

INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

ProQuest Information and Learning
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
800-521-0600

UMI[®]



Université d'Ottawa • University of Ottawa

**Ethnic Minority Churches: The Case of the Canadian
Chinese Christian Churches in Ottawa**

By

Qiang Li

A dissertation submitted to

The Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

In partial fulfillment of

The requirement for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Classics and Religious Studies

University of Ottawa

Ottawa, Ontario

Copyright ©

2000, Qiang Li



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Acquisitions et
services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file *Votre référence*

Our file *Notre référence*

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-58288-4

Canada

ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigates the social and cultural conditions which have contributed to the rise of the Chinese Christian community in Canada, and more specifically the capital region, and the kind of religious life that evolved within that community. The author draws on extensive fieldwork, offers insights into the beliefs and practices of this little-documented section of the Canadian Chinese community. A sociological survey of the nine Chinese Christian churches in Ottawa shows that this community has been deeply influenced by Canadian social policies and Chinese immigration patterns. Cultural variables such as dialect, place of origin, and social class have also shaped the formation and the growth of Canadian Chinese Christianity. Contemporary Canadian Chinese Christian churches primarily meet the interests and needs of middle-class Chinese immigrants, and have become the most cohesive and active ethnic community organizations within the Canadian Chinese community. On the one hand, Canadian Chinese Christianity could be seen as tool for cultural adaptation. It provides the Chinese members with a set of values and Christian beliefs which they see as similar to the basic beliefs of the host culture; the institution and operation of the churches allow their Chinese members to become accustomed to the administration and political patterns of the host society, and to prepare for entering mainstream society. On the other hand, Canadian Chinese Christianity could be presented as an "ethnic community" which helps the members preserve their Chinese identity defined in cultural terms, that is language, cultural heritage, and community ("family"). The Chinese churches feature a conservative Confucian Christian theology, where the Christian values are seen as compatible with Chinese values. Both perspectives are useful in demonstrating that, in the case of the Chinese Christian churches, within the Canadian multicultural society, ethnic identity can be selectively reconstructed, actively and pragmatically pursued, neither as assimilation, nor as preservation, but as accommodation.

Table of Contents

List of Tables	vi	
Acknowledgement	vii	
Introduction	1	
Chapter One	Theoretical and Historical Backgrounds	10
1.1 Ethnicity and Ethnic Relations	10	
Race and Ethnicity	12	
Ethnic Relations	22	
Ethnic Studies in Canada	32	
1.2 Religion and Ethnic Studies in Canada	39	
Religious Context in Canada	40	
Religious and Ethnicity in Canada	51	
Church in Ethnic Maintenance	54	
Church in Cultural Adaptation	56	
Minority Church	58	
1.3. Chinese Religion and Chinese Identity	61	
Chinese Religious Tradition	62	
Chinese Rituals, Symbols and Languages	85	
Chinese Nationalism	89	
Chinese and Christian: Tensions and Conflicts	93	
1.4. Chinese Canadians, Organisations and Churches	104	
Chinese Canadians	104	
Early Chinese Immigrants	106	
New Chinese Immigrants	109	
Cultural Diversity in Chinese Canadians	113	
Chinese Canadian Community	116	
Chinatown Organisations	116	
New Chinese Associations	120	
Chinese Immigrants in Ottawa	123	
Chinese Religions in Canada	127	
Mission in Early Chinese Immigrants	130	

Chapter Two	Chinese Churches in Ottawa	139
2.1	Early Chinese Christian Community in Ottawa	139
	Ottawa Chinese Mission and Christian Association	
	Chinese Christians in Ottawa: Minority without Church	
2.2	Chinese Christian Churches in Ottawa	144
	Ottawa Chinese United Church	145
	Ottawa Chinese Alliance Church	152
	Ottawa Chinese Bible Church	157
	St. Peter's Chinese Anglican Church	162
	Chinese Christian Church of Ottawa	165
	Emmanuel Alliance Church of Ottawa	169
	Ottawa Agape Chinese Alliance Church	172
	Ottawa Mandarin Alliance Church	175
	Ottawa Chinese Catholic Community	179
2.3	Sociological Inquiries into the Chinese Churches in Ottawa	181
	New Chinese Immigrant Churches	181
	Church Distribution Centred in Chinatown	185
	Religious Minority in Chinatown	188
	Middle Class Church	190
	Family Church and Membership	192
Chapter Three	Chinese Church as Adaptation	195
3.1	Christian Belief and Conversion	196
	Chinese Christian Doctrine	196
	Chinese Conversion	198
3.2	Christian Rituals	213
	Church and Membership	214
	Sunday Worship Service	217
	Communion and Baptism	219
	Fellowships	220
	Missions	222
3.3	Adopting English	227
	Christian and English Naming	227
	Bible Studies and English Literature	228
	Use of English in Church	230

3.4 Church Institution Mimicking Mainline Denominations	232
Denominational Churches	232
Local Churches	234
3.5 Social Values	236
Success	236
Thrift	238
Temperance	239
Gender Equality	240
Sexuality and Marriage	242
Democracy	243
3.6 Cultural Adaptation	246
Chapter Four Minority Chinese Church as Community: Construction of Confucian Christianity	249
4.1 Chinese Churches as Chinese Communities	251
4.2 Chinese Languages in Church	260
4.3 Chinese Festivals and Customs in Church	264
4.4 Chinese Church as Big Family	272
Familial Chinese Church	272
Patriarchy in Chinese Church	276
Chinese Clergy as Sage, Saint and Church Head	278
Chinese Management of Church Conflicts	281
4.5 Confucian Christianity: An Accommodation for Chinese Church	282
4.6 Minority Chinese Church in Multicultural Canada	294
Minority Chinese Church as Group Identity	295
Canadian Chinese Christians as Individual Identity	304
Conclusion Minority Church within Multiculturalism	308
Bibliography	317

List of Tables

Table 1.1	Chinese Population in Canada and National Capital Region, 1881-1996.....	105
Table 1.2	Chinese Canadian Religious Identities in 1991 (%).....	127
Table 1.3	Numerical Listing of Early Chinese Population by Major Canadian Religious Denomination, 1921-1961	131
Table 1.4	Chinese Christian in Major Urban Areas by percent of total Chinese in these Cities, 1931 and 1941	133
Table 1.5	Numerical Listing of Contemporary Chinese Population by Major Canadian Religious Denominations, 1971 and 1991	136
Table 1.6	Percent Christian Among Immigrant Chinese Cohorts and Native Born Chinese Canadians (single ethnic response only)	136
Table 1.7	Chinese Protestant Churches in Canada	137
Table 2.1	Name and Year of Establishment of the Chinese Christian Churches In Ottawa (National Capital Region)	144
Table 3.1	Sunday Worship Program of the Ottawa Chinese Bible Church	219
Table 3.2	Organizational Chart of the Ottawa Chinese Alliance Church	235
Table 4.1	Cultural Linguistic Diversity among the Chinese Churches in Ottawa.....	259

Acknowledgment

My interest in Christianity began with my graduate study on Chinese Christianity at the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, Shanghai (China) during the school year 1986-1989. I was fascinated by how Christianity integrated into China within the context of nationalism and modernisation. Accordingly, my MA thesis studied the history of an indigenous Chinese Christian sect-"Christian Assembly" (Little Flock). Through extensive fieldwork experience with Chinese Christians, I have come to acknowledge Christianity as a body of diverse peoples, who have established their churches with their cultural heritages under the framework of the Bible.

It has been a challenging task as well as a great satisfaction for me to pursue my interest in religious organisations as part of my PhD program in Sociology of Religion at the University of Ottawa (Canada). Consequently, my PhD dissertation here is a sociological study of the Chinese Christian communities in Ottawa.

This study would not have been possible without the help of many people. First of all, I must thank the people of the Chinese Christian churches in Ottawa-too many, in fact, to name here. They have opened to me not only their files and homes but also their lives and hearts. I have greatly benefited from their trust, their interest, and their fellowship. Priests, ministers, leaders, and members of the Chinese Christian churches in Ottawa were generous

with their time and made available to me important materials needed for this study.

I am indebted to my dissertation committee members, Dr. Roger Lapointe, Dr. Naomi Goldenberg, Dr. Peter Beyer, and Dr. Marie-Françoise Guédon, for their invaluable advice and constant encouragement. My advisor Dr. Roger Lapointe deserves my deepest thanks. He introduced me to sociology in general and the sociology of religion in particular. He has also provided invaluable advice, consistent support and encouragement in many other ways during the past eight years. I am indebted to Dr. Naomi Goldenberg for her invaluable advice, longstanding friendship and the sharing of ideas over a wide range of interest. I must thank Dr. Peter Beyer for his genuine understanding and support. I can never adequately express my appreciation and gratitude to Dr. Marie-Françoise Guédon for her consistent encouragement and support and her expertise in anthropology of religion, which contributed to the theorisation of this dissertation.

I gratefully acknowledge the financial assistance provided by the Multiculturalism Programs of the Federal Government of Canada. The Multiculturalism Programs awarded me a "Canadian Ethnic Studies Dissertation Fellowship" in 1995 for my doctoral project of "Canadian Chinese Christianity in Ottawa." This award assisted me in completing this study on Canadian Chinese churches.

Finally, I wish to extend my gratitude to my family members. My parents and sister in China have always urged me to accomplish my goals in life. Now I am happy that I have accomplished their expectation of me-getting the highest educational degree possible. My deepest and most heartfelt appreciation is to my wife Yunhong Zhang, for her love, confidence, understanding, and patience, which encouraged me and sustained me throughout this extensive study. This dissertation is dedicated to my wife, Yunhong Zhang, and our son Youjun Li, and daughter, Minjun Li.

Introduction

This dissertation is a sociological study of Canadian Chinese Christianity. Specifically, it is ethnographic study of the nine Chinese Christian churches in Ottawa (National Capital Region). It surveys the historical, social and cultural conditions, which have contributed to the current state of the Chinese Christian community in Ottawa and the kinds of spirituality, and religious life that it has evolved. It aims not only to provide an ethnographic description of Canadian Chinese Christianity at a regional level, but also to offer insights into the beliefs and practices of the little-documented section of the Canadian Chinese community.

Canadian Chinese Christianity results from the cultural encounter between East and West framed by the particular socio-cultural context of Canada. Chinese coming from the East traditionally believe in Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism. Christianity is a religion of the West. When East and West meet in a Chinese Christian church in Canada, what happens to their respective cultural and religious traditions? What kind of Christianity do these Chinese believe in and practice? What kind of role does the church play in the life of the Chinese immigrants? What kind of Chinese religious and cultural heritages have these Chinese transplanted into their new Christian life in Canada? How Chinese are these Chinese Christians?

In Canada, Christianity has become the largest institutional religion among Chinese Canadians. Christians in China are a small minority, never more than five percent of the total population (Lu Yun 1991), however, more Chinese in Canada claimed a Christian faith than any other institutional religion. The Census of Canada of 1991 indicated that more than 58 percent of the Chinese Canadians claimed no religious affiliation, while about significant 32 percent claimed to be Christians. These numbers may be inaccurate, since institutional religion is not a prominent factor in Chinese culture. Be that as it may, Chinese Christian churches apparently outnumber other institutional religions among Canadian Chinese communities. In Toronto, there are 96 Chinese Protestant churches in contrast with just several Buddhist centres.¹ In Ottawa, there are nine Chinese Christian churches, but only one Buddhist centre.

Moreover, the Chinese Christian churches are Chinese immigrant churches. According to the Census Canada, the Chinese population in Canada has dramatically increased since the 1960s and since 1993, has become the third largest one after the English and French populations. Therefore, first-generation Chinese immigrants mostly form the contemporary Chinese community as well as the Chinese Christian population in Canada. Consequently, Christianity has become the most visible and active institutional religion among Chinese Canadians.

¹ See *The Herald Monthly*, February 1998.

Most Chinese Christians in Canada are adult converts. They have become Christians after coming to Canada or North America. Chinese immigrants come from a nation with a rich religious tradition. The Canadian policy of multiculturalism is essentially tolerant of non-Christian traditions. Why did many Chinese convert to Christianity? Have these Chinese Christians forsaken their own religious traditions? What Chinese religious and cultural traditions had they inherited, if any? It is too simple to assume that the Chinese church attendance is a mere assimilation to the host society where Christianity is the dominant religion. My preliminary survey in Vancouver, Toronto and Ottawa shows that many Chinese churches are independent churches without denominational affiliation. Most denominational Chinese churches also appear to be "local minority churches" without close affiliation with their respective Canadian denominations. If assimilation is the intention of these Chinese immigrant converts, why do they remain as independent local minority churches? Moreover, most contemporary Chinese churches in Canada are fundamentalist and evangelical in theology, and even denominational Chinese churches appear to assert a conservative theology and keep themselves away from liberal trends in their denominations. Why do Canadian Chinese Christian churches generally claim such a conservative theology? Consequently, who are these Chinese Christians in Ottawa? What feature their Christian life? Why these Chinese practise Christianity in their particular ways?

This dissertation will attempt to answer such questions on the basis of the ethnographic data collected from the Chinese Christian churches in Ottawa. Specifically, it will investigate three issues: (1) the possible relationship between Canadian social policies, Chinese immigration patterns, and the development of Canadian Chinese Christianity; (2) the possible role of Canadian Chinese Christianity in ethnic integration, bearing in mind that Christianity is the dominant religion of Canada; and (3) Chinese religious and cultural heritage within Canadian Chinese Christianity. Moreover, this study aims to offer insights into the beliefs and practices of this little-documented section of Canadian Chinese community and therefore to add a new perspective to the study of Chinese immigrants in Canada.

Sociological inquiries into the history, geographic location, and membership of the Chinese Christian churches in Ottawa will be used to survey the relationship among Canadian Chinese Christianity on the one side, and Canadian policies, and Chinese immigration patterns on the other. It will also examine how Chinese cultural heritage variables such as dialects, place of origin, and social classes have influenced the establishment and organizational development of Canadian Chinese Christianity. In addition, it will examine the role of contemporary Canadian Chinese Christian churches in both Chinese community and Canadian society at large in terms of gender, class, and ethnicity.

Two hypotheses will be tested successively. The first hypothesis states that Canadian Chinese Christianity assists cultural adaptation. It provides the Chinese Christians with a set of values based on the belief in Christ, a belief that is identical essentially to the basic beliefs of the host culture. The organisation and operation of the Chinese Christian churches, which mimic those of Canadian mainline churches, help Chinese members to become accustomed to the social governance of the host society, and to detach institutionally from the Chinese community. Compared with other traditional Chinese organisations in Canada, the Chinese churches also allow women a much more visible role. The second hypothesis argues that Canadian Chinese Christianity serves as an "ethnic community" to help the members preserve their Chinese identity. It provides a Chinese environment of language, fellowship and communication. These Chinese churches exist as ethnic minority Chinese churches in Canada due to their Chinese cultural heritage. These Chinese Christian churches feature a familial religious life and a conservative Confucian Christian theology, in which the Christian values are seen as compatible with Chinese values.

In exploring these questions, this dissertation aims at making a contribution to the sociological study of Canadian religion in terms of ethnic minority church and identity construction. Academic research on Canadian Chinese Christianity has been scarce and limited to the missionary work among early Chinese immigrants. Many aspects of Canadian Chinese religious life have also not received

systematic study by scholars. However, there is a rich literature of Canadian ethnic studies and Chinese Canadian studies that can serve as a theoretical background for this study. This dissertation has drawn its theoretical framework from three categories of academic literature: (1) ethnicity and culture in Canada; (2) Religion and ethnicity in Canada, and (3) Chinese Canadian studies. Canadian Chinese Christianity will be explored as a "minority church" in terms of cultural adaptation and ethnic maintenance within the social context of Canada. Hopefully, this study of one of Canada's "visible minorities" will increase our understanding of the nature of religious pluralism in contemporary society. It will clarify the multicultural nature of Canadian society. Is the "ethnic mosaic" a reality and does the policy of multiculturalism encourage ethnic persistence? The findings of this study on Chinese Canadians will reveal something about the nature of their host society and be suggestive of the future of other ethnic minorities in Canada.

The data for this dissertation was collected over a six-year period (1992-1998) from library research, the census of Canada, church archives, and ethnographic fieldwork in the Chinese churches and the Chinese community of Ottawa.

I began my ethnographic fieldwork among the Chinese churches of Ottawa in 1992. My fieldwork research included: (1) extensive participant observation in different church activities including worship service, gathering, meeting, and fellowship; (2) numerous informal conversations and formal interviews with church members,

church leaders, and pastors; and (3) a thorough search and close reading of church documents, including annual reports, weekly programs, meeting records, membership directories, and church publications. Formal interviews were mostly for the purpose of clarification. They were semi-structured, conducted either in Mandarin Chinese or English. Most church documents were in Chinese while some had both Chinese and English versions. Many quotations through this dissertation are my own translations, but I have been careful to avoid distortion in meaning and tone. I did choose participant observation as my main research method for several reasons. First, conservative Chinese church leaders expressed doubts about the usefulness of a sociological study, so that standard survey and questionnaire could not be properly and effectively accepted in their Chinese churches. Second, Chinese people often prefer to please researchers rather than provide correct information when dealing with structured interviews and questionnaire surveys. Third, participant observation enabled me to study Chinese Christian people in everyday contexts rather than under artificial conditions created by myself. Having been a participant observer, I have strive to stay neutral and detached from the Chinese churches and to avoid misunderstanding and misinterpreting these Chinese Christians as much as possible.

During 1992-1993, I taught Chinese language courses at the Ottawa Mandarin School. My students were Chinese children learning Chinese as their heritage language. That teaching job provided me

with a good opportunity to observe the attitude of Chinese Canadians towards Chinese culture and the use of Chinese language in Canadian Chinese families.

This dissertation has four chapters besides an introduction and a final conclusion. The first chapter reviews academic literature in order to set up a theoretical framework and lay out historical backgrounds. It will review the recent theoretical development in ethnic studies in general and ethnic studies on religion in particular within the social context of Canada. It will also review the literature about the nature of Chinese religion and culture and the construction of Chinese identity. Finally, I will present a brief history of Chinese immigration and Chinese organisations in Canada, including a brief history of Canadian Chinese Christianity.

The second chapter makes sociological inquiries into the social history of the nine Chinese Christian churches of Ottawa or National Capital Region in terms of church founding, membership, distribution, gender, class, and church relations with the Chinese community in Ottawa and Canadian society at large. It will examine how Chinese cultural heritage variables such as dialects, regional origins, and social class have influenced the formation and development of the Chinese Christian churches in Ottawa. Then it will examine the relations between Chinese churches and Canadian denominations.

The third chapter explores the role of these Chinese churches in furthering cultural adaptation by way of Christian beliefs, social institution, social governance, and social values. It will survey how these Chinese churches in Ottawa have followed the patterns of Canadian denominations in terms of the use of English, church services, fellowship, church institution, and church administration. Then it will examine the relations between Chinese churches and Canadian denominations. It will study how Christian belief and church activities have helped the Chinese members accept the social values and social governance of Canadian society.

The fourth chapter is about the role of the Chinese churches as "ethnic community" in terms of community development, the use of Chinese language, fellowship, and church management. At first, it will focus on the church development within the context of the Chinese community in the city. Then, it will survey the symbolic elements of Chinese cultures in these Chinese churches in terms of Chinese language, Chinese rituals and cultural symbols. Then, it will also study how Chinese cultural heritages have shaped the church administration in terms of gender status, decision-making, network, and conflict management. Finally, it will explore the relationship between conservative Chinese theology and familial Confucian values within the social context of Canada.

The conclusion summarises my ethnographic findings of the Chinese Christian churches in Ottawa and discusses some theoretical implications in terms of religious identity in a pluralist society.

Chapter One Theoretical and Historical Backgrounds

This chapter will survey the literature with regard to this study of the Chinese Christian churches in Ottawa as ethnic minority churches. It aims to set up a theoretical framework and lay out historical backgrounds. It will review the theoretical development in ethnic studies in general and ethnic studies on religion in particular within the social context of Canada. It will also review the literature about the nature of Chinese religious and cultural tradition and the construction of Chinese identity. This effort is not designed to test past or new theories on ethnicity and culture. Rather, these conceptualizations have informed the present research in its analytical import. Finally, it will present a brief history of Chinese immigration and Chinese community organizations in Canada, including a brief history of Canadian Chinese Christianity.

1.1 Ethnicity and Ethnic relations

Ethnic divisions have been evident throughout human history. Ethnicity manifests itself particularly in situations where peoples with different backgrounds (racial/cultural/religious) come into contact or share the same social institutions or political system. The study of ethnicity (ethnic studies) traditionally was entrusted to anthropology, and 20 years ago ethnicity was widely regarded as a source of old and disappearing cleavages in at least industrial

and democratic societies (Glazer and Moynihan 1963; Fishman 1985). History takes surprising courses. Ethnicity has nowadays become one of the major factors challenging and shaping modern societies. Ethnic studies have also emerged as a relatively new academic area. Scholars in different disciplines have been conducting substantial research in order to explore the foundation and orientation of ethnic groups, along with their social values, which may be seen as their ethnic identity.

There have been great debates since the beginning of the 20th century concerning immigrants and immigrant communities in Canada. Assimilation was the theme until the 1950s. Then ethnic pluralism began to dominate the debates. Scholars have come to acknowledge the reality of ethnic pluralism in contemporary Canadian society, while recognizing tendencies toward homogenization and integration across group boundaries on different levels.

However, few writers in the area of ethnic studies provide clear, unambiguous definitions of the key concepts used. Many terms have tended to be used more or less interchangeably with "ethnic groups," namely, "race," "culture," "subculture," "folk," "people," "nation," "nationality," "minority group," "ethno-religious group" and "ethnic minority." Therefore, I find it necessary to understand the different theoretical and underpinnings of these terms, as well as of the concept of "ethnicity" before I explore how Chinese Canadians act and react toward other ethnic groups, in their host country, Canada.

1.1.1 Race and Ethnicity

Race

The term "race," as initially used by physical anthropologists and biologists, referred to specific groups of people who could be phenotypically distinguished into various categories. The relative distinctive traits were supposed to bear no relationship with culture, personality or any social behaviour. Early classifiers (Simpson and Yinger 1985:31) have apportioned human beings into four races: Negroid or Black, Mongoloid or Yellow, Caucasoid or White, and Archaic White or Australoid. Though "race" is regarded as a basically biological rather than sociological concept, the term has, since its conception, been confusing and frustrating because of the diverse explicit and implicit social meanings attached to it, and because it does not correspond to any concrete social grouping.

Van den Berghe (1967) outlines four of the major definitions attached to the concept "race":

- (1) A sub-species of homo sapiens characterised by selected phenotypical and genotypical traits. This definition was (and still is) used by many physical anthropologists.
- (2) A human group that shares a particular cultural characteristic, e.g., language or religion. The layman attributes this meaning to the concept.
- (3) A species, i.e., the human race. A definition utilized by some sociologists and biologists.
- (4) A human group that defines itself, and/or is defined by other groups, as different from other groups because of innate physical characteristics.

Since that time, it has been recognized that the term "race"

is most confusing since it refers not only to the transmission of biological characteristics, but also to the transmission of cultural values. A biological definition of "race" is in fact questionable, especially in the modern age when physical mixing of populations has become commonplace. It is also a fruitless task to draw a sharp line between cultural groups using the term "race." Groups defined as races or sub-races are primarily cultural rather than physical entities. Thus social scientists have tended to use the term "ethnic group" rather than "race" in their study of ethnic groups. However, the term "race" is still used by the public, from politicians to social workers (especially in the context of African American people and Asian immigrants) and their clients.

