immigrant and more to Canadian economic circumstances was seldom understood by the immigrant. Such unexpected job terminations were often understood at first as manifestations of racial discrimination. Similar experiences by immigrants of other ethnic groups, as well as by migratory Canadians, tended to dispel notions of discrimination. The critical difference in employment patterns can be best illustrated by Abegglen's observation:

> When comparing the social organization of the large factory in Japan and the United States one difference is immediately noted and continues to dominate and represent much of the total difference between the two systems. At whatever level of the organization in the Japanese factory, the worker commits himself on entrance to the company for the remainder of his working career. The company will not discharge him even temporarily except in the most extreme circumstances. He will not quit the company for industrial employment elsewhere. He is a member of the company in a sense resembling that in which persons are

members of families, fraternal organizations, and other intimate and personal groups in the United States.[17]

Abegglen's comparison of a Japanese company to that of a family or fraternal organization is quite appropriate. The parent-child role of family relationship is also manifested in the oyabun-kobun relationship of a Japanese business firm regardless of its size. Various descriptions of the oyabun-kobun relationship have been given. Iwao Ishino notes that:

> The oyabun-kobun institution is one in which persons usually unrelated by close kin ties enter into a compact to assume obligations of a diffuse nature similar to those ascribed to members of one's immediate family. The relationship is formally established by means of a ceremony involving many of the expressive symbolisms of birth and marriage. Both the terms of address and the assignment of roles within the group are patterned on the Japanese family system: the leader becomes a ritual parent and his followers, symbolic children. These "children," in turn, are ritual brothers to each other and seniority among them is formally recognized by terms which imply elder brother-younger brother distinctions.[18]

Nakane's description of the oyabun-kobun relationship is similar to that given by Ishino. Nakane comments that "the essential elements in the relationship are that the kobun receives benefits or help from his oyabun, such as assistance

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[17] James Abegglen, "Social Structure in a Japanese Factory," in Charles R. Walker (ed), Modern Technology and Civilization (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Book Company Inc., 1962), p. 349.

[18] Iwao Ishino, "The Oyabun-Kobun: A Japanese Ritual Kinship Institution," American Anthropologist, 55 (1953), p. 696.

in securing employment or promotion, and advice on the occasion of important decision-making. The kobun, in turn, is ready to offer his services whenever the oyabun requires them."[19] The extent to which the oyabun-kobun relationship is practiced in Japan is subject to considerable debate and it may not be an as extensive throughout Japanese society as Nakane asserts. Whitehill and Takezawa state that its current useage is limited to certain social groups only.[20] This assertion is supported by Cole who suggests that the oyabun-kobun pattern of relations is found "most often in certain industrial sectors peripheral to the key industries associated with modern industrial development. They are found in construction, longshoring, and forestry where the labor contractor continues to play a key role.[21] Nakane aptly describes the effects of the sempai and kohai relationship in daily conversations:

> The consciousness of rank which leads the Japanese to ignore logical procedure is also manifested in the patterns and practices of daily conversation, in which a senior or an elderly man monopolizes the talk while those junior to them have the role of listener. Generally there is no development of dialectic style in a Japanese conversation,

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[19] Nakane, op. cit., pp. 42-43.

[20] Arthur M. Whitehill and Shinichi Takezawa, The Other Worker (Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1968), p. 85.

[21] Robert E. Cole, Japanese Blue Collar (Berkeley; University of California Press, 1971), pp. 196-97.

> which is guided from beginning to end by the interpersonal relations which exist between speakers. In most cases a conversation is either a one-sided sermon, the 'I agree completely' style of communication, which does not allow for the statement of opposite views; or parties to a conversation follow parallel lines, winding in circles and ending exactly where they started . . . Because of the lack of a discipline for relationships between equals, the Japanese do not practice these three basic steps of reasoning and must overcome great odds in order to advance or cultivate any issue brought under discussion. Hence most conversations are intellectually dull, emotionally enjoyable to the speaker, with a higher status, rather then the listener, with a lower status.[22]

If the immigrant had observed in Japan the rules of propriety associated with either the sempai-kohai or oyabun-kobun relationships, then one possible consequence in Canada might be that informal conversations will not develop with fellow workers although the Japanese immigrant may be able to speak English fluently. Part of this reluctance to converse with fellow workers is conditioned by rank consciousness which evolved out of the sempai and kohai ranking system in Japan. The very fact that a Japanese immigrant enters new employment in a given company in Canada places the immigrant in the most junior position in relation to other workers who are already employed, and thus the reluctance to initiate a conversation.