Within the Canadian context, in 1906, André Siegfried still referred to English Protestants and to French Catholics as the "two races of Canada," and the Canadian census, up to the 1950s, used "race" to refer to national origin. The term "race" was used in the sense of nation and applied to what was then called "civilized" populations until after World War II. After the war, the word "ethnic" was used as a euphemism for "race," as "race" had become fully loaded with negative political associations. "Ethnic" means "race" now, and sometimes it does not; it often includes a reference to language, it usually includes religion and sometimes it does not.

Anyhow, "visible minorities" in Canada are ethnically distinct from the majority of the population. Because the vast majority of Canadians are of European ancestry with shared physical attributes,

the visible minorities are non-White ethnic groups, such as West Indians and Blacks, Native peoples, East Asians, and South Asians. Ethnic identity such as it has been bestowed upon minorities made them much more easily identifiable by enhancing their visibility. Ethnic consciousness is more likely to arise as visible minority members group together in defensive solidarity and reaction to discrimination and exploitation. Non-white Canadians have been subjected to deportation, segregation, economic exclusion, harassment and discriminatory immigration practices. Therefore the manifestations of ethnic identity among visible minorities in Canada might compare with that of ethnic groups distinguished less by their different cultures than by their physical appearance.

Culture

The term "culture" was first used by Tylor (1871) to refer to "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, laws, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." A comprehensive survey by Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) identified over 200 formal definitions of the term. Generally speaking, culture is man-made and is transmitted not through biological heredity but through learning. Culture has traditionally been divided by anthropologists into material culture (consisting of material objects, such as artifacts, and the ways in which these are used) and non-material culture (beliefs, customs,

languages, social institutions, mentifacts).

While a biological definition of race could be a basis for differentiating human beings, and could be one element in defining ethnicity, most differentiating criteria are clearly cultural. Thus cultural anthropologists have equated cultures with ethnic groups. The slightly more specific term "subculture" has also been used by scholars. Assuming that groups with certain common interests tend to evolve behaviour patterns differing from those of other groups and from the larger society's conventions, anthropologists and sociologists have all employed the term "subculture" to refer to the more or less different folkways and more developed by each group within a society. Hence the term has been applied to a wide variety of sub-groupings within a larger society, including disadvantaged, deviant, and ethnic groups.

Ethnicity

The definition of "ethnicity" has been in great controversy (Isajiw 1974). In *The Thesaurus of Ethnicity*, Fred Riggs (1985) devotes over 50 pages to describing the uses and misuses of the word and proposing a whole set of specialized terms. Generally speaking, there are four perspectives in defining an ethnic group. First of all is the "objectivist." Its proponents argue that an ethnic group is made of people who have common cultural attributes, such as customs or religion, and possibly also physical attributes.

The second school of thought uses a "subjective" framework. Gordon (1964) and Weber (1968) are among the best known advocates of this perspective. They discuss the "shared feelings" of a group of people, the "self ascription," or "ascription by others" as the central characterizing attributes of ethnic groups.

The third perspective seeks to integrate the above two positions (Berry 1958). It defines ethnic groups not only in terms of objective criteria, but adds to these the subjective dimension: an ethnic group is a hereditary group within a society which is defined by its members and by others as a separate people.

The fourth position (Greeley 1974) argues that the crucial characterizing concept is that of descent. Only those groups which have a distinct lifestyle and have passed this on for at least three generations can legitimately be considered an ethnic group.

The *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* provides a list of defining characteristics of "ethnicity" which includes:

- geographic origin;
- migratory status;
- race;
- language and dialect;
- ties that transcend kinship, neighbourhood, and community;
- religious faith, traditions, values, and symbols;
- literature, folklore, and music;
- food preferences;
- settlement and employment patterns;
- special interests with regard to politics in the homeland and the host country;
- institutions that specially serve and maintain the group;
- internal sense of distinctiveness; and, external perception of distinctiveness.

Abu-Laban and Mottershead (1981) propose that the criteria for delineating ethnic minorities should be regarded as variables rather than fixed categories. They hold to the primacy of two variables, namely, (i) a cultural tradition centering around one or more foci of ethnicity (norms, values, language, religion, race, or national origin) and a communal institutional structure; and (ii) a dominant feeling in the group of group consciousness which represents the psychological dimension and involves attraction and loyalty to the ethnic group and identification with it.

The conceptualization of "invention of ethnicity" (Conzen et al 1992) further regards ethnicity as a process of social invention and construction:

Ethnicity is not a collective fiction, but rather a process of construction or invention which incorporates, adapts, and amplifies preexisting communal solidarities, cultural attributes, and historical memories. (Conzen et al. 1992:4-5)

...
Ethnicity is continuously being reinvented in response to changing realities both within the group and the host society. Ethnic group boundaries, for example, must be repeatedly renegotiated, while expressive symbols of ethnicity (ethnic traditions) must be repeatedly reinterpreted. (5)

The conceptualization of "invention of ethnicity" emphasizes the transforming role of immigrants in the host society and the incorporation of elements of ethnic cultures into the changing definition of the host society. It is much more comprehensive and flexible than a one or two-sentence definition, especially in Canada. As Herberg (1989:3) points out, "for there is a variety of

factors that enter into the concept of ethnicity in the Canadian context, and a multiplicity of processes that together appear to comprise ethnicity here."

Nation, Nationality, and Nationalism

The term "nation" originally refers to a people whose members share an intuitive sense of kindredness or sameness, predicated upon a myth of common descent (Smith 1986). Stalin wrote in 1914, "a nation is a historically evolved, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make up manifested in a common culture." The term does not necessarily refer to a political entity, nor does it refer to any collection of people who are conscious of their multiethnic background (for example, the Canadians). However, modern English-language dictionaries (e.g., Webster's) define nation either as (i) "a people connected by ties of blood, language, religion and culture and by a sense of mutual interest" (i.e., in an essentially non-political, ethnic sense), or as (ii) the people in a country united under a single independent government" (i.e., in a political sense). The political fact of nation was actually derived from the conceptualization of nationalism. Similarly, the political and ethnic factors enter into the standard dictionary definitions of "nationality," that is a group of people who have same ethnic origins but do not have their own independent country.

Nationalism is related to the emergence of the modern world since the late 18th century, and it was largely a product of the French Revolution. Nationalism first developed in Western Europe and has since penetrated all regions of the world. Being a social movement, nationalism assumes the principle that national and state boundaries should coincide - that the state should be ethnically homogeneous, and the nation should be politically united (Kohn 1955). In other words, nationalism is the belief that all those who share a common history and culture should be autonomous, united, and distinct in their recognized homeland. Most contemporary nation-states have been formed on the destruction of former multi-ethnic empires and as a result of various manifestations of nationalism in the 20th century. Notwithstanding, very few nation-states could be called mono-ethnic states in any real sense.

The terms "nation" and "nationality" have particular political significance in Canada. Canada is a relatively new nation-state. Besides the Inuit and the Native Indians, who are its first inhabitants, Canada is a land predominantly inhabited by immigrants from various lands, nations, and countries, some of whom came here early, some have come more recently, and others are still coming. Canadian nationalism has been under construction with its various stages marked by strong British colonial influence, biculturalism, and multiculturalism. The voice of "One country, Two nations" from the French Canadians shapes in depth their demand for sovereignty and independence in Quebec. The term "nationality" may be applied

by the Federal government to the two founding groups (the British and French) of Canada, as their administrative rights and duties are recognized in the constitution. The other ethnic groups are referred to by the two founding groups as "ethnic minority groups," which implies that these groups have been assimilated into the British and French social institutions but they have not yet been fully culturally integrated into Canadian society as nation, i.e., they are not true Canadians.

Minority

American sociologist Louis Wirth (1945) first introduced the concept "minority" as an analytical tool for the study of ethnic groups in North America. He defined a minority as:

a group of people who, because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment and who therefore regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination. (1945:347)

This definition centres on the existence of minority's subjective feelings and their subordinate status in the society.

Theodorson (1968) further proposes that a minority can be:

any recognizable racial, religious, or ethnic group in a community that suffers some disadvantage due to prejudice or discrimination.... This term, as commonly used, is not a technical term, and indeed it is often used to refer to categories of people rather than groups, and sometimes to majorities rather than minorities.... On the other hand, a group which is privileged or not discriminated against but which is a numerical minority would rarely be called a minority group. Therefore, as the term is often used,

a minority group need be neither a minority nor a group, so long as it refers to a category of people who can be identified by a sizable segment of the population as objects for prejudice and discrimination.

Van Amersfort (1978:233) has further proposed that the concept of minority has three constituent properties:

- (1) a continuous collectivity within the population of a state,
- (2) a numerical position that excludes it from taking effective part in the political process,
- (3) an objective disadvantageous position in the sense that its members do not participate to the same degree as the majority population in the legal system, educational system, labour market and the housing market.

This definition indicates the existence of one dominant group and, any number of minority groups in existence at any one time. The dominant group has the greatest power in the society and has the highest social status of all groups. Among those groups labelled "minority," one can theoretically establish a hierarchy (so that some have more power than others). Each group (individually, and in some instances collectively) has less power than the dominant one.

The British North America Act of 1867 gave the two founding groups (the British and French) of Canada charter group status. The act legalized the claims of the two original migrating groups for such historically established privileges as the perpetuation of their separate languages and cultures. The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1970) continued to maintain their charter group status, and since then the repatriated constitution has entrenched these particular rights. Though legally of equal

status, the French have been only junior partners in the alliance with the British, and they came to rely on regional segregation and their institutions and culture as a means of counteracting British dominance. The dominance of the charter groups has never been challenged because of natural increase among the French and the continuing high level of British immigration. The French made up almost one-third of the Canadian population (although that figure had declined to 23 percent by 1991), while the British have been the largest ethnic group, though their proportion has steadily been dropping from over one-half to 28 percent by 1991.

In *The Vertical Mosaic* (1965), John Porter describes Canada as an "ethnic mosaic" with vast differentiations and stratifications. He describes the position to which ethnic groups are admitted by the charter groups and at which they are allowed to function in the power structure of a society as "entrance status." For most ethnic groups in Canada, this position is characterized with low-status occupational roles and a subjection to the assimilation processes laid down by the charter groups. The Chinese immigrants, for instance, originally entered Canada as "cheap labour" for mining and railway construction. Some groups, such as German, Dutch, and Jewish, entered Canada earlier than many of the others and they could be considered older entrance status groups. Many of these old immigrants have moved out of an entrance status into higher income, educational, and occupational status than any of the other groups, including the charter groups. However, the political and economic

power elite is still largely British, while the French dominate the political structure in Quebec.

1.1.2 Ethnic Relations

Ethnic integration may be defined as a process in which ethnic groups move their loyalties, expectations and political activities toward a new centre, whose institutions assume sovereignty over and responsibility for the ethnic groups (Haas 1958:16). Theoretically ethnic integration may occur among some equal ethnic groups, but it in fact involves majority-minority situations.

Ethnic integration may be generally divided into three types: assimilation, accommodation, and pluralism. Assimilation refers to the situation in which the members of minority groups have absorbed the features of the dominant group to the exclusion of their own and become indistinguishable from the members of the majority. Accommodation means that minority groups accept some features from the majority group, such as language or the style of clothing, while still maintaining many elements of their traditional cultures and different degrees of ethnic identity. Pluralism means that minority groups retain their distinct features, presumably with the full approval of the majority group.

Sociologists in America and Canada have unceasingly defined and redefined these three terms, because most residents in North America are descendants of immigrants who came relatively recently.

They have faced enormous ethnic change in a relatively short period of time. Early sociologists of the Chicago School like Robert Park, Louis Wirth, and William Thomas did considerable research on race and ethnic relations in North America (Parsons 1987). Subsequently, many theories have been developed to explain what will happen to ethnic groups in industrial North American societies.

Assimilation: Melting Pot and Anglo-Conformity in North America

Robert Park (1950) first introduced the "race relations cycle" of assimilation into the context of North America. He suggested that immigrants came into contact with the new society and either took the route of least resistance (contact, accommodation, and fusion) or a more circuitous route (contact, conflict, competition, accommodation, and fusion). Whereas the latter route could take longer and could entail considerable resistance on the part of the immigrant, the end result would be the same - the loss of a distinctive ethnic identity.

Sociologists subsequent to Park have endeavoured to refine and improve on his work. In *The Assimilation in American Life* (1964), Milton Gordon outlined seven stages and types of assimilation:

- (1) cultural or behavioral assimilation or acculturation involving a change of minority cultural patterns to those of the host society;
- (2) structural assimilation, large-scale minority entrance into cliques, clubs, and institutions of the host society, on a primary level;

- (3) marital assimilation, large-scale inter-marriage with host society;
- (4) identificational assimilation, the development of a sense of peoplehood based exclusively on the host society;
- (5) attitude reactional assimilation, the absence of prejudice;
- (6) behaviour receptional assimilation, the absence of discrimination;
- (7) civic assimilation, the absence of value and power conflict. (1964:71)

The major distinction produced by Gordon was that between cultural and structural assimilation. Cultural assimilation includes the incoming group's acceptance of the modes of religion, language, dress, and other cultural characteristics of the host society. Structural assimilation concerns the degree to which immigrants enter the social institutions of the society and the degree to which they are accepted into these institutions by the majority. Assimilation may also occur more readily in economic, political, and educational institutions than in the areas of religion, family, and recreation. Once structural assimilation is far advanced, all other types of assimilation will naturally follow.

Gordon's major contribution is his complex multidimensional and multilineal view of the assimilation process. Though Gordon was primarily concerned with assimilation, he did not negate pluralist expression of ethnicity. His seven types of assimilation have been a general framework for understanding assimilation and have had many interesting applications (Frideres 1993; Henry et al. 1995).

Gordon suggests that the changing directions of assimilation in America are toward three models, namely Anglo-conformity, the

melting pot, and the cultural pluralism:

The "Anglo-conformity" theory demanded the complete renunciation of the immigrant's ancestral culture in favour of the behaviour and values of the Anglo-Saxon core group; the "melting pot" idea envisaged a biological merger of the Anglo-Saxon peoples with other immigrant groups and a blending of their respective cultures into a new indigenous American type; and "cultural pluralism" postulated the preservation of the communal life and significant portions of the culture of the later immigrant groups within the context of American citizenship and political and economic integration into American society. (1964:85)

[Anglo-conformity] may be used to cover a variety of viewpoints about assimilation and immigration. All have as a central assumption the desirability of maintaining English institutions..., the English language, and English-oriented cultural patterns as dominant and standard in American life (1964:98).

Both the Anglo-conformity and the melting-pot models exist in the Canadian public to a considerable extent. Anglo-conformity was the common theme held by the dominant group at least until after World War II. Supporters of this position (Palmer 1976) argued that it was the obligation of the new immigrants to conform to the dominant British institutional structures of Canadian society. If immigrants did not (or would not) do so, they should be excluded from Canadian society (or not allowed entrance into Canada). Thus a preferential ordering of immigrant groups emerged. The groups that were defined as most likely to assimilate and would be able to do so the easiest would be allowed into Canada; those unlikely to assimilate (by the dominant group's definition) were excluded. The end result of such a rank order system put British and American as the most desirable, Chinese and Blacks as the least preferable. Even

nowadays, the dominant sector of Canadian society has still felt that assimilation is a preferred and acceptable response by immigrants (Martin 1978).

In the first half of the 20th century, assimilation became an ideological norm as well as a scholarly theme in North America. The melting-pot assimilation as a macro theory may explain a general process for some ethnic groups; but it does not take into account the multidimensions of cultural change, nor does it sufficiently take into account the fact that the distinctiveness of all groups may not disappear.

Accommodation

While some sociologists like Gordon (1964) have considered accommodation to be essentially the initial stage of assimilation, other scholars have come to distinguish the two terms.

Shibutani and Kwan (1965) point out that minority cultures can change without necessarily becoming assimilated:

The concept of acculturation refers to the process of acquiring the culture of another ethnic group. This is the initial step in the breakdown of ethnocentrism. (470)

.....

Acculturation may take place without assimilation, minority groups may alter their culture but still retain consciousness of kind. (479)

Shibutani and Kwan regard accommodation as the outcome of conflict and competition, the establishment of relatively stable patterns of concerted action, involving social isolation despite

physical proximity of groups (1965:119, 263, 280).

This formulation recognizes change and maintains that identity can be shifted. It focuses on the dynamics of change that influence the development of group identities. It also suggests that some groups may change more than others and implies that the outcome may be a pluralist mixture differing from the melting-pot and Anglo-conformity targets.

North American ethnic groups change over time but those that can shift from traditional identities to new interest foci may maintain their distinct identities.

Ethnic Mosaic: Pluralism and Multiculturalism

Whereas advocates of the melting-pot and Anglo-conformity assume that minorities will assimilate and lose their separate identities, champions of ethnic pluralism focus on the alternative options of solidarity and identity that are available to minorities in pluralistic societies (Berry and Laponce 1994:3-16). Pluralism is viewed as an arrangement in which distinct groups live side by side in relatively harmonious coexistence. Cultural pluralism will concern various ethnic groups that over time maintain their own unique identities.

Scholars have approached ethnic pluralism from two general perspectives. On the one hand, many scholars have focused on the multidimensional ethnic identity of different ethnic groups in

pluralistic societies. They have emphasized ethnic identity as a process of construction in response to changing realities both within the group and the host society. Ethnic group boundaries are repeatedly renegotiated, and expressive symbols of ethnicity are repeatedly reinterpreted (Breton 1991). Ethnic identity includes a multiplicity of factors, among them language use, religious practice, endogamy, parochial education, choice of in-group friends, use of ethnic media, and participation in ethnic voluntary organizations (Ishwaren 1980, Weinfeld et al. 1981, de Vries 1988, Driedger 1989, Breton et al. 1990, Friesen 1993). Because the individuals and ethnic groups vary in the extent to which they emphasize various identity factors, researchers need to sort out the different factors and the patterns or profiles of ethnic identity. Thus ethnic identification will survey a multi-factor structure to distinguish the components that various individuals and groups stress (Weinfeld 1994).

Another perspective on studying pluralism is conflict theory. Conflict theory views society as a mixture of people living side by side, but separately within the same political unit. Each group has its own language, religion, and view of reality. Some unifying thread must tie these separate units together. The socio-economic structures of the parties will provide the unifying force. Conflict theory, though concerned with institutions and structures, focuses on the process of ethnic group relations. Since conflict theory suggests the meeting of groups with different values and norms, it

includes the processes of competition, confrontation, and a dialectic of opposites. Thus scholars of conflict theory pursue ethnic identity in stratification terms and expect that class and ethnic strata will inevitably be in conflict. John Jackson (1975) suggests that some ethnic groups might remain very much in a state of conflict without advancing to competition, accommodation, and eventual fusion. Hechter (1978) suggests that minorities tend to be at the periphery of the industrial power centre and tend to be exploited by those in power; and class distinctions emerge, and polarities for conflict develop. Bonacich (1972) claims that ethnic solidarity is a derivative of the dual labour market exploitation that arises when immigrants enter lower-paying jobs that others are reluctant to do and, as a result, have little opportunity for advancement. Wiley (1967) suggests that minorities who remain within the ethnic sub-culture will have limited opportunities to achieve socio-economic mobility.

Multiculturalism has developed as a feature of Canadian social structure, a social ideology, and a social policy in Canada (Isajiw 1975:1). The foundation for Canada's ethnic mosaic is, presumably, the biculturalism of its charter groups. Anglo-conformity failed in its most radical manifestations after the World War II. Then the melting pot theory emerged as a new ideology. This ideology called for developing a new Canadian culture rather than a continuation of a slightly modified British culture (Jaenen 1971:11). However, the melting pot and Anglo-conformity theories have not been successful

in explaining the ethnic integration of many ethnic groups, such as the French, Italians, and Asians in Canada. The non-British groups were too numerous, and they were settled in homogenous communities in many cases. Moreover, the host society was unable and unprepared to absorb so large and so diverse a segment of the population. The general goals stressed by the larger society as a whole has shifted from assimilation into accommodation. Multiculturalism became Canadian official policy in the 1970s, which guaranteed that every ethnic group would have the right to preserve and develop its own culture and values within the Canadian context. Since then ethnic persistence has been significantly encouraged in Canada. However, the pressure towards "Anglo-conformity" is still a dominant social reality of Canada, as Dahlie and Fernando argue:

Although the locus of power has always been with the "charter groups" (vis-a-vis all other incoming groups) the relationship between the two has been asymmetrical with the British dominant and the French disadvantaged. An important consequence of British dominance is that Angloceltic institutions and ways of thinking have come to constitute the major components of Canadian norms, the ethos with "other" ethnic groups, including the original habitants of this land, are supposed to assume in the process of becoming truly Canadian. (1981:1)

Therefore, multiculturalism and Anglo-conformity are two primary modes shaping the identity construction of Canadian ethnic groups, especially the visible ethnic minorities.

1.1.3 Ethnic Studies in Canada

In the past twenty years, more and more scholars have been increasingly interested in the "ethnic mosaic" of Canadian society. They have entered the domain of ethnicity and have investigated immigration histories of ethnic groups, multicultural policies, inter-ethnic relations, group boundary maintenance mechanisms, and problems of racism (Driedger ed., 1987). There has been a high degree of inter-disciplinary cross-fertilization of ideas and theories in the field of Canadian ethnic studies.

The two major theoretical perspectives in Canadian ethnic studies have been the assimilationist and the pluralist modes (Anderson and Frideres 1981). The assimilationist view was an import from America, partly inspired by the "melting pot" ideology (Herberg 1989). The pluralist framework was transported from a colonialist and cultural relativist ideology, supplemented by the prevalent notion in Canada of the two "founding nations"; and it eventually gave rise to a multicultural policy in Canada. The assimilationist view eventually gave way to the pluralist or multiculturalist model where the survival of ethnic groups in Canada came to be seen as a function of the "cultural vitality" of the groups in question, their "institutional completeness" and their degree of "ethnic enclosure" (Breton et al 1990).

Breton (1964) began multi-group comparative study of ethnic identity in Canada and proposed the concept of "institutional

completeness", which has had widespread applications. He cast ethnic diversity as a continuum, ranging from ethnicity virtually without any organizations to those groups whose organizations represented every possible sphere of ethnic group life. He argued that these organizations will parallel those of the wider extra-ethnic community that serve the public at large, and that different organizations have evolved at different times to meet the varying types of immigrants. Breton developed the concept by distinguishing the degrees of "social enclosure" and "compartmentalization" that exist in each ethnic group. "Enclosure" refers to: 1) the existence of social boundaries between ethno-racial-religious groups and; 2) the mechanisms used by a group to maintain these intergroup boundaries. "Compartmentalization" means the related structure of formal institutional organizations; that is, the degree to which each ethnic group in a particular location has developed a set of institutions of its own paralleling those in the wider city outside the ethnic community. This concept includes such factors as ethnic sub-economies, churches, media, education and cultural facilities, and other organizations to serve the members of the ethnic group.

Herberg (1989) further pursues the notion of institutional completeness and takes other elements into consideration in his analysis of ethnic adaptation. He incorporates such variables as demographic diversity, number of ethnic organizations, functions of such organizations, how they are financed, what stage an ethnic organization is at and how long it has existed. Residential

concentration, ethnic institutions for religion, education, marriage governance, and social and recreational aspects are also factors affecting ethnic cohesion and adaptation.

Isajiw (1975) has characterized the process of ethnic group identity maintenance in Canada as having three phases. The first is the transplantation of the culture via immigration to Canada. The second involves the rejection of this culture by the immigrants' children. The third phase, rediscovery, means a renewed concern with one's ethnic identity.

Driedger (1987) puts ethnic group adaptation into two stages: first involving the immigration stage, then an undifferentiated post-immigrant period. In the first stage, immigrants sought to establish their identity through language retention, endogamy, voluntary organizations and the establishment of social distance from other ethnicities. In the second phase, the ethnic group moves beyond the mere maintenance of their culture.

Anderson and Frideres (1981) have argued for an examination of majority-minority relationships in the study of ethnic group survival, and have proposed that the survival of ethnic groups must deal with the varying responses of ethnic minorities to dominant social control mechanism.

Bolaria and Li (1988) have followed a political paradigm in examining racial oppression, specially of the Chinese, in Canada. Using primarily census data and delineating structural inequalities of the capitalist system and the labour market, they demonstrate the

effects of these factors on the exploitation of the immigrant labour. They are concerned with processes at the macro level and they look at ethnicity and ethnic groups from the apex of the system, i.e. from the top downward.

Dashefsky (1975) develops a fourfold model of ethnic identity that includes two sociological perspectives--the sociocultural and interactionist--and two psychological approaches--group dynamicist and psychoanalytic--in the study of ethnic identity. The sociocultural perspective assumes that individual behaviour is shaped by, and occurs within, social and cultural systems. The social system tends to define the relationships among individuals within the structure, and the cultural system defines the mutual expectations that individuals share and the norms they hold. The cultural and social system is the result of accumulated historical experiences; individual behaviour is shaped within this context. Thus the study of human behaviour is more important than the study of attitudes, perceptions and self-conception. The interactionalist perspective focuses on the symbolic dimensions of human behaviour. It is the ability to use symbols in a complex way that makes human beings distinctive. In this way they define themselves in relationship to other persons and situations. It is therefore to preserve ethnic identity that groups of individuals share symbols and their meanings and values in what we call group identification. Schools, religious institutions, and newspapers can symbolically reinforce ethnic identification. Both the sociocultural and interactionalist views

are very useful in exploring the identity of urbanites such as the Chinese and Japanese: visible minorities who have come to Canada more recently.

Hans Mol (1985) has proposed that religion and the process of sacralization are ideological and symbolic interactionist forms of identity.

Transnationalism has a profound impact upon ethnic identity of contemporary international migrants as well (Schiller et al 1992). Many people are becoming transnational migrants or "transmigrants" rather than immigrants during the process of globalization. They frequently establish strong social networks linking their country of origin, their country of settlement, and sometimes extending the network to several other countries. Instead of being "uprooted" from the old world and "replanted" permanently in the new world, they are migrating back and forth between the host society and the original country. Political risk, social stability and economic opportunity in the original and host countries are factors swinging these transmigrants from one place to another. Modern technologies of communication and transportation make them very easy to sustain transnational links. For example, since the 1980s, many Hong Kong Chinese have emigrated to North America in fear of possible changes with Hong Kong's return to the People's Republic of China in 1997. Among those Hong Kong Chinese are many so-called "astronauts" (*taikongren*), who frequently fly back and forth between Hong Kong (for business or employment) and the place of settlement. As Ming

K. Chan and Gerard A. Postiglione (1994) put it:

Hong Kong emigrants are the Asia-Pacific region's most mobile group and a dynamic force for the development of East Asia through their very extensive personal and institutional networking. (in Skeldon 1994:xv-xvi)

For these modern transmigrants, complete assimilation into the host society is both impossible and undesirable. Their traditional cultural and ethnic identities are socio-cultural capitals which can be used for socio-economic benefits. These modern transmigrants may become more Canadianized in some dimensions of their social and cultural life as they stay longer in Canada. This, however, does not necessarily weaken or replace their attachment to the traditional culture and social networks. Modern communication technologies including the Internet enable new Chinese immigrants to stay in intimate touch with their original lands, slowing down their integration or assimilation into the mainstream society of Canada.

These new conceptualizations of immigration and ethnic studies indicate an emerging perspective of adaptation. Canada presents new immigrants with diverse sub-societies and plural value systems. Upon arrival, immigrants face the pressure to make their own choices of adaptation. Some immigrants may have more options than others. When there are no desirable pre-existing groups, the new immigrants may create their own sub-societies. Meanwhile, ethnicization and racialization are processes of homogenization. Immigrants adapt, change or integrate, not into Canadian society, but into various sub-societies within Canadian multiculturalism.

Identity construction within the multicultural context becomes extremely complicated. It is not necessarily an either-or choice between Canadian identity and old national/ethnic identity. Most immigrants may desire for sub-group belonging or sub-group identity while interacting with other Canadians. Besides the more visible ethnic and racial identities, new immigrants may also construct new social, political, and religious identities. These multiple identities may not easily find a fit into any single sub-society. Multiple identification with several and overlapping sub-societies is not rare. This multiple identity in overlapping sub-societies is a complex phenomenon. Immigrants reinforce the pluralism by joining or creating sub-societies; yet they may not form distinct groups completely separate and independent from other groupings.

The new reality and new perceptions show that there is no complete "structural assimilation" as proposed by Gordon (1964); nor is there the mere ethnic pluralism as suggested by some scholars in the past. The multiple identification and networking of the immigrants are knitting a social fabric with threads weaving through the networks of several sub-societies. Canadian identity takes effect as immigrants join the processes of ethnicization and other groupings. However, the traditional culture of the old country will not disappear soon, and the original national and ethnic identity will not easily be replaced by a Canadian identity. Within the integrated world system, the country of origin, the globalization of world market, and the host country all are players in influencing

the identity construction of contemporary immigrants. Therefore a desirable pattern of identity construction may be a multicultural and multi-dimensional identity.

1.2 Religion and Ethnic Studies in Canada

It is widely recognized that religion and ethnicity are closely related phenomena in North America. In fact the story of religion in the New World has been largely shaped by patterns of immigration and the establishment of different ethnic traditions (Handy 1977). In the past several decades certain academic progress has been made toward understanding the relationship of traditional religion and ethnicity, but virtually little study has been done about ethnicity and religion among religious convert groups. There is a significant need to fill this gap since religious converts among immigrants have visibly increased in Canadian society.

The majority of the Chinese Christians in Canada are adult converts from non-Christian backgrounds. Christian identity has been historically at odds with traditional Chinese identity. Does a Chinese Christian church help or hinder assimilation of the Chinese converts into Canadian society? Does the ethnic church of a convert group function as an adaptation agency or a bastion for preserving traditional culture of the original country?

There have been little study about these questions about religious convert groups. However, the study of new religious

convert groups may learn from the studies of European immigrant churches and other "transplanted" religious organizations in North America. In this chapter, I will briefly review the religious context in Canada, survey the literature about the relationship of religion and ethnicity, and summarize studies about religion and ethnicity concerning European immigrant churches within the context of North America. Based on the literature reviewed in this and the previous chapters, I propose that ethnic minority churches in Canada, even with a majority of converts, may have dual functions both facilitating cultural adaptation and preserving traditional culture and ethnic cohesion.

1.2.1 Religious Context in Canada

Canada has been a country with a rather homogeneous religious and predominantly Christian population. Due to the fact that the two "founding" groups (the English and French) of Canada form the vast majority of the country, Protestants and Catholics constitute more than 80 percent of the population; and most Protestants belong to several mainline churches. Other religious groups only form a very small percentage of the population. The Canadian religious mosaic represents the religious traditions of the immigrants who have mostly come from Europe. During the 20th century, along with the change in Canadian immigration patterns and populations, the Protestants have been dropping in percentage of the population as

also in prestige, and the Catholics have been gaining in marginal affiliation but losing in deeper signs of commitment. The census figures still point to a continuing Canadian religious pattern. In 1981, the Catholics account for 47 percent of the population, the Protestants 41 percent (Mainline 32 percent, and Conservative seven percent) and the non-affiliated seven percent (Bibby 1987:48).

Mainline Protestantism

Until the end of the 19th century, the Protestants in Canada enjoyed a majority status in terms of population and socio-economic power. In addition, mainline Protestants were especially strong in economic power and political prominence, as well as numbers. The mainline Protestants in Canada include members of what now are the Anglican, Presbyterian, and United churches. The Anglican Church of Canada used to be called the Church of England in Canada until 1955; the Presbyterians were affiliated with the Church of Scotland. The Church of England and the Church of Scotland were to this day official state-supported churches, and this undoubtedly enhanced the status of their Canadian affiliates. The United Church of Canada is the result of the 1925 union of two-thirds of Canada's Presbyterians, the vast majority of its Methodists and its smaller population of Congregationalists. Consequently, the United Church has become the largest Protestant denomination in Canada.

Mainline Protestants may also include the Lutherans. Lutherans mainly came from countries in Europe. Although they were considered respectable by other mainline Protestants, Lutherans were set apart somewhat, due to their ethnicity until recent decades - especially in the context of the two world wars. Baptists are sometimes counted part of mainline Protestants but, especially in the 20th century, they have tended to be more evangelical and conservative in doctrine. They are treated here under the heading, "Conservative Protestantism."

Mainline Protestant churches are mainly represented among Canadians of British origin. Until the second World War, mainline Protestant Canadians felt that they were an important part of the British Empire. In contrast, the majority of Catholics were of French or Irish background and saw the British Empire as the agent of their subjugation. Both French and Irish, however, did accept the British rule. Until the 1970s, Christianity enjoyed the privilege of a state religion in Canada (Wearing 1988:65).

Recent years have seen the decline of mainline Protestantism. The proportion of mainline Protestantism in Canada plunged to 32 percent in 1981 from 50 percent in 1901. The reasons for this include a somewhat lower birth-rate for Protestants than for members of some other religious traditions (Roof and McKinney 1987:161); a change in immigration patterns away from Britain and parts of central and northern Europe, which have a high percentage of Protestants; and the rising percentage of "nones" (people who report

no religious affiliation). In addition, along with other mainline denominations, Protestantism appears to be experiencing a decline in the commitment of its members. It is clear that many people who report a mainline identification to census-takers or sociologists are actually members in name only. They may be conceived of as marginal or cultural affiliates of their tradition but hardly as serious or committed members. Reginald W. Bibby (1987) has demonstrated that marginal affiliates have grown more numerous than people who define themselves as "committed" members of a religious tradition (roughly 40 percent to 50 percent).

Roman Catholicism

Until the end of the 19th century, the Catholics had been a strong minority mainly among status-deficient French Canadians. Catholic affiliation has been increasing in Canada during the 20th century. In 60 years, the proportion of Catholics in Canada rose from 39 percent in 1921 to 47 percent in the 1981 population. The Catholics have become the largest religious group in Canada.

In addition, Catholics have also been enjoying a process of status enhancement over the past 35 years or so. This process has been most noticeable among Catholics in Quebec. In the rest of Canada, this process of status enhancement has had a lot to do with the fact that a large part of the Catholic population originally came to do hard physical labour. Moreover, Catholics were a minority

(except for Quebec), and anti-Catholic feeling existed to some degree in Canada. Thus educational levels for Catholics tended to be lower than for mainline Protestants and the status of Catholics tended to be somewhat depressed. Since the 1960s, the Catholic population has been increasing and anti-Catholic feeling is lower than it was before; Catholics have increasingly taken hold of opportunities in the education system. The result has been a marked rise in overall status (Greeley 1976).

However, these gains in affiliation and status-enhancement have come about at the same time when Catholic institutions in Quebec have been largely "laicized" or "secularized" as part of the process of the "quiet revolution" in the 1960s. Moreover, the disregard of the hierarchy has grown and affiliation has become increasingly nominal. Catholic regular attendance at mass has declined from close to 90 percent in the 1950s to less than half at today. Protestants have always had lower attendance figures, but the gap between Protestant and Catholic attendance has declined from a high of 50 percent to 10 percent less (Bibby 1987:17).

Catholics seem to pay less attention in their attitudes and behaviour to the edicts of the hierarchy. Here, the Catholic church in Canada seems to be following the denominational pattern. Catholicism has been a non-democratic hierarchical structure whose head, the Pope, claims to be infallible in pronouncements on faith and morals. The church traditionally claims that its truth is both objective and universal, and that this truth is defined at the top.

This church organization differs from some Protestant churches that accept the doctrine of the "priesthood of all believers," according to which the individual believer enjoys a direct relationship with God through personal reading, meditation and experience without the mediation of a hierarchy. In theory, a Catholic must accept the official teachings of the church. However, today there is often a considerable gap between official attitudes and those of the lay member. Polls have shown that a majority of the Catholic laity support such ideas as a married clergy, the use of artificial birth control, the granting of more power to the laity and more democracy in church management, and the admission of women to ordination.

Conservative Protestantism

In Canada, Conservative Protestant denominations account for only seven percent of the population, a figure that has been more or less stable over several decades (Bibby 1987:28).

Nevertheless, the felt presence of Conservative Protestantism in Canada is much greater than their numbers would suggest. They tend to be more unified in belief, to enjoy church services more and to be greater contributors of money to the faith than mainline Protestants. In recent years, Conservative Protestant leaders have made full use of television campaigns in pursuing an aggressive strategy of mission.

The major Canadian Conservative Protestant groups belong to the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada (EFC). They include some Baptist and Mennonite groups, Pentecostal, the Salvation Army, Christian and Missionary Alliance churches, Christian Reformed churches, Free Methodists, the Church of the Nazarene and so on. One major difference between these groups lies in their acceptance or rejection of Charismatic "gifts" such as "speaking in tongues."

Conservative Protestantism is generally characterized by either a dramatic "crisis" conversion that occurs at one specific point in a person's life (being "born again") or by a conscious decision as an adult (and not simply by means of infant baptism or confirmation as an adolescent); it is further characterized by a literal or conservative reading of the Bible as the direct record of God's messages to humankind (as opposed to more liberal readings of the Bible as the record of humankind's yearning to understand God), and by a heightened sense of supernaturalism (as evidenced by a lively belief in miracles, in the supernatural elements of the Bible and in the demonic; and by an expectation of apocalyptic events at the anticipated coming of the End Times).

Conservative Protestantism offers stronger answers to people than mainline churches do. First, it offers a clearer sense of identity. The prevailing ethos of society is referred to by Conservative Protestants as "secular humanism." Since Conservative Protestants maintain a sense of "we" and "they" when they look at the overall culture, their sense of identity is often stronger than

that of mainline Christians who draw no such firm distinction.

Second, Conservative Protestants are provided with more opportunities to experience religion as a direct and personal force. With the experience of personal conversion often comes a clear sense of a change in one's life. Some churches encourage other spiritual phenomena such as speaking in tongues. The mainline churches have made some efforts to increase lay participation, but many mainline services are still marked by clerical dominance.

Finally, Conservative Protestants have a very clear sense that the Bible will answer any conceivable problem. They rely on a "proof-text" method of referring to specific verses without necessarily taking the entire context into account or concerning themselves with other verses that may cause conflict. For many people, the Conservative Protestants' authority is easy to accept because it removes all doubt.

Religious Nones

Religious "nones" refer to those that are unaffiliated with any religious group. The percentage of religious nones in the Canadian population has dramatically increased since the 1960s. Up until the 1971 census, respondents were not given the option of "no religion" even though they could volunteer such a response. In 1921, only 0.25 percent of Canadians reported "no religion," a figure that rose to 0.52 percent by 1961. In 1971, when the category was first

offered, 4.4 percent of Canadians so responded, as did 7.4 percent in 1981. The figure of "no religion" jumped to 12 percent in 1991.

What is not well recognized, however, is what these "no religion" figures actually mean. We should look at the data with the consideration of religious differences. From a Judeo-Christian perspective, to be religious indicates a commitment to a specific organization, and accordingly the unaffiliated mean those who do not believe in any religions. Peoples from other cultures, however, have different conceptions of religion and practice their religions differently. To be religious without affiliation to an organization is popular in certain non-Western traditions. For example, with a rich religious tradition, lay Chinese usually do not belong to an institutional religion. Therefore the question of religion in Census Canada is a difficult and misleading one for the Chinese Canadians to answer, and they have to put themselves under the category of "no religion." The same situations may exist for other Asian Canadians, such as the Japanese and Vietnamese. Misreading of the data may cause wrong conclusions about minority cultures, as Herberg (1989:158) concludes from the data that most Chinese Canadians do not believe in any religion. The emerging figures of "no religion" after the 1960s actually reflect the rapid rise of Asian Canadian populations during the same period.

Moreover, to be religious without any commitment to a specific organization is not a phenomenon limited to some minority groups, but also is becoming an emerging trend in contemporary Canadian

society. Jean E. Veevers and Ellen M. Gee (1988:17) suggest that the unaffiliated category should include not only those who disavow any religious affiliation, but also those who "report a religious identification but never attend religious services except for ceremonial occasions such as weddings, funerals, and baptisms" . This expanded category of the unaffiliated includes about 30 per cent of data from the General Social Survey of Statistics Canada in 1985. Bibby's surveys reveal that only 16 percent of the national sample say that they highly enjoy attending church services (1987:107). If the moderates with their very low involvement were added to the ranks of the unaffiliated, then it could be argued that those "meaningfully attached" are in the minority. Modern individualism encourages avoidance of organized religion, a stronger emphasis on self than encouraged in traditional religion and an emphasis on personal religious experience that is lacking in most mainline churches. The outcome may be ever-weakening levels of religious knowledge throughout all traditions.

Quiet Revolution and Secularization of Canadian Society

Canada has been undergoing a quiet revolution in religion since the 1960s. Until the 1960s, the older Protestant churches and the Roman Catholic church had a great deal of power and prestige in Canadian society. Since about 1965, that power and prestige of the churches have slipped away as organized religion, religious

commitment and religious experience have become separable from each other, and as increased individualism and secularization have diminished the appeal of traditional religiosity.

Secularization is seen as a process in which religion has decreasing importance for societies, individuals and even the religious groups themselves in modern societies. Institutionally, secularization leads to a reduction in the areas of life over which religion has authority. Organizationally, over time, religious groups move in the direction of conformity to the secular world. For individuals, there is a secularization of consciousness. What happens is viewed as largely the product of human and physical factors rather than the will of God. The secularization advocates, such as Peter Berger (1967), Thomas Luckmann (1967), and Bryan Wilson (1985), have observed the decline of Christianity's impact on individuals, cultures, and religious groups themselves.

However, some observers like Andrew Greeley (1972) assert that religion's place has remained fairly constant. Talcott Parsons (1963) argued that Christianity continues to play an important role in the present Western world, notably in the United States, because Christianity has been institutionalized and privatized. Religious values, such as tolerance and decency, have been institutionalized. The highly personal expressions of religion are consistent with both "the individualistic principle inherent in Christianity" and the emphasis on differentiation in modern societies (1963:296).

Bibby (1987, 1993) proposes that religion is experiencing a

"selective consumption" or "fragmentation" in modern societies. Modernization is characterized by "selective consumption." Faced with the difficulty of playing out a wide variety of roles, people frequently find it easier to compartmentalize at least some part of life, rather than to thread them together using something like a life-integrating religious faith. They continue to identify with established religious traditions, selectively adopt some beliefs, practices and teachings, and occasionally turn to groups for specialized professional services - a baptism, a wedding, and a funeral. Consumer-oriented as they are, many supplement the items available from their core religious traditions with fragments from other systems. They are into fragments, not systems, into consumption rather than commitment. Canada is no exception.

Many traditional institutionalized religions have responded by incorporating modern values into their belief systems. For example, several churches have redefined their attitudes towards sexuality. This adaptability is to ensure they will not disappear from the scene. In contrast, the conservative bodies have made great efforts to fulfil basic human needs - such as the needs for certainty and community. They show no sign of disappearance.

1.2.2 Religion and Ethnicity in Canada

The relationship between religion and ethnicity varies among different individuals and different groups. Sociologists have long

recognized the interrelated functions of religion and ethnicity. The study of religious organizations developed out of the church-sect typology originally formulated by Weber and Troeltsch (Roberts 1984). Since the typology began to be utilized in the study of religion in North America (Niebuhr 1929, Dawson 1936, Clark 1948), there have been many attempts to refine the categories of analysis.

Andrew Greeley (1971:42) first identified three types of relations of religion and ethnicity in North America. First, there are some religious people who do not hold an ethnic identity. Second, there are some people who have an ethnic identity but not religions; finally, religion and ethnicity are intertwined in many cases.

Phillip Hammond and Kee Warner (1993) further present a typology for the "intertwining relationship" of religion and ethnicity. The first pattern is "ethnic fusion," in which ethnicity equals religion, as in the case of Jews. The second pattern is "ethnic religion," in which religion is one among several factors of ethnicity, as in the case of the Russian Orthodox. The third pattern is "religious ethnicity" in which an ethnic group is linked to a religion which is shared by other ethnic groups, as in the cases of the Irish, Italian, and Polish Catholics (1993:59).

Hammond and Warner notice that the relationship of religion and ethnicity is strongest in "ethnic fusion," and least strong in "religious ethnicity." Moreover, in the case of "ethnic religion," it appears that ethnicity helps maintain religion, but in the case

of "religious ethnicity," religion helps to sustain ethnicity.

However, the typologies of Greeley and Hammond and Warner fail to include the ethnic groups who have achieved non-traditional religious identity. Vietnamese Catholic and Chinese Christians can not fit into their typology.

The existing theories about religion and ethnicity can not explain whether the newly achieved religious identity will help to maintain ethnicity or to move people away from their traditional culture and identity. Yet, the existing theories have been more preoccupied with the nature of Protestant sectarianism and based on the experiences of European immigrants. Recent studies of new immigrant groups have also emphasized traditional functions and integrative consequences of religion for ethnic groups in modern pluralistic societies, such as the Islam in the Muslim communities in Canada. They all have not considered other types of religious organizations of ethnic minorities in North America.

Sociological studies of the functional relationship between religion and ethnicity usually follow two general perspectives. One pursues the conservative function of religion in ethnic maintenance, the other emphasizes the adaptive role of religion in assimilation. These two perspectives can be more clearly exposed when examining immigrant churches.

Role of Immigrant Church in Ethnic Maintenance

When adopting a perspective on the relationship between religion and ethnicity which emphasizes the conservative function of religion, such items as language, ethnic customs, and group solidarity are included. This approach is clearly reminiscent of Durkheim's (1961) functionalist theory of religion. Religious beliefs and rituals, he maintained, bind individuals together and provide the social context necessary for the transmission of traditions and values.

Following Richard Niebuhr (1929), many scholars have stressed that ethnicity or national origin is one of the main reasons for the creation and development of Protestant denominations in North America. Pozzetta reaffirmed this recently:

The denominational pluralism that has characterized American society is a direct outgrowth of the nation's ethnic pluralism. (1991:ix)

Other scholars have also emphasized the religious factor in creating and maintaining ethnic groups. Timothy Smith (1978) argued that religion is the most significant factor in identity formation in North America. Ethnic grouping is determined by the immigrant's identification with a particular religious tradition more than any other factors, such as language, national feeling, or belief in a common descent. Traditional religious beliefs, customs, and loyalty "have been the decisive determinants of ethnic affiliation in America" (1978:1174). The religious factor in ethnic formation is

thought to be strengthened by the migration experience. According to Smith, the acts of uprooting, migration, and resettlement produced an intensification of the psychic basis of religious commitment in the minds of new Americans (1978:1174-1175).