The Japanese awareness of rank becomes most noticeable when we compare the answers of Japanese immigrants employed

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[22] Nakane, op. cit., pp. 34-35.

in Canadian firms with those of immigrants employed in the overseas offices of Japanese firms in Canada. Without exception, those employed in Canadian firms expressed surprise and relief at the informality in conversations between senior and junior members of the firm and the frequent use of first names. In the Japanese firms, by contrast, personal names were seldom used to address persons in higher rank, and titles such as kacho (section chief), bucho (department chief), or shitencho (branch manager) were used. In some instances, the title alone was substituted for simple greetings, for example, when the section chief arrived at the office in the morning, the junior employee simply said "kacho" instead of "good morning," Differences in behaviour depend on the status of the person addressed and are manifested in the use of honorific words, intonation, posture, or manner of speech. Nakane notes that "in Japan the range of differentiation (in social behaviour) is much wider and more elaborate, and delicate codification is necessary to meet each context and situation."[23] This is really an understatement as it literally takes years and years for a westerner to adequately understand the Japanese rules of propriety.

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[23] Nakane, op. cit., p. 30

Differences in work habits which stem from cultural variations between Canada and Japan also tend to limit Japanese immigrants from joining their workmates for a glass of beer or a cup of coffee after work. The higher degree of identification, and the demonstration of loyalty, which a Japanese immigrant attaches to his new place of employment, in comparison to his Canadian counterpart, is often a source of friction during the initial adjustment period. An indication of the way in which the immigrant places company interests above his own is when he or she remains after work to complete unfinished work.

In our survey, automechanics, dental technicians, secretaries, and even clerks, have all indicated that they had remained past their normal hours of work at one time or another. This type of expression of devotion or diligence is seldom understood by Canadians. It is often interpreted as an example of Japanese immigrants attempting to out-perform others. In one extreme instance, it was considered as industrial espionage.

While technological constraints tend to be inflexible, cultural constraints should decrease with longer residence in Canada, and as Canadian customs become adopted.

6. Conclusion

In providing some of the occupational and employment characteristics of post-war Japanese immigrants, one underlying assumption in our study was that immigrants selected to come to Canada would make every effort to secure employment in the same occupation as that held in Japan. This assumption was made because of the very strict control exercised by the Canadian government in granting immigration visas only to those people whose occupational skills are in demand in Canada. Our survey data provided some evidence that Japanese immigrants make numerous attempts to secure employment in their chosen occupation.

Although it is beyond the scope of this paper to show the relationship between the immigrant's occupational and initial employment experiences with respect to his or her later participation in voluntary organizations or in social network activities, it should be noted that the various characteristics described in this paper do influence the immigrant's adjustment process in Canada. For example, if the immigrant had observed while in Japan the rules of propriety associated with the rigid rank differentiation system of Japanese companies which is based upon seniority, the sempai-kohai and oyabun-kobun patterns of relationships, then it is quite possible that

the values and norms of Japanese society instilled in the individual may be carried over to the host Canadian society and consequently be reflected in the social interaction patterns.

Another factor that may have some effect on the social interaction patterns of immigrants in the work setting is that the network of personal affiliations established through the kone is limited and hence new ones must be established. Whether new friends and acquaintances can be formed or not at work depends to a large extent on the work environment itself and the presence of those factors that may act as a constraint on hindrance which prevents social interaction to take place among workmates. It remains for a later paper to adequately explore the relationship between cultural differences in the work setting, social interaction on the job, and the assimilation process of the Japnese immigrant in the host Canadian society.