Andrew Greeley (1971) emphasized the mutual and intimate relations between ethnicity and religion in the social fabric of North America. He noticed that ethnicity and religiosity were alternatively primordial and could mutually reinforce each other within the context of North America. Thus he suggested:

A more fruitful way of viewing the situation is to acknowledge that religion and ethnicity are intertwined, that religion plays an ethnic function in American society and ethnicity has powerful religious overtones. (1971:82)

Another of his contemporaries, Millett, writes in a similar vein:

One observation occurs repeatedly as one studies various ethnic groups in Canada: of all the institutions supporting the survival of distinctive cultures, the church is usually the strongest and the most active. (1975:105)

Similarly, Mol notes that:

In the countries of immigration, migrant churches have always been the most effective bastions of ethnic preservation (1976:174)

The conservative functions of religion in ethnic maintenance have been well summarized at great length by Anderson and Frideres:

Many of the functions of religion are oriented towards the preservation of ethnic identity. As various social scientists have pointed out, religion contributes to a sense of identity in an age of depersonalization; it may be a nationalistic force and assume the role of the protector of ethnic identity; it promotes social integration; it attempts to validate a people's customs

and values through socialization; it affirms the dignity of ethnic group members who might be considered by non-members as having low status; it tends to be a pillar of conservatism; and it often encourages conscious social isolation from outsiders (1981:41)

Role of Immigrant Church in Cultural Adaptation

Another perspective on religion and ethnicity emphasizes that immigrant churches are best viewed as adapting organizations. Classical sociologists (Durkheim 1965; Weber 1961) regarded both religion and ethnicity as artifacts of an outmoded past or residues destined to fade away during the process of modernization. "Modernization" as a grand theory had parallel expressions in the "assimilationism" of ethnic studies and "secularization" theories in the study of religion. The basic assumption of this approach is that the assimilation process invariably transforms an ethnic group over the course of several generations. Organizational survival, will eventually require adaptation and acculturation. In *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (1957), Richard Niebuhr provided a classic expression of this position.

Niebuhr's analysis is rooted in the recognition that immigrant churches tend to be conservative, and during their early stage of development, are "primarily conflict societies, intent upon maintaining their distinction from other groups" (1957:224). According to Niebuhr, the history of immigrant churches shows that the tendency toward conformity is ultimately the dominant force

shaping their character. The process of assimilation forces the churches to choose between accommodation and extinction. The second and third generations are raised in the new world, the language and culture of the old world gradually becomes unfamiliar and foreign. This inevitably leads to conflict over which language should be used in religious and social events. Progressive leaders assert that the adoption of English is essential for the successful incorporation of the younger generation. Conservatives resist the language shift since it represents the abandonment of traditional cultures. "Though churches may delay the moment of their surrender," Niebuhr remarks, "few elect to perish with their mother tongue" (1957:212).

Contemporary sociologists have maintained that the survival and growth of ethnic churches require organizational adaptation. In his study of ethnic groups in South Alberta, Palmer (1972:239-245) discovered a general pattern of accommodation in various immigrant churches in their efforts "to stem the defection of the second and third generation." In the United States Steinberg (1981:67-68) noticed that "ethnic sub-societies must adapt to the prevailing culture to curtail the loss of more assimilated members." Fishman (1972:621) supports this view observing that "the more 'successful' religion becomes, the more de-ethnicized it becomes."

These two perspectives on religion and ethnicity echo the two theoretical frameworks of pluralism and assimilationism in Canadian ethnic studies. Some scholars emphasize the role of the church in preserving traditional culture and maintaining ethnic cohesion,

while others focus on the assimilation function of religious organization. Nevertheless, these two functions are not necessarily mutually exclusive. It is more realistic to view the relationship between religion and ethnicity as varying from group to group.

Minority Church

The concept of "minority church" which was introduced in the 1960s has been relatively little utilized but it brings to the typology of churches a most useful addition for the study of immigrant groups.

Roger Mehl (1970), a French theologian and sociologist, first introduced the concept of "minority church" in his analysis of religious minorities in Europe.

The minority church lives in a segregated existence: its members do not have the same juridical capacities and the same political rights possessed by the members of the dominant religion, who benefit, *de facto* or *de jure*, from a sort of privileged position... However, the religious minority can retain, beyond the disappearance of its legal status, a very lively consciousness of its unity, of its originality, even of its particular mission. This consciousness is rooted in its own religious convictions as much as in the style of life of the communities which constitute it. (1970:258)

Observing the marginal position of Protestants in Europe, Mehl recognized that minority churches without the same legal status and political rights of the dominant religious institutions are under continual pressure to become sects. This process, however, is prevented by the fact that the minority church identifies itself

with many other religious bodies as reference groups:

The minority church considers the international community to which it spiritually attached as a sort of reference group, whose vastness, power, and universality helps keep the minority church from becoming a sect, from feeling itself to be a sect, from sectarian behaviour. (1970:257)

David Millett (1969) developed the idea of "minority church" as a sub-typology for the study of religion in Canada. In his study of Canadian Census data, he observed that approximately 90 percent of the population conformed to "church-like" behavior. Therefore, a more adequate analysis of religion in Canada would require that some distinctions be made "within the huge category known as 'churches'" (1969:112). Millett then used the minority church sub-type to identify hundreds of ethnic congregations in Canada.

The minority status of these churches is related to two issues. First, they operate in a non-official language. Second, they are not self-sufficient; that is, they are dependent upon a parent organization for leadership and authority in religious matters. Millett divided these minority churches into two groups: "foreign-oriented" and "native-oriented"

The foreign-oriented are those whose reference groups are largely outside Canada. These groups are isolated from other Canadians by language and religion, often having great difficulty in recruiting qualified clergy.

.....

The type of minority church described as "native-oriented" occurs when an ethnic minority is attached to an indigenous Canadian church... this category also includes many immigrant congregations speaking languages other than English and French. (1969:113).

Foreign-oriented minority churches are defined as those, which are linked to a mother church in the old country; consequently, their primary reference group is outside Canada. By contrast, native-oriented minority churches are those which, while operating in non-official languages, are sponsored by an indigenous Canadian church.

In the case of native-oriented churches, Millett noticed the conflicts between the minority church and the sponsoring church:

a considerable social distance is felt between the ethnic congregation and the sponsoring church (despite superficial displays of solidarity). Linguistic and racial minority status creates pressures in the direction of sectarian behavior, but the parent church usually exerts sufficient ecclesiastical influence to prevent this from occurring. Thus the ethnic minority conforms to church-like rather than sect-like behavior. (1969:113)

Millett's sub-typology of minority church draws attention to important differences between minority churches which could explain their effectiveness as social bases for ethnic persistence and their ability to make organizational adaptation for new generations.

The conceptualization of "minority church" and Millett's sub-typology of minority church will be used for my study of the Chinese Christian churches in Ottawa.

A basic assumption underlying this study is that minority church evolution can not be understood apart from a knowledge of the socio-cultural change within the larger Chinese Canadian community. Therefore, the following chapter briefly sketches the social and cultural backgrounds of the Chinese in Canada.

1.3 Chinese Religion and Chinese Identity

Chinese immigrants have come to Canada with a rich religious and cultural tradition. The Chinese religious and cultural tradition has an uninterrupted history of 5000-year. However, in modern times, the great forces of imperialism and modernization have challenged to the Chinese nation and the Chinese tradition. Since the 19th century, the Chinese religious and cultural tradition has undergone considerable transformation in China. Chinese identity construction has been a struggling process. The identity construction of the Chinese immigrants in Canada is part of the identity reconstruction of all Chinese, which is closely associated with the center of their symbolic universe - China proper, in the process of globalization.

Academic literature on Chinese identity has begun in the 1990s for several reasons. First, there has been a great urge to search for a new national identity in China after the collapse of the former Soviet Union and the East Europe communist camp in the early 1990s. Second, the rise of East and Southeast Asian economies has demonstrated the value of Confucian traditions in modernization. Third, the rapidly growing presence and awareness of Chinese diaspora all over the world brings the issue of Chinese identity to academia. Recognizing the complexity of the context, this section will only outline those issues directly relating to this study.

I will first discuss the nature of Chinese religion and Chinese culture, including the characteristics of Chinese religion.

Then I will discuss the symbolic elements in Chinese culture in terms of language and ritual. Finally, I will discuss the modern nationalism in China, the conflicts between Chinese and Christian identities, the issue of Chinese identity, and the identity construction of the Chinese in the Diaspora.

Chinese religious and cultural traditions bring both resources and burdens to the Chinese Christians in Canada. The conflicts between Christian and Chinese identities become great challenges for these people in their reconstruction of Chinese identity. Meanwhile, a creative integration of Chinese culture and Christianity, as I will describe in the later chapters, may lead the same people to a future of constructive integration of Eastern and Western traditions within the contemporary world.

1.3.1 Chinese Religious Tradition

Westerners have often been confused about religion in China. Many have assumed that Chinese religious and philosophical thought can be classified in a Western way, so that we can speak of three religions of China usually and, namely, Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism. These, however, often are not so much three distinct religions as parts of a single functioning religious system. Even though it may wrongly suggest the idea of a unique system, the term "Chinese religion" rather than "Chinese religions" may better convey the interpretation that the character of religious expression in

China is above all a manifestation of the integrated Chinese culture. The Chinese religious system features a great variety of religious expressions, including Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism, as well as many popular religious and cultural practices (Yang 1961; Thompson 1989; Ching 1993). Below, I will discuss the basics of traditional Chinese worldview and the three strands - Confucian, Taoist, and Buddhist - of Chinese religion.

Traditional Chinese Outlook: *Qi*, *Dao*, *Yin-Yang*, and *Wu-Xing*

Traditional Chinese outlook is the core of the Chinese mind and of the Chinese religious tradition. It consists of several key and particular concepts shared by all Chinese in consideration of the relations between two primal orders: the divine, and the human. Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism but were all along expressed these ideas ritually at different levels and reformulated these concepts philosophically later.

"*Qi*" is one of the most ancient and fundamental concepts that can hardly be rendered adequately in the Western world. It means air, breath, breath of life (one is reminded of Taoist medicine), an inner energy, psychological power connected with blood and breathing. It is a vital, dynamic, original power that permeates the entire universe and all things (macrocosmic and microcosmic), possesses a varied consistency, and leads to an ultimate unity. What is heavy in it tends to descend and make up Earth, while what is

light tends to ascend and make up the Heaven. The human being is regarded as possessing a mixture of various kinds of Qi, which is basic for Chinese meditation. The universe is naturalistic in the sense that it is characterized by the regularity that Western philosophy has called "law"-but "Qi" is not associated, as in the Western belief, with an outside "lawgiver." The regularity of the universe is built on the principle of bipolarity or *Yin-Yang*.

The concept of "*Yin-Yang*" means not simply that everything has its opposite but that opposites are necessary and complementary to each other. These opposites tend to merge into each other and even to become each the opposite of its former self. *Yin* and *Yang* are equally essential characteristics and forces in the ceaseless dynamic of an impersonal universe. The ground or fundamental stuff of the universe is seen to be homogeneous, and particular phenomena were individualized through these processes. The human being is compounded of two souls: an upper (*yang*), or intellectual soul, called the *hun*, which becomes the spirit (*shen*) and ascends to the world above, and a lower (*yin*), or animal soul, called *po*, which becomes the ghost (*kuei*) and descends with the body into the grave.

The conceptualization of "Five Elements" (*wu-xing*) uses Five Elements (metal, wood, water, fire, and earth) to indicate the five primary operative qualities of the universe. These five qualities are not static, but are ceaselessly interacting, transforming, and replacing each other. They are not elements in the Greek sense of

terms, but rather processes. The rendering or translation of *wu-xing* as the five phases well indicates their ever-changing character.

"*Tao*" is the most important word in Chinese thought. It has two general applications. First, it has a meaning of a road, becoming a metaphor for the "Way." In this usage, *tao* refers to truth - ethical, religious, or other - and in terms of conduct it refers to the normative standard. The second meaning of *tao* is the reality behind or within appearances, the ultimate metaphysical truth, and therefore the regularity of operation in the universe (*yin-yang*). The Chinese term *Tian-Di* or *Shang-Di* (the Ruler in Heaven) is the term customarily used for Heaven (*tian*), but behind or beyond Heaven there are the works of *yin-yang*, which have their source in *tao*.

The sophisticated Chinese worldview also contains a mystical dimension, represented in the famous adage that describes the harmony underlining Chinese thought and culture: that Heaven and humanity are one (*tianren heyi*). It was eventually formulated as an expression of the continuum between the human beings as the microcosm of the universe as macrocosm. This microcosm-macrocosm correspondence has formed the base for most of the philosophical work in China. It was an expression of the profound experience of many mystics, whether Confucian, Daoist, or Buddhist. Later, it was transformed into the philosophical adage that All Things are One (*wanwu yiti*). It founded the world as a Heaven-ordained entity and a meaningful and ethically oriented cosmos. Out of this perspective

came a system of the metaphysical interpretation of nature that affected all of the traditional Chinese view of the universe and even permeated the theory of Chinese medicine. It resulted in a whole range of supernatural interpretations of nature and its relation to human affairs, which permeated and grew into religious-like complexes. Examples of this outgrowth include the cult of Heaven, the ancestral cult, astrology, geomancy (*feng shui* or wind and water), and the Chinese yoga-like exercises and meditation.

The Chinese worldview is immanent and human-centered. It focuses on the relations of human beings to a considerable extent. Chinese philosophical discourse mainly concerns itself with the nature of human nature and the ethical imperatives of family and social life. The religion of the family has been the universal religious institution of China, and the ethical views of the Literati tradition are essentially a rationalization and extension of the family virtues. This familial morality has come to permeate all of Chinese society. To be Chinese eventually is to follow the familial style of morality advocated by the Literati tradition.

Confucianism

The central position and orthodoxy of Confucianism in Chinese culture is widely recognized (Liu 1990; Tu 1986, 1991, 1992, 1994). The Confucian tradition has often been characterized as synonymous with Chinese culture. However, the term "Confucianism" is a misnomer

coined by Jesuit missionaries in the 17th century and it has no Chinese equivalent (Jensen 1997). The Chinese term for Confucianism is "literati tradition" or the school of Confucius (*rujia*).

Confucianism is the Chinese tradition set in motion in the sixth century BC by the teaching of Confucius and thereafter institutionalized by the Chinese State and imitated in other parts of Asia. Confucianism was based on early Chinese cosmological notions such as the "way" (*Tao*) of the universe thus the Confucian classics included many ideas before the time of Confucius.² Confucius (552? - 479 BC), who grew up in a time of great social and political turmoil, insisted on a return to virtue and benevolence. After his death, his teachings became the basis for education and government, serving as the wider rationale for the hierarchical social and political relationships. The formal tradition of Confucian teachings and institutions - known in the West as "Confucianism" - provided a comprehensive system for ordering governmental and social harmony, placing great emphasis on family stability and filial piety (loyalty of children to parents).

Confucianism claims the discovery of the ultimate in the relative - which is in the moral character of human relationship - in this world. Confucianism sanctifies human institutions, including families, societies, and states. The central doctrine of

² The Confucian Classics include the *Analects*, the *Book of Changes (I-ching)*, the *Book of History (Shu-ching)*, the *Book of Poetry (Shih-ching)*, the *Classics of Rites (Li-ching)*, the *Spring and Autumn Annals (Ch'un-chiu)*.

Confucianism is the virtue of love or benevolence (*ren*). It is regarded as the foundation of all virtues.

The foundation of goodness is humanity (*ren*). It is one of the Five Virtues, namely humanity, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, and faithfulness, but actually it embraces all the rest because it is also virtue in the general sense... In essence, *jen* involves love for all and at the same time specific virtues in one's various social relations. In other words, in its oneness it is universal love for all, while in its multiplicity it operates as filial piety, brotherly respect, and so forth in various human relations (Chan 1967:xxii)

The fundamental virtue in Confucian ethics is filial piety (*xiao*). The written symbol for *xiao* well represents its significance: It consists of the graph for old, supported by the graph for son placed underneath. It puts the family in the core of society and considers filial piety as the basis of human relations, especially the "Five Relationships," namely, the relationships of ruler-minister, father-son, husband-wife, elder-younger brothers, and friend-friend.

Three of these are family relationships, while the other two are usually conceived in terms of the family models. For example, the ruler-minister relationship resembles the father-son, while friendship resembles brotherliness. The Confucian society thus regards itself as a large family. (Ching 1993:58)

These familial relationships are titled undeniably in favor of the senior partners: the father, the husband, the ruler, and the elder brother. They provide a model for social behavior. Thus Confucian society has been hierarchical, patriarchal, authoritarian, and "collectivized" in orientation.

The teaching of *ren* is also extended to the political order, as a means of achieving universal love. It is defined as benevolent government, a government of moral persuasion, in which the leader gives the example of personal integrity and selfless devotion to the people. Confucian teaching prompted generations of scholars to strive for participation in government.

For Confucians, the ultimate goal of life is striving to be a real gentleman (*jing zi*), a morally perfect person who lives one's life with the guidance of *ren*. Scholars were thus sanctified as the most civilized persons because of their knowledge of the literati Canons and rituals. Education was emphasized as a means for self-cultivation and moral perfection.

Therefore, Confucianism advocates personal well being, family harmony, social solidarity, political stability and universal peace.

Its preference for group orientation, collaborative effort, mutual support, and communicative rationality has greatly influenced the East Asian work ethic: a positive attitude to the affairs of this world, a sustained lifestyle of discipline and self-cultivation, respect for authority, frugality, and overriding concern for stable family life (Tu 1991:743)

Confucianism also gives a definite importance to propriety or ritualism (*li*) for the regulation of social conduct. The term *li* has come to include all social behavior and rituals, including religious rituals. Confucianism was thus labeled "ritual religion" (*lijiao*).

There is no dispute over the predominance of the this-worldly and rationalistic quality of Confucianism. However, Confucianism

also retains a transcendent dimension based on belief in Heaven, predeterminism, divination, and the theory of *yin-yang* and *wu-xing*. The Confucian mysticism used to manifest in a whole range of rituals such as meditation, astrology, geomancy (*feng-shui*), the cult of Heaven, the cult of ancestors, and the cult of Confucius. The cult of heaven was prerogatively performed by the imperial court, while rulers were thought of as receiving (or not receiving) the Mandate of Heaven which justified (or failed to justify) their governance. The cult of Confucius was mandated by edict for all government officials and would-be officials, while Confucius was worshipped as a sage or moral teacher.

The institutional pillar of Confucianism was the patriarchy lineage and associated ancestral worship. The traditional kinship structure and the Confucian emphasis on filial piety and obedience to the elders (*xiao shun*) mutually reinforced each other. The cult of ancestors was ritually based on a memorial service, held in earlier times at ancestral temples, and after that at gravesides or at home. At the service, offerings (wine and food) and incense were provided, with silent prostrations in front of the tablets, each traditionally representing a dead ancestor or a deceased family member. Under the justification of Confucianism, the ritual came to induce supernatural protection and blessing as well as to cultivate moral values such as filial piety, family loyalty, and the continuity of the family lineage.

Confucianism as a cultural tradition has been deeply woven into the fabric of Chinese society. Most Chinese people participate in the cultural customs that are the blend of Confucian, Taoist, and Buddhist elements. Confucianism also diffused through many eclectic popular religious cults.

Institutionally, the imperial court, especially through the imperial examination system (*keju zhidu*) also enforced Confucian orthodoxy. Through Confucian education and the examination system individuals of all social strata could become qualified for government offices. Education became the key tool for upward social mobility as well as for self-cultivation. This Chinese tradition of emphasizing education has had continued influence among Chinese.

Confucianism has functioned as a civil religion during much of history. However, in the process of modernization, the imperial pillar was broken off, and the other pillars, the patriarchy lineage and ancestor worship, have been significantly eroded. The transmission of Confucian values has fallen into deep crisis.

Taoism

Taoism developed out of the ancient Chinese reverence for nature and notions of the orderly but ever changing pattern of the cosmos. Its origins can be traced back to the same ancient classics used by Confucianism, but the key text is *Tao Te Jing*, which is ascribed to the somewhat mythical figure of Laozi (Lao-tzu), a

contemporary of Confucius.

Confucianism and Taoism developed in China out of a common background of thought and practice and thus share many features, although they emphasize different aspects of the Chinese religious tradition. Both traditions were based on early Chinese cosmological notions, such as the "way" (*Tao*) of the universe. Confucianism emphasized the "way" of social action and political order; Taoism emphasized the "way" of mystical practice and natural order. Julia Ching has made a clear comparison of Confucianism and Taoism, referring to their early founders:

If Confucius and Mencius sought to solve the social problems by appealing to human beings to become better and more benevolent people, Lao-tzu and Chuang-tzu tend to awaken their readers to an inner, spiritual liberation freeing them from the bondage of conventional way of seeing things and putting values on things. (1993:87)

The central doctrine of Taoism is the *Tao*, the concept that has given this tradition its name. "Tao" may mean way, principle, method, or truth in traditional Chinese worldview. Nevertheless, *Tao* in *Tao Te Ching*, is a mystical force. *Tao Te Ching* begins with this famous verse:

The Tao, which can be told, is not the constant Tao.

The name, which can be named, is not the constant name.

Early texts expressing the Taoist viewpoint, such as *the Tao Te Ching*, have been labeled "philosophical Taoism" (*Taojia*) for want of a better term. Many Chinese religious practices associated with

cosmological notions, the almanac, and divination were loosely related to Taoism and have been called "religious Taoism" (*Taojiao*).

Philosophical Taoism taught freedom by embracing *Tao* and the nature with "inaction" (*wuwei*) and "spontaneity" (*ziren*).

Religious Taoism was formed during the Han Dynasty (B.C. 206-220 A.D.) when Confucianism became the state orthodoxy. Religious Taoism can be described as a religion of salvation. The religious quest of Taoism is for liberation of the spiritual element of the ego from physical limitations, so that this element may enjoy immortality or at least longevity. Borrowing from Buddhism, religious Taoism instituted monastic and hereditary systems, developed elaborate rituals, and built a hierarchical pantheon composed of gods, spirits and ghosts, in which Laozi was deified. Taoist rituals have been developed into two categories: "outer elixir" (*waidan*) and "inner elixir" (*neidan*).

The "outer elixir" refers to alchemical experiments. The alchemical elixir, when ingested, would prolong life. The Taoist seekers did not succeed in finding the elixir of immortality, but they indeed became the pioneers of scientific experimentation, and they made a number of discoveries of lasting value in different fields, including chemistry, medicine, and pharmacology.

The "inner elixir" or "esoteric alchemy" refers to Taoist yoga and meditation with the primary goal of cultivating the "inner chemistry" of the body. Taoist yoga and meditation aim to achieve

immortality or longevity by nourishing various kinds of primordial energy (*qi*) throughout the various passages and organs predicted by Daoist physiological and anatomical theory. The Taoist theory became the foundation for the protoscience that developed into Chinese medicine. The life force was identified or associated with such obviously vital components as breath, blood, and semen. To preserve life these components must be conserved, and the obstructions to their continuing nourishing of the spirit (*shen*) must be reduced and finally eliminated.

The practice of "outer elixir" was limited to a small group of Taoists laboring in temples, but the "inner elixir" of meditation and yoga-like exercises has had widespread influence in China and Asia with traditional Chinese medicine and martial arts. Since the 1980s, traditional meditation and yoga-like exercises have been very popular in China under the new Chinese term "*qigong*" and some have begun to institutionalize themselves. Consequently, some "*qigong*" groups have established branches overseas, including Canada.

Buddhism

Buddhism was founded in India by the Buddha (Prince Gautama) in the fifth century BC. The Buddha, dissatisfied with the prevailing religion in India, practiced meditation until he arrived at a realization (or enlightenment) of the true nature of human

life. He taught freedom from suffering by avoiding the desire that causes suffering and thereby achieving a peaceful existence. This philosophy of life became the basis for a monastic community that developed commentaries and ritual practices.

Buddhism was brought to China by missionaries at the very beginning of the first century AD. The radical culture differences in language and way of thinking between China and India made it difficult for the Chinese to comprehend the new religion. The early centuries of Buddhism in China were marked by tremendous efforts to translate the sacred texts and penetrate their true meanings. Meanwhile the confrontation and conflict between Buddhism and Confucianism and Taoism in terms of ethics and power sometimes became fierce and violent, as shown in the bloody suppressions of Buddhism by the state. Eventually, because Buddhist practitioners recognized the orthodox position of Confucianism and modified their teachings to Confucian ethics, Buddhism was sinicized in form. Consequently, Buddhism took root in the land of China and became an inseparable part of Chinese culture in the later dynastic times.

Buddhism has filled out many apparently previously ambiguous suppositions in Chinese outlook. The Chinese generally accepted the Buddhist theories of karma, purgatorial punishment, and rebirth as accounting for the moral and immoral situation. Along with the karma came the notion of "karmic justice," which involved postmortem punishment in purgatories as well as rebirth in a form commensurate with one's good and evil acts in the previous existence. The fear

of postmortem punishment and degradation in rebirth impelled the Chinese to call upon religious professionals, both Buddhist and Taoist, to influence the supernaturals to overlook sins and raise the future status of their deceased seniors.

Chinese Buddhists first continued Indian practices but later developed distinctively Chinese forms of practice, thought and organization. The most popular Chinese Buddhist sects were Chan (Zen) sect among educated people and the Pure Land sect among the uneducated populace.

The word Chan is the Chinese transliteration of the Sanskrit *dhyana*, meaning "meditation." As exercises of meditation, *dhyana* had been in India for ages, but as a Buddhist school of thought, Chan is a Chinese development. Chan Buddhism teaches that ultimate reality - Buddha nature (*sunya*) - is inexpressible in words or concepts, and is apprehended only by direct intuition. Such direct intuition requires discipline and training, but is characterized by freedom and spontaneity as well. Chan emphasizes that enlightenment has to be achieved through one's own efforts, denying a prominent place to scriptures, images, and even the Buddha himself.

Pure Land Buddhism propagates the belief that rebirth into the blissful Western Paradise - "Pure Land" - can only be attained by faith in the Buddha Amitaba (in Chinese, *Omitofo*), who is assisted by the budhisattva Avalokitesvara (in Chinese, *Guanyin*). This belief eventually is expressed in the practice called *nien-fo*, reciting the

beads while calling on the name of Amitabha with faith.

In spite of obvious differences between Chan and Pure Land, the Chinese tendency toward syncretism led to a combination of Chan and Pure Land, of meditation and the study of scriptures and the practice of *nien-fo*. By such means, western Paradise became integrated into Chinese Buddhism.

Following a process similar to that of Taoism, Chinese Buddhism diffused through many eclectic popular religious cults.

Confucian Orthodoxy: Religion or Ethics?

Confucianism plays a central role in Chinese cultural unity. China is a huge country with enormous cultural and ethnic diversity. China as a cultural center had and continues to have tremendous influence for both Chinese in China and in the Diaspora (Tu Wei-Ming 1994). The Chinese religious system features a great variety of religious expressions and cultural practices. Confucianism in fact formulated traditional Chinese outlook in social action and political order. For more than 2000 years, Confucianism served as the state orthodoxy in imperial China and functioned as the ethnic foundation of the Chinese society.

Confucianism defined the Chineseness. From the perspective of Confucianism, civilization was characterized by *wenhua*, which refers to the molding of the person (and by extension the community to which the person belongs) by training in the moral, philosophical,

and ritual principles considered to constitute virtue (Schwartz 1959:52). It follows that there was a scale of civilizedness, with the most civilized persons being those who had the greatest acquaintance with the relevant literary works, namely the scholar-officials who served the state and who served as theoreticians of the moral order. Other Chinese were somewhat cultured; their family life, religion, language, and other attributes were similar to those of the literati, even if they had no refinement or direct knowledge of the classics. Non-Chinese were a step down, being not even indirectly acquainted with the moral principles laid out in the classic texts. Peoples who had been beyond the pale of civilization could enter it if they gained the requisite knowledge and the proper modes of life. This moral hierarchy or ranking of peoples fits in nicely with the Chinese historical process of absorption of once-peripheral peoples into the broader category of "People of the Central Kingdom" (*zhongguo ren*). That process was legitimized by the ideology that it was behavior, rather than race, that determined civilization. Thus, the Confucian orthodoxy defined Chineseness, or civilizedness, and all religions had to adapt the basic Confucian ethics in order to be accepted as Chinese. Even Buddhist and Taoist monks and nuns, living apart from society, were still guided in their conduct largely by the Confucian ethics.

Is Confucianism a religion? This question has been a controversial issue among scholars both in China and the West. Most Chinese scholars tend not to regard Confucianism as a religion,

whereas Western scholars often treat it as one of the great religions. Some scholars have argued for the "religious dimension" of Confucianism (Taylor 1990; Ching 1993:52). Some scholars have regarded Confucianism as a "diffused religion" or "civil religion" (Yang 1961; Ching 1993:84). Scholars generally acknowledge that Confucianism is different from other religions, or at least that it is not an organized religion comparable to other world religions.

The controversy of the religious nature or religious dimension of Confucianism is also due to the problem of terminology. The English word "religion" or the Latin word "*religio*" has no matching word in traditional Chinese language. Confucianism used to be called one of the three teachings or doctrines (*jiao*).³ The contemporary term "religion" (*zongjiao*) came to exist only in the late 19th century when it was introduced into Chinese via Japanese literature. The word *zongjiao* is composed of the character *zong* - clan lineage or school and the character *jiao* - teachings. The word "religion" hardly represents the "unity of the three teachings" (*sanjiaoheyi*) in Chinese belief and cultural practice.

Nevertheless, most people agree that Confucianism contains humanism, a system of ethics or moral values. Some scholars insist that Confucian humanism is "religious humanism" or one that is open to religious notions (Tu 1989:97; Ching 1993:52). Thus, the Confucian ideal of "Heaven and humanity are one" (*tianren heyi*) may

³ The three *jiao* includes Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism.

lead to the spiritual orientation towards the transcendent or Heaven (*Tian*). This Heaven in Confucianism is ambiguous and feeble. Tu Weiming, an eminent contemporary scholar of Confucianism, recognized this:

Certainly the idea of theistic God, not to mention the "wholly other," is totally absent from the symbolic resources of the Confucian tradition. (1989:116)

Confucianism also showed little concern about life beyond this world. Confucianism focuses on things in this world, respecting "the secular as the sacred" (Fingarette 1972).

Furthermore, unlike most of the other "great religions," which insist on exclusivity or monopoly, Confucianism is open to a diversity of religious beliefs. The Confucian orthodoxy allowed religious pluralism in imperial China. Although there were tensions and conflicts between Confucianism on the one hand and religious Daoism and Buddhism on the other, they generally did not compete on the same level. What Confucians insisted on were mostly Confucian moral values and political allegiance. As long as the essential Confucian values were not challenged and the orthodox position not jeopardized, Confucianism made peace with all religions.

According to French Sinologist Léon Vandermeersch (1986:161-203), the Confucian legacy differs from Western individualism on three points in particular:

(1) *Family Structure*: although urbanization may to a large extent be dissolving traditional family structure in the sinicized

countries as well, it is only "with reference to the old model of a society structured by familial relationships that one can discover the meaning of a very contemporary social style which can only be characterized as *communitarian*.

(2) *Rites*: although the typical Confucian rites may have disappeared completely with the old order, it is only "with reference to the Confucian understanding of these rites that one can discover the meaning of what makes contemporary Sinicized societies ones that are still very much imbued with *ritualism*.

(3) *Officialdom*: although the old forms of authority may have disappeared, it is only "with reference, finally, to the old system of the Mandarin state that one can discover the meaning of a conception of the state that is largely based on what can be called a functional, as opposed to a 'political,' conception of the state."

Now as ever, Chinese social psychology is characterized by the Confucian legacy as follows:

Man exists through and is defined by his relationships to others; these relationships are hierarchically structured; social order is ensured through the party's honoring the requirements in the role-relationships... Many aspects of Chinese social relationships can be linked to this distillate of Confucianism (Bond 1986:216)

Confucianism as an official cult disappeared in 1911 when Imperial China ended and has further lost significance since then. Though fundamental Confucian institutions such as the patriarchy lineage, rites, and officialdom were drawn into great crisis in modern times, Confucian values continues to influence the Chinese

as a living, contemporary spiritual power. In this sense, Confucianism is a system of social ethics, rather than a religion. As such, it is still alive. This recognition will help us understand the identity construction of Chinese Christians, who inherit and preserve Confucian values to assure their Chinese identity, while being still able to remain truthful to their Christian faith.

Characteristics of Chinese Religion

Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism still continue to influence the Chinese people. In China, however, these three religions do not exist as exclusive religious systems. Instead, they have been three major aspects or formulations of an integrated Chinese religious tradition. The famous adage that the "Three Teachings Are One" (*san jiao he yi*) expresses the integration of the three systems of doctrine and the pluralist belief within the cultural context of China. Folk religions are amalgamations of the three "religions" in social or ritual practices at the community level in China. It is to this integrated system that I will refer when using the expression "Chinese religion."

Compared to Western religions, Chinese religion has distinct characteristics, which are, in my opinion, very important to notice in order to understand the choice and practice of the Chinese Christians.

First, Chinese religion takes a pluralist form, in contrast to the exclusive and monotheistic religions of the West. In China, religious pluralism means that the Chinese people maintain a pluralistic doctrine and utilize pluralistic religious practices. Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism and folk religions all together serve the various religious interests and needs of the Chinese people in different circumstances. In other words, the Chinese naturally practice their religions in a pluralistic and syncretic form.

Second, Chinese religion is not an institutionalized religion. Except for the religious professionals living in monasteries, lay Chinese people usually do not belong to an institutionalized religious group whether sect, denomination, or church, nor does their religious life have anything to do with signing articles of faith. Most members of Western society, however, belong to some religious groups, each group distinguishing itself from others by its insistence upon certain doctrinal propositions. Because of the central place of ancestral worship in traditional China, clan association was the basis for normal religious and social organizations from the family and individuals to the state. In addition, secret societies were the principal instrument for the expression of popular grievances against the superior power of imperial rule, and were characterized by heretical tenets and mysterious rites and ceremonies adapted from folk religions. These two kinds of organizations, that is clan association and secret society, have mostly faded in modern China, though they are echoed

in the ideal of family ties as a continuing model for good interpersonal and political relationship. However, they are quite popular among overseas Chinese communities.

Third, Chinese religion maintains and preserves a fundamental Chinese outlook without restless revisions and significant change. In China, not only did doctrinally founded churches not exist, but also the outlook and the ethic did not undergo essential revisions. Even the imported Buddhism eventually had to accommodate these ingrained views in order to integrate into China. In the West, the development of religion was closely bound with a lively history of ideas. Because of the central place of doctrine in religion, Christianity necessarily shared in the questioning, the changing insights, the disputations, and the actual warfare of the world of ideas. Philosophers, theologians, and scientists endlessly pondered and argued and revised the hypotheses upon which sectarian tenets were based.

Fourth, Chinese religion is a united cultural system. Religion in China has been so deeply woven into the broad fabric of family and social life that there had been no need for a special word for religion until modern times, when one was coined to match the Western term. The Chinese religious identity is constructed and enforced through different cultural practices, such as festivals, customs, and symbols. Chinese religion has been a living cultural tradition. To believe in Chinese religion actually is to maintain a Chinese life style in terms of cultural practice.

1.3.2 Chinese Orthopraxy: Rituals, Symbols, and Language

In addition to the claims one can build about a shared Chinese worldview, some anthropologists believe that within the context of religious and cultural pluralism, it was Chinese rituals rather than beliefs that united Chinese culture across the vast land. James L. Watson argues that:

Orthopraxy (correct practice) reigned over orthodoxy (correct belief) as the principal means of attaining and maintaining cultural unity [among the Chinese over centuries]. (1993:84)

From the perspective of ordinary people, to be Chinese was to understand and accept the view that there was a correct way to perform key rituals associated with the life cycle, namely the rites of birth, marriage, death, and ancestorhood. (1993:87)

Myron L. Cohen further emphasizes the fundamental importance of correct rituals:

a key element in China's unified culture was acceptance of particular standardized rituals. Through participation in such rituals one was Chinese, and one was civilized. The use of ritual to validate cultural status is indicative of the Chinese focus on proper behaviour rather than on proper ideas, on orthopraxy rather than orthodoxy. (1994:92)

The argument for the prominence of Chinese orthopraxy over orthodoxy or vice-versa points to a very important dimension of cultural identity among all Chinese people, namely the symbolic dimension of Chinese identity. Indeed, one could claim that common ritual practices and symbols bypass the potential divisions inherent to the diversity of beliefs and philosophical outlook.

Rituals and Symbols

Extensive researches on death rituals in China have been done and showed a surprising degree of consistency in ritual patterns (Watson 1988, Wolf 1974). However, these studies so far have focused mostly on certain set of rituals - funerals, weddings, and ancestral worship. These rituals usually have explicit religious meanings.

Nevertheless, many Chinese cultural practices have no explicit religious meanings but are rooted in traditional Chinese religious tradition. Meditations and yoga-like exercises (in modern Chinese, *qigong*), for example, are popular cultural practices and rituals in China. Chinese meditations and yoga-like exercises vary with Taoism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Chinese medicine, and martial arts; but they all developed out of traditional Chinese outlook and ethics. Chinese medicine and martial arts bring these practices to all, whether elite groups or ordinary people, in order to achieve good health and longevity as well as to pursue immortality. These rituals have reinforced the Chinese outlook and ethics and have influenced the evolution of Chinese kinship and folk religions. The popular folk religious practices of Chinese astrology, physiognomy, palmistry, and geomancy (*feng shui*) also are all important cultural rituals in enforcing traditional Chinese ethics and worldviews.

Furthermore, there are also many communal activities, such as festivals and customs, which are very important in Chinese culture. Many Chinese festivals and customs have implicit religious meanings

but eventually function to enforce a Chinese worldview and ethics. For example, the Chinese New Year's Day is a day all Chinese celebrate. The celebration can be ritually elaborate, making it possible for different people to share the same festival while attaching very different meanings to the festival, whether religious or not. The Chinese New Year also symbolizes the Chinese Zodiac and attaches to ancestral worship and Chinese astrology. Participation in these kinds of festival celebrations creates and fortifies a sense of being united with other participants, a sense of shared tradition, and a ritualistic sense of being part of a community.

Besides rituals, there are also various visual symbols, such as those commonly seen in Chinese paintings and sculptures, which are characteristically Chinese and both express and reinforce a sense of participation in Chinese society, and its values.

Language

Language also constitutes a part the symbolic system. The Chinese language obviously plays a strong role in upholding Chinese cultural unity (see Watson 1993:81; Cohen 1994:89-92). Among other scholars, Perry Link points out:

In addition to consciousness of history, the Chinese language itself provides another even more constant, reinforcement of deeply-embedded notions of propriety, dignity, and Chineseness. (1994:195)

The Chinese writing system is very unique. The ideographic (nonphonetic) Chinese written script cuts across numerous speaking dialects. Most Chinese dialects are mutually unintelligible, but the written characters and grammar are very much the same.⁴ This written Chinese language provides a rich uninterrupted resource of literature spanning several millennia. Both the unity of the Chinese script and the continuity of the voluminous heritage in this language with the beauty of unique Chinese calligraphy are grounds on which Chinese pride may be built. The historical sensibility informed by this literature is powerful. Tu Wei-ming points out:

The collective memory of the educated Chinese is such that when they talk about Tu Fu's (712-770) poetry, Sima Qian's (died c. 85 BC) *Historical Records*, or Confucius's *Analects*, they refer to a cumulative tradition preserved in Chinese characters, a script separable from and thus unaffected by phonological transmutations. An encounter with Du Fu, Sima Qian, or Confucius through ideographic symbols evokes a sensation of reality as if their presence was forever inscribed in the script. (1994:3-4)

In brief, the symbolic aspect of Chinese cultural tradition is as important as the traditional value systems. Chinese orthodoxy and orthopraxy complement each other in shaping Chinese identity. They together have moulded a unified Chinese culture and Chinese people.

⁴ The Chinese language has seven dialects which are mutually unintelligible (Ramsey 1987:87): the Northern dialect is spoken in North and Southwest of China, the Wu dialect in the eastern coastal area around Shanghai and Zhejiang, the Gan dialect in the central Jiangxi, the Xiang dialect in the central Hunan. The Hakka (Kejia) dialect is widely found in South China from Sichuan to Taiwan, the Min dialect is used in the southern Fujian and coastal areas, and the Yue (Cantonese) dialect is spoken in the southeastern Guangdong and Guangxi areas. Each of the seven major dialects in turn consists of several sub-dialects. Except for those of the northern dialect, the numerous sub-dialects of the other six dialects mostly are mutually unintelligible.

1.3.3 Chinese Nationalism

The meeting of the West and China began in the 16th century, but its effect did not become significant until the middle of the 19th century when the British gunboats knocked down the closed door of the Qing Empire in the Opium War (1840-1842). The war signified the beginning of imperialism in China as well as the acceleration of foreign activities that shattered Chinese isolation and ushered in a period of revolutionary changes in China. Modern Chinese history is characterized by an active struggle of the Chinese to meet the foreign and domestic challenges in an effort to regenerate and transform their country from an outdated Confucian universal empire to a modern national state, with a rightful place in the family of nations. Tu Wei-ming thus recapitulates China's turbulent modern history and the problems inherent in being Chinese today:

The untold suffering of the Chinese people-caused by Western imperialism, the Taiping Rebellion, the collapse of the Manchu dynasty, the internecine struggle of the warlords, Japanese aggression, the conflict between the Nationalists and the Communists, and the misguided policies of the People's Republic of China-contextualized the meaning of Chineseness in a new symbolic structure. Marginality, rootlessness, amnesia, anger, frustration, alienation, and helplessness have gained much salience in characterizing the collective psyche of the modern Chinese. (Tu 1994:vii)

China had come a long way from s sneering rejection of the West in the early 19th century to the worship of it by 1920. The search for a new national identity began in a hard struggle against the weight of pride, disdain from things foreign, and the inveterate

belief that the Middle Kingdom had nothing to learn from the outlandish barbarians and little to gain from their association. Later, China realized that the Western challenge was inescapable and that China must change if it was to survive. The Self-strengthening Movement during the 1860s-1890s was a superficial attempt at modernization; only those aspects having immediate usefulness were adopted, while the more praiseworthy parts of the Western civilization - political systems, economic institutions, philosophy, literature, and arts - were totally ignored. The imperial China continued the hybrid policy containing both Chinese and Western elements in the reform movement of 1898 under the slogan of "Chinese learning for substance and Western learning from appliance" (*zhongti xiyong*). In the early 20th century, the Chinese became convinced that without a thorough thought-reform no good government and no social improvement were possible. The New Cultural Movement among the Chinese intellectuals culminated the May Fourth Movement of 1918. The spirit of age opposed traditionalism and Confucianism and advocated complete Westernization, "science," and "democracy" rather than Christianity. In this period of ideological ferment, John Dewey's pragmatism emerged, espousing an evolutionary approach to social improvement, while Marxist revolutionary approach was propagated under the influence of the Bolshevik Revolution. Marxism-Leninism finally achieved an orthodox position on China when the communists came to power in 1949.

During the process of modernization, traditional Chinese culture underwent restless attacks and "cleansing." Confucianism as Chinese orthodoxy lost its institutional support when the imperial service examination system (*keju zhidu*) was abolished in 1905 and the Qing Dynasty collapsed in 1911. The May Fourth Movement in 1919 initiated an iconoclastic nationalism with radical anti-tradition sentiments -saving the Chinese nation through radically rejecting Chinese traditional culture. Both Confucian ethics and Confucian *lijiao* (rituals and proprieties) were ridiculed and rejected. Attacks on Confucianism have continued since then, and climaxed in the complete destruction of anything traditional during the "Great Cultural Revolution" (1966-1976) in the People's Republic of China. Moreover, the influx of the Western ideas of individualism, freedom, and gender equality eroded the Confucian precepts of family loyalty, filial piety, and the Five Relations. When the individual rose to assert his or her status as a member of the state rather than of the family, the kinship society disintegrated. The most dramatic change in the People's Republic of China was perhaps the transformation of the peasant from an inert entity to an activist member of the state.

After century-long radical anti-tradition movements, however, Confucianism began in the 1990s to show its pliability and perseverance, as witnessed in the growing interest among Chinese for a search of their cultural roots (Tu 1991). There are several reasons for the renewed interests in traditional Chinese culture. These reasons include the economic rise of Eastern and Southeastern

Asian countries within the so-called "Confucian civilization," the urge in China for a new national identity after the worldwide collapse of the communist camp, and the growing presence and consciousness of the Chinese diaspora.

For the first time, Chinese intellectuals worldwide developed a truly new, communal, critical self-consciousness, in which the agenda of iconoclasm and nationalism is reversed, a search for cultural roots and a commitment to a form of depoliticized humanism became a strong voice in the discourse of cultural China. (Tu 1994:30)

However, the Chinese religious and cultural tradition has undergone dramatic changes in the process of modernization. Traditional Chinese State and family have disintegrated. Many Chinese religious and cultural practices have discontinued. For example, traditional Chinese rituals of passages, including birth, wedding and funeral rites, as well as other rituals, the defining orthopraxy of the Chinese, have been unpopular in the urban centers. Confucianism has mostly become a term belonging to the remote past for people in many parts of the world. The cultural identity of these Chinese is mostly discontinued in term of ritual, as Myron Cohen observes. "Those who today identify themselves as Chinese do so without cultural support provided by tradition" (Cohen 1994:88). There is, however, continuity in ethical values or "the habits of the heart" among ordinary Chinese people. The institutional pillars of Confucianism--the state and the family--have been disintegrated, yet fragments of this system of ethics continue to exist. Some academic scholars of Neo-Confucianism are making efforts to revive

Confucianism in China and the rest of East Asia. However, as one Neo-Confucian scholar acknowledged:

While it is beyond dispute that Buddhism will continue to be vibrant and that Christianity will flourish in the East Asian spiritual landscape, the question of the authentic possibility of a "third epoch" of Confucian humanism remains open. (Tu 1991:747)

The revival of Confucianism may take another form. Without institutional supports, Confucianism can not revive. However, since Chinese religion takes a pluralistic form and Confucianism mostly functions as the ethic of Chinese religion, the revival of Confucianism may also take a pluralistic form with new institutional forms. Moreover, the revival of Confucianism takes place not only in the sinicized East Asia, but also in other parts of the world, where the Chinese populations concentrate and undertake their construction of ethnic identity. This study attempts to show an interesting integration of Confucianism and Christianity. It is part of my hypothesis that Chinese Christian churches may be seen as an institutional base for passing on transformed Confucian values to younger generations.

1.3.4 Chinese and Christian: Tensions and Conflicts

Christianity is a foreign religion to the Chinese. Its introduction to Chinese society met with great obstacles. Chinese identity and Christian identity were often seen as incompatible. These obstacles have continuing influences today.

Cultural Conflicts

The history of Christianity in China can be traced to the seventh century when the Nestorians arrived from Persia. However, the first significant impact of Christianity upon China was not felt until the 16th century when Jesuit missionaries made notable progress in the Chinese society of the late Ming and early Qīng dynasty (Ching 1993:187-197). The Jesuits also introduced the Western sciences of astronomy, mathematics, geography, cartography, and architecture as a means for their missions. Chinese converts to Catholicism once increased to several thousands, including a small group of Chinese scholars and officials in the ruling circles, but the "rites controversy" and the "terms controversy" soon halted the spread of Christianity.