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APPENDIX A

Selection of the Sample

The initial problem to be addressed was that of compiling a list of post-war Japanese immigrants who resided in the Greater Vancouver area. For this purpose, two principal sources were available. These were the Japanese Canadian Directory published by the Greater Vancouver Japanese Canadian Citizens Association (JCCA) and the Vancouver and Lower Mainland Directories. A general list of Japanese names was prepared initially from the Vancouver and Lower Mainland Directories and this list was then cross referenced with the JCCA Directory. After the compilation of a general list of Japanese names, the next procedure was to delete the names of the Canadian born and the naturalized first generation or issei citizens who came to Canada before 1945. This task was accomplished by further cross-checking with a list of post-war Japanese immigrants prepared by the Japanese Immigrant Reception Committee. This permitted the general list to be reduced to a manageable size, such that in the doubtful cases a telephone call enabled one to differentiate the post-war immigrants from the non-immigrants.

The areas included in the survey consisted of Vancouver, West Vancouver, North Vancouver, Burnaby, Coquitlam, New Westminster, Richmond, Delta, and Surrey. These geographic areas were selected for the following two reasons. First, Japanese

names of all those who are resident in these cities or municipalities were readily available through the Vancouver and Lower Mainland Directories which thus permitted the employment later of a cross reference procedure with other compilations of Japanese immigrants such as the one provided by the Japanese Immigrant Reception Committee. Second, from a practical standpoint, the geographic areas selected for the research were all within one hour driving distance from the University of British Columbia.

The compilation procedure described above produced a list of post-war Japanese immigrants which consisted of 347 names. All individuals in the population were numbered and a random sample of approximately one third of the total population was created.[1]

The question of an appropriate sample size has been considered by several authors. The necessity in exercising caution in interpretation from a small sample size is noted by

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[1] Virginia Green prepared the list of random numbers and Dave Malcolm wrote the program which sequentially listed the random selection of immigrants. Their assistance is greatly acknowledged.

Richmond.[2] Labovitz[3] suggests various methods to control for two or more variables in partialling operations when the sample size is small and Davis recommends a rule of thumb for a minimal size in order to have expected frequencies of five or more in each call of the fourfold table.[4] Although the suggestions advanced by these authors were taken into account, it was decided to further test the adequacy of the sample size by "smallest space analysis" of selected questionnaire items.

The rule of thumb advanced by Davis for minimal sample size in terms of expected cell frequencies applied to two variable relationships in a fourfold table. Davis states that "for a 30:70 norm for marginals, a sample of approximately 50 cases is a good rule of thumb."[5] For our present study, however, we also have nominal and ordinal data on the immigrant's social network which do not readily lend themselves to rela-

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[2]Anthony H. Richmond, Post-War Immigrants in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), p. 282.

[3]Sanford I. Labovitz, "Methods for Control with Small Sample Size," American Sociological Review, 30 (April, 1965), p. 243.

[4]James A. Davis, Elementary Survey Analysis (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1971), p. 50.

[5]Ibid., p. 51.

tional statistical analysis.[6] Thus an independent test is desired to determine whether or not a sample size of 50 respondents is sufficient to adequately represent all facets of the immigrant's network of social affiliations. Stated in another way, the following question can be asked: Does it make any difference to the social network pattern exhibited by the post-war Japanese immigrants if the sample size is increased from fifty respondents to seventy or one hundred respondents" Since what is required is a "rigorous multivariate analysis under the constraints of no special assumption,"[7] the nonmetric technique of smallest space analysis was employed to answer the above question.

Table A-1 shows the composition of our basic survey data. Six respondents refused to be interviewed and seven had moved to undisclosed areas. Immigrants who are unable to secure employment in British Columbia usually migrate to Ontario and very seldom to other provinces. Three immigrants had returned to Japan, and two had migrated to the United States.

From a total sample of 118 immigrants, 100 were inter-

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[6] Ibid., p. 51.

[7] Milton Bloombaum, "Doing Smallest Space Analysis," Conflict Resolution, 14 (September, 1970), p. 409.

viewed. In the event of a refusal or a missing subject, we simply proceeded to administer the questionnaire to the next person on the random sample list. The pre-test was conducted in April and May 1971, and the revised questionnaire admin-

TABEL A-1

Basic Survey Data

Interview Refused	6
Immigrant Moved (undisclosed destination)	7
Returned to Japan	3
Moved to the United States	2
Interviewed	100
Total in Sample	118

istered between June and September 1971. Although the total number of persons who refused to be interviewed is quite low,[8] it should be noted that twenty six of the respondents had to be

[8] A similarly low refusal rate was reported in Dore's study of a Tokyo ward in which out of a total sample of 325 households, there were only 3 refusals. See R. P. Dore, City Life in Japan (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965), p. 396.

contacted more than three times in order to obtain an interview.[9] Some of the demographic characteristics of people interviewed are presented in Table A-2.

From the data presented in Table A-2, it will be noted that there was a greater proportion of male than female respondents in our sample. Of all the female respondents interviewed (twenty two), only one was married at the time of emigration. In contrast, forty one of the seventy eight male respondents were married at the time of emigration. Sixty nine per cent of the respondents were under thirty five years of age and only eleven per cent had resided in Canada for seven or more years.

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[9] A number of people of relatively short residence in Canada were still reacting to the interviewer in the customary Japanese way of not being too direct in refusing an interview. Instead of an outright refusal or "no", suggestive comments that an interview was not desired were made. In some cases, more than five interview appointment times had to be made, a good example of the interviewer not responding to the verbal cues given by the subject. It is of interest to note that only the more "Canadianized" immigrants who had resided in Canada for more than three years responded most directly in the negative manner.

TABLE A-2

Respondent's Characteristics

Marital Status		At time of Interview	At time of Arrival
Non Married Women		14	21
Married Women		8	1
	Total	22	22
Non Married Men		18	37
Married Men		60	41
	Total	78	78

Age Distribution	Number of Respondents
21 - 25	5
26 - 30	37
31 - 35	27
36 - 40	19
41 - 45	7
45 and over	5

Duration of Residence in Canada	Number of Respondents
1 year	11
2 years	19
3 years	15
4 years	26
5 years	15
6 years	3
7 years or more	11

Family Composition	Number of Respondents
Self Only	26
Self and Spouse	17
One Child	24
Two Children	20
Three Children	9
Four Children	4
	N = 100

APPENDIX B

Post-War Japanese Immigrant Sample: Occupation at Time of Emigration

1. Professionals (Blishen Score 70.14 to 76.69)*

   Professor
   Geological Engineer
   Mineral Engineer
   Communications Engineer
   Mechanical Engineer
   Civil Engineer
   Computer Engineer
   Medical Doctor
   Architect
   Pharmacist
   School Teacher

2. Proprietory, Managerial, and Lesser Professionals (Blishen Score 51.11 to 68.80)

   Sales Manager
   Managers and Owners of Business
   Office Administrators
   Accountants
   Librarians
   Draftsman
   Art Designer
   Computer Programmer
   Nurse
   Dietician
   Interpreter

3. Clerical Employees (Blishen Score 40.05 to 50.98)

   Bookkeeper
   Cashier
   Office Appliance Operator
   Secretary
   Clerical Occupations

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*Bernard R. Blishen, "A Socio-Economic Index for Occupations in Canada," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 4 (February, 1967), pp. 41-53.

Note: Socio-economic position for occupations not listed in Blishen scale obtained from Occupational Classification Manual Census of Canada 1971, Ottawa: Information Canada, 1971.

4. Skilled Manual Employees (Blishen Score 40.05 to 50.93)

Mechanics and Repairman, Radio and TV
Mechanic and Repairman, Aircraft
Electrician, Electronic Technician
Dental Technician
Medical Technician
Toolmakers
Diemakers
Photographic Processor

5. Semi-Skilled and Service Trades
(Blishen Score 29.43 to 39.86)

Tailor
Dressmaker
Bartender
Steward
Sales Clerk
Barber, Hairdresser
Leather Cutter
Cabinet and Furniture Maker
Taxi Driver
Painter
Motor Vehicle Mechanic
Cook
Waiter
Welder
Piano Tuner
Plasterer
Delivery Boy
Dry Cleaner
Launderer
Cosmetologist

6. Agricultural, Unskilled Labour
(Blishen Score 25.36 to 29.41)

Farm Labourer
Orchard Farmer
Fisherman
Artificial Inseminator