The rites controversy was about the nature of traditional Chinese rituals: Should Christian converts be permitted to continue the practice of the ancestral cult, so central to the entire family and clan system, as well as the veneration of Confucius, in those temples dedicated to his name which were attached to every school in the country? (Ching 1993:192)

Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) and his fellow Jesuits considered these rites non-religious; and they favored cultural adaptation and accommodation. Franciscans and Dominicans perceived traditional Chinese rites as integral parts of pagan religions and opposed them. The "terms controversy" represented the significant differences in terms of language and way of thinking between China and the West. Jesuit missionaries favoured translating the word "God" by

traditional Chinese terms such as *Tian* (Heaven) or *Shangdi* (Supreme Emperor). Their opponents considered these Chinese terms pantheistic and they coined a new name - *Tianzhu* (Lord of Heaven), after suggesting a transliteration of the Latin word *Deus*. Later, the Pope banned the Chinese rites with a decree *Ex quo singulari* and officially adopted the non-traditional *Tianzhu* for God.

As a result of the papal decision, Chinese converts could no longer attend Confucian schools, and their religion became known as the Religion of the Lord of Heaven [*Tianzhu jiao*]... Basically, it meant that one had to choose between "being Chinese" and "being Catholic."
(Ching 1993:194)

The powerful Qing emperor became very angry about what he saw as foreigners making arrogant resolutions concerning "Chinese" affairs; and he issued an imperial edict in 1724 to ban Christianity in China. Catholic missionaries were expelled and the practice of Catholicism by the Chinese was punished. Almost two centuries after *Ex quo singulari*, during World War II, Pope Pius XII in 1939 reversed the decision of 1692, authorizing Christians to take part in ceremonies honoring Confucius and to observe the ancestral rites.

Nevertheless, these cultural conflicts left a legacy still influencing contemporary Christian evangelism among the Chinese. Yet, in many ways the "terms controversy" still exists today. The Chinese language has no equivalent words for key Christian terms, such as "god," "spirit," "commitment," and "community." The lack of those terms in Chinese has caused great difficulties for the Chinese to understand Christian doctrine and to establish their churches.

Consequently, their Chinese perceptions and traditions continue to shape their conversion process and the growth of their churches. Many people, both Christian missionaries and non-Christian Chinese, often perceive traditional Chinese culture and Christian religion as incompatible.

Political Conflicts

Protestant missions in China began in the early 19th century. In 1807, Robert Morrison (1782-1834), the first Protestant missionary sent by the London Missionary Society, arrived in Canton (Guangzhou). He could not enter China because the Qing Dynasty had implemented a closed-door policy. He managed to stay in Macao as an employee of the East India Company, which became notorious for its opium trade and its dirty role in the Opium Wars.

Beginning with the Opium War, all Western imperialist powers came to China with aggressive demands. The imperialist gunboats smashed the once closed door. As more ports were forced to open to "free trade" under the "unequal treaties," Christian missionaries came directly under the protection of Western powers. They sought to bring not only the Gospel, but also the modern life of Christian nations - with all its perceived advantages in health, technology, and science - to the peoples of China. Their missions eventually aimed at demonstrating the overall superiority of Christian civilization in terms of both morality and technology. However,

their close relationships with imperialists and opium traders and their coincidental arrival at the same time caused great opposition from the Chinese people. In the rising nationalist consciousness, Christianity was stigmatized as the "alien" religion - a spiritual poison colluding with the poisonous opium in a conspiracy to seduce and conquer the Chinese nation. Chinese converts to Christianity were treated as traitors to the nation. "One more Christian, one less Chinese" was a common slogan. The national Boxing Rebellion in 1900 and the widespread Anti-Christianity Movement among Chinese intellectuals in the 1930s showed that, for most Chinese, Christianity and Chineseness were culturally and politically incompatible.

Political conflicts worsened in the People's Republic China. The ideological confrontation between the atheism of Marxist orthodoxy and Christianity added to the conflict of nationalism and imperialism. Soon after the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, foreign missionaries were all expelled, and the practice of Christianity was restricted. Later, Christianity was completely banned in the "Great Cultural Revolution" (1966-1976). Even today the Chinese communist government on the mainland is much more suspicious of Christianity than any other religions, though it has generally and significantly relaxed its control over religions.

Modernist Conflicts

Besides cultural and political conflicts, Christianity has also been opposed as an outmoded or pre-modern relic in modern China. During the process of modernization, the Chinese have significantly increased their interests in Western cultures: first technologies affecting material existence; then principles concerning state and society; and finally, ideas touching the inner core of intellectual life. In the early 20th century, in addition to sciences and technology, many Western social theories became popular in China and attracted numerous enthusiastic Chinese followers. Eventually Marxism-Leninism became the orthodoxy of the People's Republic of China, and iconoclastic Chinese nationalism developed. The Chinese dominant elite consciously abandoned Chinese cultural traditions in order to achieve modernization. Therefore, the Chinese rejection of Christianity should not be simplistically viewed as Chinese bias.

Nevertheless, there have been two selective standards for the Chinese to adopt non-Chinese elements during modernization. One is whether it is received as modern; the other is whether it is useful for nationalism, for saving and strengthening China and the Chinese people. The collision with the modernized West woke the Chinese society from the dream of self-satisfaction in the old universal ways. The dominant elite came to realize China's backwardness and consequently attempted to modernize the beloved "Middle Kingdom."

However, the Chinese learned the decline of Christianity in the West during modernization and secularization. Christianity was rejected by most modern Western thinkers, including Karl Marx, Bertrand Russell and John Dewey, who all had a significant impact among Chinese intellectuals during the New Cultural Movement and the May Fourth Movement in the 20th century. Christianity and all religions were seen as outmoded relics of ancient times bound to die out in the process of modernization. Therefore, there was no reason for the Chinese to accept Christianity as a means to save China and the Chinese people and to achieve modernization. When China was in a great danger due to the aggression of imperialism, social Darwinism seemed to be both realistic and appealing. Christian missions might have contributed to some social reforms. Christian moral ideals might be admirable, but according to revolutionary theories, Christianity was a uselessly outmoded system and "reactionary" to social progress. Thus, for the Chinese people who were striving to modernize themselves and to strengthen the nation, it was natural to reject Christian religions.

The modernist opposition to Christianity and all religions became stronger with the increasing spread of modern education. Science and scientism became the standard and norm. Darwin's evolutionism became the scientific truth. For most educated young Chinese, Christian creationism, if not seen as absurd or irrational was regarded as an unscientific mythological tale. In this regard, Chinese rejection of Christian religions became part of a general

modern phenomenon along with the process of globalization and secularization, rather than a Chinese rejection of an alien religion. In this context, the increase of conservative Christianity among Chinese could be understood as part of the larger fundamentalist movements in modern societies.

Chinese in the Diaspora

There has recently been an increasing interest in research on the construction of Chinese identity. To categorize the Chinese in today's world, Tu Wei-ming (1994) distinguished three symbolic "universes" of cultural China. The first "universe" is composed of Mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore - societies populated predominantly by cultural and ethnic Chinese. The second consists of overseas Chinese communities as minority Chinese groups throughout the world. The third "universe" is made of international communities of scholars, students, officials, journalists, and traders who furnished a global forum for China-related matters. The meaning of Chineseness today can best be examined in terms of a continuous interaction among these three "universes."

There are about 39 million Chinese in the second symbolic "universe" scattered in many countries of all continents today. For these Chinese people, identity problems may have been more acute:

Being Chinese in China is in itself a complex problem, but being Chinese outside China has several additional complicating features. It can mean the effort to

reproduce what is remembered of Chinese ways and then transmitting them, however, imperfectly, to descendants. It can mean straining to keep up with developments in China through relatives at home, or by reading news of the fortunes of the empire or the republic. (Wang 1994:128)

The self-identity of Chineseness often results from a situation of being among non-Chinese as ethnic minority Chinese.

Many terms have been used to refer to the Chinese population outside China, among them *huaqiao*, which is commonly translated as "overseas Chinese" (Zhuang 1989), "the Chinese diaspora" (Tu 1994), and "Chinese overseas" (Wang 1991). The term *huaqiao* first appeared in Chinese diplomatic documents after the opium War (1839-42). Its literal meaning "Chinese sojourning overseas," is presumptuous, as it implies that the Chinese government has jurisdiction over ethnic Chinese all over the world, based on a loose interpretation of descent. Because Chinese outside China settled in their adopted countries and acquired citizenship, especially in the period after World War II, and as the People's Republic of China officially abandoned its policy of using race or blood relations to define Chinese nationals in 1955 (Zhou et al., 1993:277), this sense of the word *huaqiao* became untenable. Scholars such as Wang (1991) have advocated the use of "Chinese overseas" rather than "overseas Chinese" to reflect the reality that many Chinese outside China have permanently settled in their adopted countries, since the latter term, in Chinese, implies the "sojourner mentality" - a plan to return to the ancestral homeland to retire (*luoye guigen*). In the

North American context, the terms "Chinese Americans" and "Chinese Canadians" are used to stress the North American roots and allegiance of these people and to dispel the stereotypic image of Chinese as foreigners or sojourners in the New World they have helped to build.

As Chinese in the diaspora, their nationalistic attachment or political loyalty to the Chinese nation-state weakens. Their Chinese identity is shifting from the political toward the cultural China. Some may even move away from Chinese culture and reduce their Chinese identity to a meaning of merely biological descent (*huayi*). Some may also even experience a process of *Peranakanization*, a term adopted from Malysis meaning becoming non-Chinese by assimilating completely into the native society and culture (Wu 1994:161).

There have been two significant Chinese emigrations occurring in the modern times. First, many Chinese people from the second "universe" in Southeast Asia have been remigrating to Western countries with the explicit intention of better preserving their Chinese identity.

These financially secure Malaysian, Indonesian, Filipino, and Vietnamese Chinese have ostensibly emigrated from their adopted homelands of several generations to escape from anti-Chinese discrimination. In other words, to escape the pressure to assimilate imposed by the new nation-states of Southeast Asia and to preserve a measure of Chineseness for their descendants, they have opted to emigrate to modern western-style nations with strong democratic traditions of human rights, freedom of speech, thought, religion, and assembly, and due process of law. By disappearing into a big country, the reasoning goes, they can avoid becoming targets of discrimination, and they and their children will have a better chance of

making a decent living and of keeping their Chineseness.
(Tu 1994:24)

Second, modern social and economic forces have driven a Chinese emigration from China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong - the first Chinese universe - to Western countries during the process of globalization. These Chinese immigrants consciously give up their political or nationalistic allegiance to China the state, but they do not give up their cultural identity with China and the Chinese people. The identity construction of these Chinese immigrants is a question still in need of empirical research.

Through reviewing Chinese religious tradition, the challenges of modernization to Chinese identity, the conflicts between Chinese and Christian identities, as well as reviewing the emerging literature on current identity construction among Chinese in the diaspora, it becomes clear that Chinese identity construction has rich resources as well as burdens arising from various social and cultural traditions. The modern construction of Chinese identity both in China proper and among the Chinese in the Diaspora is a complex issue. Christian identity has been historically regarded as incompatible with Chinese identity. It becomes a challenge for Chinese Christians to reconstruct their Chinese identity. Yet a large number of Chinese immigrants did become Christians. In the next chapters, I will describe and analyze the efforts of this group to integrate Chinese culture and Christian religion.

1.4 Chinese Canadians, Organizations and Churches

1.4.1 Chinese Canadians

Chinese immigration to Canada has a history of about one and half centuries, but only after the 1960s did the Chinese population begin to grow significantly. The 1996 Canada Census counted 921,551 Canadians of "Chinese origin" or about 3.4 percent of Canada's population (Census Canada 1996). However, until 1981, this group of Canadians represented no more than half of one percent of the country's population. In 1961, there were only 58,197 Chinese Canadians. Since the 1970s the number of Chinese immigrants to Canada has increased, and their arrival has substantially raised, the population of persons of Chinese origin—from 124,600 in 1971 to 285,800 in 1981 to more than 600,000 in 1991 to over 900,000 in 1996 (Statistics Canada 1976, 1984, 1994, 1996). Within 40 years from 1960s to 1990s, the Chinese population in Canada has increased 16 times, or seven times within 30 years from the 1970s to 1990s or 150 percent during the last 10 years. Clearly immigration in the last 30 years has played a major role in the considerable growth of the Chinese community in Canada.

First-generation Chinese immigrants dominate the contemporary Chinese Canadian community. In 1991, about 73 percent of Chinese Canadians were born outside Canada and Canadian-born Chinese made up only 27 percent of the group; and 63 percent of them had come

after 1970 (Statistics Canada, 1994). These figures need to be interpreted within the social context of Canada.

The Immigration Act of Canada (1967) is a watershed for many non-European immigrants, including the Chinese. Chinese immigrants often distinguish themselves as "early immigrants" (*laoqiao*) and "new immigrants" (*xinqiao*). The former category includes all Chinese immigrants who came before World War II and most of those who came before 1967. The latter one generally refers to the immigrants who have arrived since the 1960s. Some pre-1967 people, depending upon their social and cultural backgrounds, sometimes are also identified as new immigrants.

Table 1.1

Chinese Population in Canada and National Capital Region, 1881-1996

Year	Total in Canada	In National Capital Region
1881	4353	0
1891	-	0
1901	17,312	83
1911	27,831	168
1921	39,587	282
1931	46,519	305
1941	34,627	272
1951	32,528	404
1961	58,197	970
1971	124,600	3,060
1981	285,800	3,800
1991	633,933	7,260
1996	921,585	19,860

Sources: Census Canada, 1881-1996

Early Chinese Immigrants

Chinese immigration to Canada began around 1858. In response to the gold rush in the Fraser Valley of British Columbia, the Chinese initially migrated from the West Coast of the United States, where many had been engaged in placer mining (Lamb 1977). Later, they were recruited directly from China as indentured laborers, especially between 1881 and 1885, when the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) was built. Among the 10,000 Chinese in British Columbia in 1885 were 2900 railway workers, 1,468 miners, 1,612 farm laborers, 700 food canners, and 708 lumber workers. Store owners and merchants accounted for only 121 of the Chinese at that time (Royal Commission 1885:363-5). They primarily lived in British Columbia and then gradually moved to East Canada by railway.

Early Chinese immigrants (*laoqiao*) were mainly of peasant backgrounds from the rural areas of Guangdong Province of South China. A study of the 5,000 Chinese in British Columbia in 1884-5 reveals that most came from 14 counties in Guangdong province and can be classified into 129 clans according to their surnames (Lai 1975). They had little education in China and worked as labourers, merchants, and small business owners in Chinatowns. The *lingua franca* was Taishanese, a dialect spoken by people of the Taishan regions of Guangdong Province. Their migration both from China to Canada and within Canada was based on extended family relationships or "chain migration" (Lai 1976).

Early Chinese immigrants suffered racist discrimination and anti-Chinese violence. Unlike the European immigrants who were generally accepted into Canadian society, the Chinese were never considered a permanent feature of Canada. They were simply regarded as cheap labour to answer the shortage of the white workers here. Hostility and discrimination against the Chinese began to grow when Canada experienced economic hardships. The Canadian government passed the first anti-Chinese bill in 1885, when the CPR was completed. It took the form of a head tax of \$50 imposed on all persons of Chinese origin entering the country. In 1900 the head tax was raised to \$100 and in 1903 to \$500. The Royal Commission Report of 1902 stated that:

... the importation into Canada of Chinese labour is not in the best interests of the country and should be prohibited...the head tax of \$50.00 has proven wholly inadequate to effect the purpose for which said was imposed; that the large influx of Chinese to Canada is a serious menace to the prosperity and general welfare of this country and British Columbia in particular...these Chinese are non-assimilative and have no intention of settled citizenship, are in moral, social, and sanitary status below the most inferior standard of Western life. (Chow 1996:3)

Between 1875 and 1923, British Columbia passed numerous bills to restrict the civil rights of the Chinese. Finally, in 1923, the federal government passed the Chinese Immigration Act, which excluded the Chinese from entering Canada for 24 years. Moreover, the withdrawal of citizenship rights and the restrictions on occupational competition were legally sanctioned for the Chinese by the state. In 1942, with the repeal of the Chinese Immigration Act,

the Chinese gained the right to vote but only a small number of Chinese were allowed to immigrate to Canada and only on a limited basis. Because Canada maintained its traditional policy of favoring immigrants from Europe and the United States over those from Asia and Africa.

Responding to this institutional racism, Chinese immigrants mostly retreated into Chinatowns in the big cities. These urban ghettos, to a certain extent shielded these people from outside hostility, forged a sense of community solidarity, and constructed a familiar cultural environment. Economically, those Chinatown Chinese evolved in an "ethnic economy" of restaurants, groceries, laundries, gift shops, and domestic services to avoid competition with white workers and business people. Politically, they were deprived of the right of naturalization, so they looked upon China for their national allegiance. Many wished to return to their ancestral homeland to retire after making their fortune in Canada. However, most people either failed to achieve their wish for wealth or finally decided to make their homes in this land. For a long time men crowded Chinatowns with very few women. These male "sojourners" either failed to marry or to bring their wives to Canada due to the immigration restrictions of the exclusion acts. Thus Chinatown became a "bachelor society."

The development of the Chinese community in Canada was tightly constrained by Canadian immigration policy and anti-Chinese laws. In 1881, the Chinese population in Canada stood at 4,383; by 1891,

it had increased to 9,129. Later, the number of Chinese in Canada continued to rise in every census year until after 1931, when they began to decline. Because of the Chinese Immigration Act of 1923, the Chinese population shrank from 46,519 in 1931 to 34,627 in 1941, and continued to decline slowly to 32,528 in 1951. It was not until the late 1940s and early 1950s, that the restrictive immigration policy was repealed.

New Chinese Immigrants

The new waves of Chinese immigration to Canada began with the change of Canadian immigration policies after World War II. In 1947 Canada repealed its Chinese exclusion laws and permitted the immigration of the wives and dependent children of Chinese-Canadian citizens living in Canada on a limited basis. In the late 1940s Canada passed a series of citizenship, voting rights, and educational legislation which permitted the Chinese to become full participating members of Canada. Prior to this time they had been denied entrance into professional schools and certain occupations. Following the repeal of the Chinese Immigration Act in 1947, many family members who had been separated from their husbands and fathers during the long period of exclusion came during the 1950s. With the change of immigration legislation in 1957, the Chinese residents were permitted to apply for their families to come to Canada before they acquired Canadian citizenship. According to

Immigration Statistics, from 1956 to 1965, about 22,000 Chinese immigrants entered Canada, 66 percent from Hong Kong. Since the People's Republic of China did not have a direct diplomatic relationship with Canada, Chinese emigrants having relatives in Canada first obtained the Chinese government's permission to go to Hong Kong, where they could apply for entry to Canada. Thus, many Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong had originally come from China, mostly from the traditional source areas of Guandong Province. Therefore the period from 1947 to 1967 was the era of reunification of Chinese families which had long been separated by discriminatory Canadian laws.

In 1967, Canada amended its 1952 Immigration Act by abolishing national original quotas from Africa and Asia. In Canadian history, it was the first time that Chinese immigrants would be treated exactly the same as immigrants of other nationalities and selected for admission on the basis of education, training, skill, and other criteria linked to the economic requirements. Filtered by this preference system, many new Chinese immigrants had a high education before coming to Canada. Many Chinese first came as students, and then moved to the immigrant status upon achieving graduate degrees and finding employment.

Other changes in the immigration system in the 1980s and 1990s also had enormous impact on Chinese immigration. During 1979-1980, Canada accepted 60,049 Indo-Chinese refugees, about 30 percent (18,021) of whom were linguistically Chinese; Cantonese-speaking

Chinese made up about 20 percent (12,212) of the total (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1982). During 1989-1992, Canada also accepted about 10,000 Mainland Chinese students and scholars with their families as refugees after the Tiananmen Square incident in 1989. Another immigration program started in 1985 attracted prospective immigrants with substantial investment capital. To qualify as an investor in 1985, a businessperson must have a net worth of at least \$500,000, and was required to make a business investment of at least \$250,000 in Canada. Between 1986 and 1996, 13,931 principal applicants were admitted to Canada as investors, of whom 47 percent came from Hong Kong and 36 percent from Taiwan. In the same period Hong Kong and Taiwan accounted for 49 percent of the 33,449 principal applicants as entrepreneurs, as well as 25 percent of the 9,111 principal applicants as self-employed persons (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1996).

Consequently, the Chinese population increased to 118,815 in 1971, and between 1971 and 1981, it doubled again, to 289,245. By the time the 1991 Census was taken, there were 633,933 Canadians of Chinese origin. The majority (about 85 percent) of them were either natives of Hong Kong or resided there quite a number of years prior to their emigration. Moreover, the Chinese immigrants from Mainland China have rapidly increased during the 1990s. In 1996, the Chinese population in Canada increased to 921,585, and the Chinese from Mainland China began to outnumber those from Hong Kong and Taiwan.

Most Chinese in Canada live in Ontario and British Columbia.

In 1971, 37 percent of the Chinese Canadian population resided in British Columbia, and 32 percent in Ontario. By 1981, Ontario, with 40 percent, had outstripped British Columbia, with 35 percent. By 1991, Ontario accounted for 46 percent, and British Columbia 31 percent of the Chinese Canadians. Another 12 percent of Chinese Canadians resided in Alberta and 7 percent in Quebec, with the remaining 4 percent in other provinces (Statistics Canada 1994).

Migrating in a new historical period and under different social circumstances, these post-war Chinese immigrants are very different from their counterparts in the early part of the 20th century. They have experienced much less discrimination. Many are well-educated urban dwellers from Hong Kong, Taiwan, the mainland, and other parts of the world, in contrast to the early immigrants who had come mainly with rural backgrounds from several counties of South China. The newcomers immigrate as families which, in contrast to the all-male early Chinatown, has led to a balance in the age and sex ratios. Many new Chinese immigrants work as professionals in government agencies and non-ethnic companies. They have also settled in ethnically mixed suburbs. For these new immigrants, the Chinese community is no longer a geographically separate enclave. New community organizations have subsequently emerged to meet their different interests and needs.

Socio-Cultural Diversity in Chinese Canadians

There is a significant socio-cultural diversity among Chinese Canadians, which has largely shaped their community development. Early immigrants (*laogiao*) and new immigrants (*xinqiao*) are very different from each other. More significantly, within *xinqiao* there is also a great diversity in language, social, political, and cultural backgrounds. In addition, the Canadian-born generations are quite different from the first generation immigrants.

There is a significant division between early immigrants and new immigrants due to socio-cultural status differences. Gordon used the word "ethclass" to characterize the structural separation of one ethnic people divided in various socio-economic classes (1964:51-54). The lack of solidarity among Chinese Canadians probably is due more to status-consciousness than class-consciousness. After World War II, most early immigrants and their descendants have been as well off as the new immigrants. They are different from the new ones only in that they or their parents or grandparents brought with them a peasant background and had little Chinese education.

Linguistic diversity has also become very apparent among the Chinese in Canada. In Canadian Chinatowns, Taishanese once dominated, and then Cantonese, as spoken in Hong Kong, Macau, and Canton replaced it. New immigrants have brought many Chinese dialects to this country, including Minnan, Hakka, Taiwanese, Wu, Shanghaiese, and many more. Mandarin is the official language of

China (*guoyu* or *putonghua*) that every educated Chinese is supposed to be able to speak, no matter what his or her mother tongue. However, because most Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong and Southeast Asian countries know little or no mandarin, they speak Cantonese or other dialects. Most people from Taiwan speak Taiwanese. Many Chinese from Southeast Asian know little of Chinese dialects instead they speak Vietnamese, Malaysian or Indonesian.

The social and political backgrounds of new Chinese immigrants are even more complex. First there are the uprooted "sojourners"- those born in China proper under the nationalist rule of Republic of China, who escaped from civil wars or fled the Chinese Communist regime. They often wandered around in several places - Taiwan, Hong Kong, or Southeast Asia - before they came to North America and settled down. They tend to hold anti-Communist positions probably because of their suffering experiences. They usually had social and political ties with the Republic of China in Taiwan, but they also have a strong attachment to their birthplaces in mainland China and hold a vision of a united and strong Chinese nation.

Also from Taiwan and Hong Kong were sons and daughters of the "sojourners." They grew up in the booming economies of Taiwan or Hong Kong and generally have less attachment to mainland China than their parents, even though their Chinese national identity can be similarly strong. Some are natives of Taiwan and Hong Kong who have spent several generations there. Some Taiwan natives are supporters or sympathizers of the Taiwan independent movement.

Beginning in the 1980s as already noted, tens of thousands of mainland Chinese students and scholars came to North America to study as graduate students and researchers. Many of them have landed in Canada. Many Chinese visa students in Europe, United State, Japan, and other parts of the world have also immigrated to Canada. These Chinese have great concerns for China's modernization and the national unification of Taiwan and mainland China.

Ethnic Chinese refugees and immigrants from Southeast Asia have suffered doubly, first as Chinese minorities in hostile societies, then punished by the Communists in those countries. Those Indo-Chinese experienced discrimination or political persecution. Many of them came to Canada with an explicit intention to preserve their Chinese identity.

All of the above linguistic groups and socio-cultural groups share similar challenges from yet another group-the Canadian-born Chinese (CBC) and the Canadian-raised Chinese (CRC). For these people, English is their first language, or the only language they can speak. Compared to the immigrants, the CBCs and CRCs usually have greater concerns for social and political issues of Canada.

In contrast to the early Chinese immigrants, contemporary Chinese immigrants are very diverse. All Chinese people do not commonly share the traditional meaning of Chineseness. With such socio-cultural diversity, Chinese identity becomes complicated. The unity of all Chinese is an ideal, but hardly achievable. There are many ethnic Chinese organizations, but most of them stay separated.

1.4.2 Chinese Canadian Community

Chinese Canadians have established many ethnic organizations, either transplanted or invented in this new land. Responding to the changing needs, their structure and functions change.

Chinatown Organizations

Canadian Chinatowns used to be dominated by *huiguan* and *tang*. *Huiguan* include home-district associations (*tongxianghui*) and clan associations (*zongqinghui*), both based on "primordial sentiments" that is traditional (Confucian) basic assumptions and values. Membership in these associations was ascribed. Clan associations brought together men with the same family name. In China it was assumed that persons with the same surname were kin even though the precise relationships might not be known. Since early Chinese immigrants mostly came through "chain immigration," clan association played a major role in early Chinatowns. The home-district associations have members from the same county or region in China. Home-district or locality association was traditionally regarded as an extension of clan association.

In addition, there were some *tang* (triads or secret societies) which were organized on the basis of fraternal principles (Lyman 1974; Pan 1994; Wickberg 1994). They were voluntary organizations,

for membership was not based on affiliations of kinship or locality. In Canada, the most prominent secret society is Chee Kung Tong (CKT, in English, the Chinese Freemasons) which has branches throughout Canada. The CKT came to Canada with the first Chinese immigrants in the mining community of Bakorville, B.C. as early as 1862 (Lyman 1965). The CKT traced its origin to the Triad Society in South China, which arose as an ethico-political cult with the aim of overthrowing the Qing or Manchu Dynasty (1644-1911) and restoring the Ming dynasty which reigned between 1368 and 1644 (Culin 1887). The CKT strongly supported the nationalistic revolution in China, which eventually overthrew the Manchu Dynasty in 1912. Afterwards, it successfully transformed itself into a powerful legal social organization by reserving its mechanism while resetting its goal exclusively to preserve Chinese culture and protect the interests of Chinese overseas (Li 1978). The CKT was involved in the drug, gambling, and prostitution activities of early Chinatowns, but it was not a criminal organization exclusively. It also performed welfare and benevolent functions similar to those of other associations. The CKT leaders were often rich merchants who became community leaders of Chinatowns.

Above these separate huiguan and triads was the umbrella Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA). The CCBA would mediate between and coordinate its member associations and represent the Chinese community to the larger society.

The three traditional Chinese organizations embraced certain

functions: (1) ritual - the organization and celebration of Chinese religious and cultural festivals such as New Year and, the Middle-Autumn festival; (2) social - ownership of a house or hall which served as a center for conversation, gambling, games, and for a few individuals, a rooming house; (3) social welfare_- this included caring for the sick, arranging for the burial of deceased members, and an interpreter service for literate members; (4) economic - providing job placement and operating rotating credit associations known as *hui*; (5) political - setting dispute between members, sanctioning their behaviour, and representing them in contacts with Canadian authorities.

These organizations established a social structure, which united all the Chinese from a particular locality, protected them from the usually hostile outside world, and ultimately regulated the internal affairs of the Chinese community. It also enabled the Chinese to maintain many of their cultural traditions, including language, and thus served as an effective barrier to assimilation. They were traditional Chinese organizations operated exclusively with the principle of "familial ethics." This Chinese social system has been termed the "segmentary system" (Crissman 1967).

Inside Chinatown, community power rested fundamentally on control over clan and locality associations and secret societies. Merchant status and wealth were the primary characteristics of leadership; later the characteristics had become more varied, for leadership could operate over a more complex network of voluntary

organizations (Erickson 1966). Males generally dominated leadership. If women participated, it was almost invariably in a subordinate fashion or in spheres specially reserved for women. Before the 1980s, these associations sided with the Republic of China in Taiwan and expressed opposition to communist China.

Academic research on early Chinese societies (Chinatowns) is based on two distinct approaches. The first approach stresses the formation of distinctive Chinese enclaves in response to a discriminatory Canadian society. The authors who chose this perspective agree that the distinctive development of Chinatowns resulted from the cultural exclusiveness of the first Chinese immigrants and the social and legal discrimination imposed against them by the host society. Some writers, such as Lyman (1974), emphasize the importance of certain characteristics of the early immigrants-their "sojourning orientation", their inability to speak English, their peasant backgrounds, and the tendency for Chinese people to emigrate from the same villages or counties. These characteristics favored a Chinatown social structure based on traditional Chinese descent groups. Other writers, notably Morton (1973) and Li (1988), argue that anti-Chinese laws ultimately banned the Chinese from white occupations, prohibited the immigration of wives and children and excluded Chinese immigration. Canada forced the Chinese into a segmented community and an ethnic economy of restaurants, laundries and groceries - occupation, which did not compete with white labor. The Chinese position in Canada during this

period is a classic example of what Michael Hechter has called "internal colonialism." Internal colonialism occurs when the stratification of a polyethnic society is based on a cultural division of labour, that is when "it assigns individuals to specific roles in the social structure on the basis of objective cultural distinctions" (Hechter 1975:39).

The second approach focuses on the process of assimilation of individual Chinese, mainly Canadian-born, to the host society. Kwoh (1977) reported that a large number of Chinese entered college and sought careers in the professions. However, some writers, such as Chen (1952), stressed the several cultural conflicts between first generation and second generation Chinese and argued that Canadian-born Chinese were "marginal men"-persons uncomfortable in both white and Chinese societies. Lai (1973) agrees that although the Chinese have achieved "behavioral assimilation" (acculturation to Anglo-Conformity values) and certain "structural assimilation" (integration into the host society's occupations), they continue to maintain a Chinese or Chinese-Anglo identity.

New Chinese Organizations

Along with the ever-increasing flow of new Chinese immigrants, there has been a burgeoning growth of different types of Chinese associations in the last two or three decades.

Under Canadian multiculturalism, some new forms of Chinese

ethnic organizations arose, including community service agencies, political organizations, recreation clubs, and religious groups. These new community organizations promoted the interaction between ethnic Chinese and the host society. Some brought in money from governmental financial programs to improve social and economic conditions of the Chinatown community.

Weekend Chinese language schools have mostly functioned as community centres providing regular Chinese education and cultural services. However, these Chinese schools are socially and politically diverse. Most Chinese schools teach Mandarin, the official dialect of China, while some teach Cantonese or Taiwanese. Some schools use the textbooks imported from Taiwan, teach traditional Chinese characters, and adopt the traditional *bopomofo* spelling system. Recently some Chinese schools for children of mainland Chinese have been established. These schools teach simplified Chinese characters used in the PRC and adopt the spelling system of *hanyupinyin*. These pedagogical differences often have political implications - pro-ROC or pro-PRC.

Chinese newspapers and magazines with various cultural and political orientations have emerged and have a significant influence on the forging of a sense of a virtual Chinese community.

With the emergence of different organizations, the Chinese community has disintegrated into **sub-communities**, partly due to the tremendous socio-cultural diversity among new Chinese immigrants in terms of languages, demographic origins, social status, education,

interests, and needs. The functions of the traditional Chinese community organization, such as providing assistance and settling disputes, have mostly been replaced by regular social service agencies. Chinatown no longer exists as a traditional segmentary structure as in the early 20th century, but as a symbolic Chinese cultural and commercial center. The power of the merchant class has steadily declined in community organizations, along with the considerable increase in the numbers of professional Chinese immigrants. The traditional Chinatown organizations such as clan associations and the Chinese Freemasons have lost influence to new Chinese professionals, who have organized various voluntary organizations for their interests and needs.

In brief, today's Chinese organizations are numerous, diverse, and often unrelated to each other. Political stands, socio-cultural orientation, and socio-economic status in Canadian society divide Chinese people. Tensions and frictions have fragmented these ethnic associations, and a common ground is hard to find.

Recent studies have stopped short of offering a new model for understanding the social changes of the current Chinese Canadians. This is probably due to the lack of comparative research during the times in which they were written. In his study of Toronto's Chinatown, Thompson (1989) regards the change of Chinatown as a continuum from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft* and suggests that social class has replaced kinship as the dominant principle of Chinatown social organization.

However, the community development of contemporary Chinese Canadians is still shaped with Chinese traditions and "familial ethics." Clan associations and the Chinese Freemason still have strong influence in community power. As a voluntary organization, the Chinese Freemason is actually regulated and operated on the principle of "familial ethics" as that of the clan association. Even for those new Chinese professional immigrants, locality associations have emerged as new popular community organizations. "Familial business" is not only a business form but also a principle of management for the Chinese businesses in Canada. Chinese Christian churches in Canada are mostly formed on the basis of demographic and linguistic division, function as locality associations and could be so defined sociologically.

The Chinese in Ottawa (National Capital Region)

Chinese immigrants first migrated to Ottawa (National Capital Region) from British Columbia shortly after the completion of the CPR in 1885.⁵ Huatian Tam was the first Chinese to come to Ottawa and his family have given rise to the Tam Clansman's Association of Ottawa (Huang 1997). The Chinatown in Ottawa, compared to other Chinatowns in Canada, has quite a short history. It was not until the 1930s that the Chinese consolidated their collectivity on

⁵ The National Capital Region, or the Ottawa-Hull areas, includes Ottawa-Carleton, Kanata, Nepean, Orléans, Hull, Vanier, and Gloucester.

Somerset Street between Bronson Avenue and Booth Street (Lao 1994). A sense of Chinese community then emerged. The first community organization probably was the Chinese Freemason of Ottawa formed on August 8, 1934. In 1931, there were 305 Chinese, but the number declined to 272 in 1941, because of the Exclusions Acts (See Table 4.1). After World War II, the Chinese population grew to 404 in 1951. The Chinese Community Association of Ottawa (CCAO) was established in 1952 (Yao 1994). Soon suburbanization halted the growth of Chinatown. In 1980, the CCAO built the 12-floor Chinese Community Complex at 80 Florence Street as a community center providing facilities for community activities and non-profit and subsidized housing for senior and low-income Chinese. The Chinese population increased to 3,800 in 1981. In 1979-1980, the arrival of more than 4,000 Indo-Chinese refugees resulted in a rapid growth of Chinatown with the emergence of Vietnamese restaurants and grocery stores.⁶ Now the Chinatown on Somerset Street has expanded between Kent Street and Preston Avenue, and further south along Booth Street up to Gladstone Street. The Chinese population grew more than 20 times since the 1960s, from 970 in 1961 to 19,860 in 1996. The most significant increase in the Chinese population occurred in the 1990s, jumping from 7,600 in 1991 to 19,860 in 1996. If we include the Indochinese population and Chinese visitors and students on

⁶ Under the "4000 Project," Ottawa accepted more than 4,000 Vietnamese (Indo-Chinese) refugees during 1979-1980. Many of them lived in the Chinatown area and many Vietnamese restaurants and grocery stores have subsequently emerged.

several campuses, the total Chinese population can be as high as 30,000 today.⁷

Ottawa as the capital of Canada has an economy dominated by service-oriented industries, notably government and tourism, and high-tech industry developed after the 1980s. The early Chinese in Ottawa were mostly from Taishan areas of South China with peasant backgrounds and spoke Taishanese. Most of them worked in Chinese restaurants and hand-wash laundries and resided in Chinatown. Community power in the CCAO and other associations remained in the hands of the merchant class. After the 1960s, Chinese Canadians achieved Canadian citizenship and many became federal government employees. Immigrants from Hong Kong and Taiwan became the majority. Many of them worked as professionals, but some rich merchants from Hong Kong came to take part in the Chinese restaurant business as well as in the leadership in Chinatown. Cantonese replaced Taishanese as the *lingua franca*. Since the 1980s, especially during the 1990s, the rapidly growing high-technology industry in Ottawa has attracted many Chinese engineers and computer programmers from around the world. Most of them are originally from China with graduate degrees in North America and Europe. In 1996, more than 50 percent of Chinese manpower in Ottawa was professional (1996 Census of Canada). About 4,000 of the Chinese were from mainland China.⁸

⁷ The Indo-Chinese has been classified as "Vietnamese" rather than "Chinese" in the Census of Canada.

⁸ According to the information from the CCAO.

Mandarin became popular with Hong Kongnese. The ethnic economy has changed. Chinese restaurants boomed to more than 400 in 1996, whereas most Chinese laundries disappeared. Today's Chinatown is a Chinese cultural and commercial area only, since most Chinese dwell and work outside of Chinatown. Traditional community organizations such as clan associations and Freemasons have lost influence and the power of the merchant class has declined. Meanwhile the Ottawa Chinese community has as in other Canadian cities disintegrated into many sub-communities, following the rapid increase of professionals with diverse sociocultural backgrounds. There were only 12 community organizations prior to the 1970s, but 48 in 1988, and 86 in 1996.⁹ Like the six Chinese schools and four community newspapers, the nine Chinese Christian churches and one Buddhist temple emerged only after the 1960s, and mostly after the 1980s.

The socio-cultural diversity of the new comers has deeply shaped the Chinese community development in Ottawa. For example, the Indochinese community has been alienated from the Chinese from the beginning. Practising a pro-China policy, the Federation of the Chinese Community Associations of Ottawa has emerged in 1997 as an opponent of the CCAO, which traditionally holds a pro-Taiwan stand for most early immigrants and those from Hong Kong and Taiwan. While the Ottawa Mandarin School is mostly for those from Taiwan, the Ottawa Xin Hua Chinese School mostly for those from China.

⁹ See *the Telephone Directory of the Chinese Community Organisation of Ottawa, 1988 and 1996.*

Chinese Religious Groups in Canada

In spite of the tremendous importance of religious aspects, religious organizations of Chinese immigrants in Canada have not been well documented and are rarely mentioned by historians and sociologists. One finds only fragmented records or sporadic mention in the works of Chinatown studies.

Table 1.2 below shows that in the year of 1991, approximately 58.4 percent of the Chinese claimed no religious affiliations, while 32.4 percent of the total claimed a Christian faith and 11.9 percent of the total are Buddhists.

Table 1.2 Chinese Canadian Religious Identities in 1991 (%)

Religious Identity	Single Ethnicity N = 17061	Multiple Ethnicity (Immigrants) N = 669	Multiple Ethnicity (Canadian Born) N = 1248	Total Chinese Ethnic Population N = 19018
Christian	29.1	56.7	63.7	32.4
Buddhist	11.9	17.5	2.0	11.4
No Religion	58.4	24.5	31.7	55.4
Other	0.6	1.3	2.6	0.8

Source: Public Use Microdata Sample Files, Statistics Canada, 1991 Censuses

Several general remarks are needed for people to understand the religious mosaic of the Chinese Canadians: First, the clan and locality associations and secret societies had religious dimensions,

although they usually did not regard themselves as religious groups. The clan associations always performed some rituals of ancestral veneration. The locality associations often kept shrines to their own local heroes and tutelaries. The triads commonly held cultic practices. As discussed before, these organizations were typical Chinese religious organizations within the cultural context of China. The religious function of clan and locality associations and secret societies in Chinatowns has not been well recognized.

Second, there were some "*joss houses*" (halls of gods) in most Chinatowns. The *joss houses* were often filled with a variety of gods and spirits, some from Buddhism, some from Daoism, and some known only locally in a Chinese village or district. A *joss house* was a place for individual rituals, such as burning incense, rather than congregating with fellow believers.

Third, many Chinese families and businesses, such as grocery stores and restaurants, often had private in-house shrines. It was a centre for personal devotion and family rituals. That manifests the pluralistic religious belief of Chinese immigrants.

Fourth, Buddhist and Taoist temples and cultic meditation groups quickly appeared mostly after the 1960s. Buddhism is the most prominent traditional Chinese religion among Chinese in Canada, due to the great effort of the Buddha Light International in Taiwan. Cultic meditation groups, such as Yanxin Qi-Gong and Falungong, began in the 1990s. These meditation groups emphasis on traditional Chinese ethics, and they are in fact Chinese religious groups.

Last, many non-traditional Chinese religions have been working to convert Chinese immigrants. Many Chinese have converted to Canadian denominations. Chinese Christians churches have outnumbered other traditional Chinese religious organizations. Meanwhile, Western new religious groups and heretical cults hold little attraction to the Chinese.

Canadian statistics on the Chinese religions in Canada should be read carefully. Since Chinese people traditionally do not belong to an institutional religion, many Chinese immigrants may claim "no religion" under the category of religion in the Census of Canada, though this "non-religious affiliation" hides the fact that these people do have religious beliefs and do practice certain religious and cultural rituals. Chinese immigrants, especially early Chinese immigrants, should be categorized as "Confucians or Taoists and Buddhists" if we take into account the characteristics of Chinese religious tradition, as discussed in the previous chapter. For the Chinese immigrants coming after the 1960s, their claim of "no religion" may mean either "no religion" (atheism) or "no religious affiliation but with religious belief." Because Chinese religion(s) are also popular among Japanese, Vietnamese and other people from Asia, it is difficult to identify the Chinese population according to the believers of Chinese religions or to identify believers in Chinese religions within the Chinese population.

Christians Missions in Early Chinese Immigrants in Canada

The history of Chinese Christianity in Canada is almost as long as the history of Chinese immigration. The Chinese churches are, however, very different from those of European immigrants. The early Chinese churches were mission churches in Canada for Chinese people, rather than being brought along by the immigrants. In both the early and recently founded Chinese churches, converts were often the majority. The number of Chinese Christian churches in Canada may reach several hundred today. These Chinese Christian churches have three characteristics: they have had a rapid recent growth, they are conservative, and many are nondenominational.

The history of Chinese Christianity in Canada, like Chinese immigration, can be distinguished in two stages. The earlier Chinatown churches were mostly mission churches for Chinatown Chinese, commonly sponsored by mainline Canadian denominations. The missions of mainline Christian churches had succeeded in converting numerous early Chinese immigrants to Christianity. New Chinese immigrants have founded many more churches in the last three decades. These recently founded Chinese churches tend to be independent and more conservative.

Protestant missions among the Chinese began during the 1880s. Before 1923 most of the missionary work was in the hands of the Presbyterians and Methodists. By the turn of the century, there were Methodist missions to the Chinese people in Victoria, Vancouver, New

Westmister and Nanaimo, running both English language schools and missions in each city. Further east, Presbyterians were active in Montreal and Toronto. The Anglican Church and Roman Catholic Church began their missions to the Chinese in the 1920s. Later, the United Church was easily the leader throughout Canada. Unfortunately, published statistics of the Chinese Christian converts for the whole country are lacking before 1931.

Table 1.3

Numerical Listing of Early Chinese Population by Major Canadian Religious Denominations, 1921-1961					
Denomination	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Roman Catholic	*	687	1,007	1,764	3,801
United Church	*	3,880	4,721	10,612	22,492
Anglican	*	1,128	1,091	1,667	2,636
Baptist	*	190	233	399	973
Presbyterian	*	1,989	2,420	3,564	5,121
Other Christian	*	480	369	105	714
Chinese Religion	38,395	23,270	22,744	-	-
Other Sects	*	615	-	-	-
No Religion	*	2,968	1,843	-	-
Not Stated	*	7,844	199	-	-
Other	-	-	-	14,417	22,460
Total		43,051	34,627	32,528	58,197

Source: Census of Canada, 1921-1961

* No data

Table 1.3 shows that the proportion of the Christians in the Chinese community grew significantly from about 18 percent (8,354) in 1931 to nearly 30 percent (10,000) in 1941. This number jumped to 56 percent (18,111) in 1951, and over 60 percent (35,737) in 1961. Nearly half of them were affiliated with the United Church. About 25 percent were Presbyterians. Smaller proportions (about 10 percent each) were Roman Catholic and Anglican. Under the anti-Chinese legislation and social discrimination against the Chinese, Chinese Christians appeared to be among those who intended to remain or assimilate to Canadian society.

Table 1.4 below shows the interesting geographic distribution of these Chinese Christians. In the Maritimes, the majority of the Chinese apparently were Christians. Vancouver and Victoria are exceptional in that the proportion of Christian converts was lower, but even in Vancouver by 1931 about 20 percent of the population was Christian. Urban Ontario was the center of Christian influence, with half Chinese there being listed as Christian. About 50 percent of the Chinese in Quebec were Catholics. These differences should be understood within the context of Canada. The Chinese in Ontario, unlike those in British Columbia, could vote and could work as professionals like pharmacists and lawyers. It seemed that greater opportunity in Eastern Canada has meant greater interest in Canadian life on the part of eastern Chinese Canadians, including an interest in Christianity as one important dimension of Canadian life shared by most Canadians.

Table 1.4

Chinese Christians in Major Urban Areas by percent of total
Chinese in these Cities, 1931 and 1941

Year	City	Chinese Population	Christians	% Christians
1931	Vancouver	13,011	565	4.3%
	Victoria	3,702	418	11.3%
	Calgary	1,054	300	28.5%
	Edmonton	467	144	30.8%
	Winnipeg	1,033	258	25.0%
	Toronto	2,635	1,183	44.9%
	Ottawa	305	181	59.3%
	Montreal	1,982	565	28.5%
	Halifax	129	99	76.7%
1941	Vancouver	7,174	1,424	19.8%
	Victoria	3,037	510	16.8%
	Calgary	799	259	32.4%
	Edmonton	384	135	35.2%
	Winnipeg	719	169	23.5%
	Toronto	2,326	885	38.0%
	Ottawa	272	196	72.1%
	Montreal	1,703	570	33.5%
	Halifax	127	84	66.1%

Source: Census of Canada, 1931 and 1941

Before the 1960s, the mission of Canadian denominations to the Chinese immigrants was supported by a mentality of assimilation. Missionaries believed that Western cultural values were superior to others. According to Clifford (1977:24), the arrival of immigrants without a Christian heritage threatened the broad Protestant consensus in Canada; Christian denominations responded with a "crusade to canadianize the immigrants by Christianizing them into conformity with the ideals and standards of Canadian white Anglo-Saxon Protestants." Many missionaries regarded Chinese immigration as a moral threat to Christian Faith and Canadian civilization. They described the Chinese immigrants as an army of heathen, selfish, cruel, and corrupt people. From their perspective, these Chinese must be civilized with Christianization and Canadianization. In order to Canadianize the Chinese, the concern of missionaries was for the Chinese to learn the English language. Missionaries thought that when the Chinese people learned English, their heathen minds would be opened to the Christian faith. This missionary mentality resulted in the mission strategy of opening English language schools to the Chinese and slowly developing of Chinese Christian churches. Among the 10,000 Chinese Christians in 1931, there were only six Chinese Protestant churches (Law 1981:371). In missionary minds, Canadianizing the Chinese in Canada was to prepare them to bring Canadian culture and Christian faith back to China, rather than to prepare them to be Canadian citizens.

Clearly, many of the early Chinese immigrants converted to Christianity under the mission of mainline Canadian churches and the pressures of Canadianization, because they viewed conversion to Christianity as a step in the assimilation process. It is worth noting that under the anti-Chinese legislation of the 1920s, many Chinese returned to China. Those more likely to remain in Canada were the Christians. The classifications "nationalized," "Canadian-born" and "Christian" of the Chinese in Canada were overlapping before the 1960s.

Their effort at "behavioral assimilation" (Gordon 1964) to the host society, however, was eventually rejected by the host society. Either in society or in academia, early Chinese immigrants were stereotyped as "sojourners" or the most unassimilated ethnic group. This portrait fails to reflect the social reality that many early Chinese immigrants tried to achieve Canadianization by adopting Christianity. Because of their physical appearance, Chinese Christians were hardly accepted as Canadians, even though they accepted Christianity. It obviously appeared that Anglo-conformity and Canadianization was defined on a racist basis before the 1960s.

Table 1.5 below shows that after 1967 Chinese Christians have had a substantial population increase, but the Christian proportion among the total Chinese population has declined. While the Christian population increased from 48,200 in 1971 to 169,545 in 1991, the proportion of the Christians among the Chinese population declined from 40 percent to 29 percent (Census of Canada, 1991).

Table 1.5 Numerical Listing of Contemporary Chinese Population by Major Canadian Religious Denominations, 1971 and 1991

Denomination	1971	1991
Roman Catholic	13,525	78,195
United Church	21,705	11,335
Anglican	4,880	8,005
Baptist	3,450	16,025
Presbyterian	1,395	6,105
Other Christian	3,245	49,870
Chinese Religion	*	69,655
Other Sects	11,880	*
No Religion	52,415	*
No Religious Affiliation *		344,595
Total	118,815	586,645

Source: Census of Canada, 1971 and 1991 * No data

Table 1.6

Percent Christian among Immigrant Chinese Cohorts and Native Born Chinese Canadians (single ethnic response only)										
Census Year	1982-1991		1972-1981		pre-1972		Native Born		Total Population	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
1991	25.8	6218	31.0	4401	32.8	1704	31.0	3849	29.1	17061
1981			31.8	2690	40.3	1550	39.8	1463	36.2	5716
1971					40.8	778	56.0	468	46.5	1246

Source: Public Use Microdata Sample Files, Statistics Canada, 1971, 1981, 1991 Censuses

Table 1.6 indicates the population changes of Canadian Chinese Christians with the Canadian Chinese. The percentage of the Chinese Christian population has declined along with the increase of the Chinese Canadian population. The percentage of the native born Chinese Christian population among the Chinese Christian population in Canada has also declined from about 47 percent in 1971, to 35 percent in 1981, and 29 percent in 1991. This means that most of the Chinese Christians in contemporary Canadian society are first-generation immigrants.

Table 1.7 Chinese Protestant Churches in Canada

Year	Number
1931	6
1955	22
1961	18*
1980	120

Source: Law, 1981:371; Millett, 1969:114

* number includes only those in three mainline churches - Presbyterian Church, United Church, and Anglican Church.

Table 1.7 shows that the Chinese Protestant churches in Canada have substantially multiplied after the 1960s. The number of Chinese Protestant churches grew from 22 in 1955 to 120 in 1980. In 1998, there were 130 Protestant churches in Eastern Canada only.¹⁰

¹⁰ See "List of the Protestant Churches in East Canada" in April 1998 of *The Herald Monthly*.

The significant increase of the Chinese Christian churches in Canada should be understood within the social context of Canada. After the 1960s, under the new social ideology of multiculturalism, mainline Canadian denominations gradually gave up their mission of assimilating the Chinese people to Canadian norms, and instead began to support the church development of the Chinese. Meanwhile, also encouraged by multiculturalism, Chinese Christians themselves have become active in church development. Many Chinese Christian churches were initiated from bible studies groups at university campuses by Chinese Christian students who landed in Canada afterwards. Chinese Christian immigrants have intended to join or establish their own Chinese church rather than to participate in mainline Canadian denominations.

There is an obvious lack of studies about contemporary Chinese Christian churches in Canada. In the following chapters, I will study contemporary Chinese Christian churches as "minority churches" under the social policy of multiculturalism in Canada, with the Ottawa situation in mind, thus contributing toward a rectification of the aforesaid deficiency.

Chapter Two Chinese Churches in Ottawa

2.1 Early Chinese Christian Community in Ottawa

The Chinese Christian community in Ottawa has more than a century of history. The earliest Chinese Christian community emerged in 1892 among the first Chinese immigrants in Ottawa as a result of Canadian missionary work, but they remained as individuals or small groups in mainline Canadian churches until the 1960s.

The account of J. R. Day (1922) describes the missionary work among the first Chinese immigrants and the consequent emergence of the first Chinese Christian community in Ottawa by the end of the 19th century. Miss Sinclair began the missionary work among the Chinese in Ottawa in 1892. Being a student at the University of Toronto, Miss Sinclair participated in missionary work among the Chinese in Toronto. After returning home to Ottawa, she tried but failed to open a Chinese class in her church. However, she acquired support from a group of Christians and started her first Chinese class in Ottawa in a room over Mr. Gilbert's printing office on Spark Street on a Sunday, June 1892.

At the meeting, Mr. J.A. Rose was elected superintendent of that class that numbered only four Chinese students. That small class of four afterwards grew into a real Sunday school, the first in the city. It first moved from the room over the printer's shop to the Y.M.C.A (Young Men Christian Association), then to the

basement of the Bank Street Presbyterian Church, known as the Chinese Sunday school. The teachers of the school included Presbyterians, Methodists, Anglicans, Brethren, and Hornerites. That progressive school had an afternoon and an evening session with an attendance of about 40 Chinese at each in 1922.

After the commencement of the Sunday school in the Bank Street church, other churches took up the work with varying success. The Anglicans of Christ church and St. George's and the Baptists of McPhail and Metropolitan churches had at one time flourishing schools but for different reasons dropped the work. In 1922, there were three Presbyterian schools: Chalmers, Stewarton and Knox, one Methodist-Dominion, and the Y.M.C.A.. Together they had over 125 students out of the 350 Chinese residents in Ottawa at that time. These Chinese Sunday schools usually offered Bible Studies sessions as well as English language lessons. From 1892 to 1922, over 1,000 Chinese passed through the different Chinese Sunday schools of the city. Many of them became Christians afterwards and a few converts went back to China.

In the fall of 1919, a group of 20 young Chinese Christians organized a Chinese Y.M.C.A.. They rented a room over a laundry on O'Connor Street for their regular meetings of fellowship and prayer. These meetings went on until the Spring of 1920.

In March 1920, all the local Chinese Sunday schools had a joint meeting to discuss their strategy. Accordingly, on April 10, 1920, the Chinese Mission and Christian Association of Ottawa

(CMCAO) was established at a hall at 314 Lisgar Street. The 125-seat hall was rented for \$55 yearly. In 1922, the hall was bought as a permanent place for the CMCAO by Miss A. Pinhey for \$13,000 with a down payment of \$100 raised by the Association (Toy 1984:22). The Chinese had an association within the mission with their own officers. The services on Sunday at 11:15 am and 4:15 pm and were conducted by members of the Chinese Association. During the week educational classes were held. Below is an account of the activities at the CMCAO during the 1940s:

The Chinese teacher evangelist, Mr. Chow Lung Hing, was called to conduct the Sunday worship service. He also taught the children to read and write Chinese after their regular public school hours. About 14 children attended the English Sunday School classes. Attendance at the Chinese Language Sunday worship service was about 16. We had communion two or three times a year. Rev. Paul Chan of Montreal or Dr. William Noyes of Toronto, came to administer the sacrament in Chinese. (Mah 1987:6)

The service brought together the first small Chinese congregation in Ottawa. The CMCAO membership was made up of all those interested in the work upon the payment of an annual fee of one dollar. The officers were elected by the membership. The responsibility for carrying on the mission was vested in a general interdenominational board. The general board was made up of one representative from each church or society contributing \$10 or more per year; two from each Chinese Sunday school in addition to the superintendent-ten Chinese members of the association and the officers appointed by the members of the Mission. There was also a management committee appointed from the members of the General Board

consisting of five English and five Chinese. This committee acted under instruction from the Board. The CMCAO was supported mostly by the United Church Mission fund after 1925 (Toy 1987:5).

Those Chinese Sunday Schools were very successful. The statistics (Table 4.4) show that about 60 percent (181) of the Chinese in Ottawa were Christians in 1931, and over 72 percent (196) in 1941. Ottawa actually had the highest proportion of Christians in the Chinese communities among Canadian cities at that time. This Chinese Christian community had a considerable development during the 1950s and 1960s, when its members were joined by their relatives from China after the change in immigration policies. Alic Mah (1987) described the missionary work among those Ottawa people:

In 1952, the immigration law changed to permit Chinese residents who were Canadian citizens to bring their families into Canada. Soon, many new Chinese Canadians, mostly young men, came to our mission for Christian fellowship. Both worship service and Sunday school attendance increased. Various programs were started to meet the needs of these newcomers, who were largely restaurant workers. We had English language classes, a Chinese newspaper reading room, ping-pong and basketball facilities.

In time, these young men married and our Mission had many brides. Then the babies came and as time went on, our Sunday School grew. We had kindergarten and classes for older children and adults. The Sunday Worship service, however, did not parallel the Sunday School's rapid growth. (Mah 1987:6)

Prior to the 1960s, the early Chinese Christian community in Ottawa had two distinct characteristics. First, the vast majority of those Chinese Christians were attending one of the regional non-Chinese Canadian churches. There was an Ottawa Chinese Christian

Fellowship. The CMCAO at 314 Lisgar Street was a church only for a small group of the Chinese Christians in the city. Rather it mostly functioned a community centre or a mission centre.¹¹ Activities at the CMCAO were mostly for youth and sponsored by mainline churches.¹² Second, it was made up of the immigrants and their descendants originally from Taishan areas of South China with peasant backgrounds. They spoke Taishanese only. They had little education in China and did not speak Mandarin or other Chinese dialects. These early Chinese Christians mostly worked in the so-called Chinese ethnic economy of restaurants, grocery stores, and laundry shops. Third, the Chinese Christian community did not have their own church. In spite of and, in contrast to the stereotype of "sojourner," the early Chinese Christian community achieved both behavioral and structural assimilation.

My survey reveals that most of these early Chinese Christians have chosen to remain in their affiliated Canadian churches rather than to move to the newly-built Chinese churches after the 1960s, even though the CMCAO was inaugurated as the Ottawa Chinese United Church in 1962. The Metropolitan Church at Bank Street, for example, still had a Chinese group of about 20 in 1997. It becomes clear that

¹¹ The CMCAO was a community centre not only for the Chinese Christians, but also for the whole Chinese community of the city before the 1960s, because of its facilities.

¹² The Chinese Mission and Christian Association of Ottawa was called "Youth Association of Chinese Christian Community of Ottawa" (*wojin zhonghua jidujiqohui qinnianhui*) in Chinese and, commonly known as "Youth Association" (*qinnianhui*) among the Chinese, since it had merged with the Chinese Y.M.C.A previously founded in 1919.

the early Chinese Christian community is still alienated from the community of the newcomers, who have had none of their own churches.

Therefore, there are in fact two Chinese Christian communities in Ottawa. The invisible one has been institutionally assimilated into mainline Canadian churches, and the visible one exists in the nine Chinese Christian churches.

2.2. Chinese Churches in Ottawa (National Capital Region)

In 1998, there were nine Chinese Christian churches in Ottawa, including eight Protestant, and one Catholic. The below is a list of the name and the year of birth of these Chinese churches.

Table 2.1

Name and Year of Birth of Chinese Christian Churches in Ottawa	
Name	Year of Birth
Ottawa Chinese Catholic Community	1955
Ottawa Chinese United Church	1962
Ottawa Chinese Alliance Church	1973
Ottawa Chinese Bible Church	1976
St. Peter's Chinese Anglican Church	1980
Chinese Christian Church of Ottawa	1989
Emmanuel Alliance Church of Ottawa	1989
Ottawa Agape Chinese Alliance Church	1994
Ottawa Mandarin Alliance Church	1995

Table 2.1 shows that among the nine Chinese churches in Ottawa, one was founded in the 1950s, one in the 1960s, two in the 1970s, three in the 1980s, and two in the 1990s. In other words, four out of the nine churches were founded in the last 10 years.

2.2.1 Ottawa Chinese United Church

The Ottawa Chinese United Church (OCUC) at 600 Bank Street is a Chinese church of the United Church of Canada in Ottawa downtown. As a denominational church, it is unique at certain ways. It is the largest Chinese church in Ottawa with a 700-seat capacity with facilities for simultaneous interpretation, and many rooms for Sunday School, fellowship meetings, and offices. Trilingual Sunday service is offered at 11:00 am in English and two Chinese languages (Mandarin and Cantonese) with translation.

It is the oldest Chinese church in Ottawa with a history going back to the first Chinese Christian group one century ago. And it is an ethnic minority Chinese church in the United Church of Canada.

This evangelical Chinese church has a difficult relationship with its Canadian denomination - the "liberal" United Church of Canada. Conflicts caused a congregation split in 1989.

The church has been struggling to unite the various linguistic and cultural groups among its Chinese congregation. The term "United" in its name has been a challenge for itself.

The history of the Ottawa Chinese United Church goes back to

the first Chinese Christian group in 1892, when Mr. Rose opened the first Chinese Sunday School on Sparks Street. The success of the Chinese Sunday Schools in different Canadian churches caused the founding of the Chinese Mission and Christian Association of Ottawa (CMCAO) in 1921 at 314 Lisgar Street, supported mostly by mainline churches. In the early days, the CMCAO was the scene of many conventions about Chinese work.

The CMCAO was closely affiliated with Chalmers United Church (now Dominion-Chalmers United Church). After 1925, the CACAO was supported mostly by the United Church Mission Fund. Mr. James R. MacGregor, Elder of the Dominion-Chalmers United Church and the Ottawa Auxiliary of the Bible Society, served as president of the Board of the CMCAO for many years (Toy 1987).

In 1955, Dr. Yau Szeto was ordained as a minister of the United Church of Canada. He became the Senior Pastor of the CMCAO. The United Church also seconded Miss Winnifred Harris, who had been a missionary in China for many years, to serve with the CMCAO for the mission among the increasing Chinese immigrants, who came to join their families after the repeal of the anti-Chinese laws during the 1950s.

On the recommendation of James R. MacGregor, Rev. Samuel Choo (Zhu Jinqun) came to be an evangelist and Chinese Language School principal in 1960. Mr. MacGregor suggested having the CMCAO under the control of a Canadian denomination. Consequently, a formal request was made to the Ottawa Presbytery of the United Church to

accept the CMCAO as a congregation of the United Church.

The CMCAO joined the United Church on October 28, 1962 under the name of "The Ottawa Chinese United Church" (OCUC) (Toy 1984), becoming the first Chinese Protestant church of the city. Dr. Szeto retired then; and the deaconess was Miss Evelyn Ricker who had been the United Church missionary to China for many years. Rev. Samuel Choo was the first minister inducted. The new congregation had 35 chartered members and 42 adherents. The Worship Service was in Chinese (Cantonese). The church was structured according to the manual of the United Church of Canada. The Board of Elders also included Miss Ethel Johnston, Jack Sim, Paul McIntosh, Robert Crain and J.R. MacGregor from mainline churches (Mah 1987:6). On January 21, 1963, the OCUC women's group of 25 members was formally received into the United Church Women (Toy 1987:8).

During the first ten years from 1962 to 1972, the OCUC had slowly developed itself from a mission centre into a minority church. Following the CMCAO tradition, the church continued English classes for new immigrants and Chinese language school.¹³ Worship service, Sunday School, and fellowship were gradually developed. The Sunday School teachers and English teachers included those from mainline churches: Erma Smith, Ellen Roe, Ethel Johnston, Evelyn Ricker, and Paul McIntosh. The influence of Canadian missionaries and evangelical teachers, however, faded in the 1960s. James R.

¹³ The Chinese language school in the OCUC was the predecessor of the Ottawa Chinese Language School.

MacGregor, the architect of the CMCAO and the OCUC, died in 1965. Paul McIntosh, who was the Sunday School Superintendent for more than 25 years, died in 1966. When Evelyn Ricker retired in 1967, a Chinese woman (Margaret Cheung) became the deaconess of the church. However, the OCUC did not succeed in attracting both the earlier Taishanese Christians in Canadian churches and the newcomers from Hong Kong and Taiwan. Average Sunday service attendance was about 25 in 1972.

Rev. Samuel Choo left in 1968 for a position in the Winnipeg Chinese United Church, when Stephen Liao (Liao Gengshen) came as Senior Pastor. Rev. Liao left in 1972. The church continued without a pastor until 1973 when Wing H. Mak (Mai Rongxi) came.

The important numerical growth took place during 1972-1982 under the ministry of Rev. Wing H. Mak (Kong 1987). Because Rev. Mak was originally from Taishan, many Taishanese Christians came to the church from Canadian churches, with their children, many of whom spoke English only. In 1974, Rev. Mak began to offer services in both Cantonese and English for those who could speak English only. Rev. Mak continued the OCUC's tradition to participate in Chinese community activities. The congregation outnumbered 314 Lisgar Street facilities, with an average Sunday service attendance of 150 and Sunday School of 75 at the beginning of 1975. Consequently, the church moved to the Church Hall of the First United Church on 397 Kent Street in July 1975. By the end of 1975, the congregation increased to a weekly attendance of 210 for Sunday service and 125

for Sunday School. The church also became financially independent in 1976; before that, it had received a subsidy from the United Church of Canada. Church institutions took shape during the same period. The youth fellowship was established in 1974. Mission conferences, summer Sunday School, adult fellowships, winter retreats, and Youth Summer camp started in 1976. Two fellowships for students and professionals began in 1977.

Rev. Mak was ordained as a United Church minister in 1974. He was joined by Miss Nancy Chen in 1976 and Rev. Alex Yeung in 1979. Rev. Yeung totally took up the work of Christian education after the departure of Nancy Chen in 1979. In early 1982, Rev. Mak left the church because of poor health, and in August Rev. Alex Yeung resigned. The United Church sent Purves-Smith, a retired minister to serve as an interim pastor until the fall of 1983. In November 1982, William Wan (Yan Guodong), previously of Ottawa Chinese Bible Church came to be Senior Pastor of the church.

During the period from 1982 to 1989, the Church experienced sustained growth under the ministry of Rev. William Wan, a pastor from Singapore gifted in preaching and administration (Law 1987). Due to his powerful messages, Rev. Wan became popular not only in the church, but also in many local mainline churches. He actively participated in local Chinese community work and the work of the United Church Presbytery. Rev. Wan further institutionalized the church in terms of structure and working methods. On July 17, 1984, the church bought the building at 600 Bank Street with a total cost

of more than \$600,000 (including the purchase price of \$449,000). The average Sunday attendance grew from 250 in 1982 to 290 in 1984, to over 350 in 1986, and to about 400 in 1988.

Along with church development, the OCUC identified itself more and more as a conservative evangelical church, gradually entering into conflicts with its denomination, the predominantly "liberal" United Church of Canada. In 1989, the United Church did not reject the appointment of homosexual pastors, due to its liberal theology. The OCUC firmly opposed such appointments, holding to a conservative theological perspective, under the leadership of the strong-minded Pastor William Wan. In April 1989, the vast majority of the Chinese congregation broke away from the church and founded subsequently the independent Chinese Christian Church of Ottawa. The remaining congregation of the OCUC declined to a number of about 40 only, mostly seniors (Orr, interview, 1998). Mr. Zhou Shuban recalled the unfortunate congregation split:

The whole congregation agreed to oppose the policy of the United Church with regard to the homosexual issue, but differed about whether the church should remain in the denomination. Most wanted to leave; but a small group, mostly seniors, chose to remain with a protest to the United Church. One of the reasons for that was because the congregation could only achieve independence without the church building, since the building legally belongs to the United Church. Then the remaining congregation was then under a lot of pressures, since they were called 'traitors' by some of those left. (Zhou, Interview, 1997)

In 1990, after the congregation split and the departure of Pastor William Wan, Pastor Wing H. Mak returned to the Church. His contribution to the church growth during the 1970s and his good

reputation among the local Chinese community helped the revival of the church. The church began its Mandarin ministry to attract the rapidly increasing Chinese immigrants from the mainland in the city since 1989. The congregation gradually recovered to a size of about 100 in 1993. However, the congregation still maintained a conservative theology after the congregation split. Rev. Mak was criticised for his participation into Chinese community activities and his support of a Christian couple living together without marriage. Rev. Mak resigned in 1994.

The church remained without a pastor for two years. In 1995, Rev. Rod Bennettee came to take charge of the English ministry.

In 1996, Rev. T.K. Ng (Wu Deqiang) from Hong Kong came to the church as senior Pastor but left after one year, mostly because he failed to manage the church conflicts between the Mandarin and Cantonese groups.

In 1998, the Caucasian Rev. Rod Bennettee became the senior Pastor of the church after his three years of successful work with the English ministry at the OCUC. He does not speak Chinese, but has been accepted as a neutral manager over several groups with various linguistic and social backgrounds in the congregation. The average Sunday service attendance was 77 in March 1998.¹⁴

The OCUC has not recovered from the church split. It still faces challenges from both the denominational and the internal.

¹⁴ See the OCUC Weekly Service Programs, March 1998.

2.2.2 Ottawa Chinese Alliance Church

The Ottawa Chinese Alliance Church (OCAC) at 22 Eccles Street in Ottawa is a Chinese church of the Missionary Alliance Churches of Canada. It began in 1973 as a mission church of the Hebron Missions of the Christian and Missionary Alliance (C&MA) in Hong Kong and has had a booming development.¹⁵

In April 1973, on the recommendation of Rev. Jonathan Kaan (Jian Guoqing) in the Montreal Chinese Alliance Church, the Hong Kong C&MA Hebron Missions sent Rev. Paul Lai (Lai Jianpeng) to Ottawa as a missionary to establish the Ottawa Chinese Alliance Church (OCAC). On April 22, the OCAC held its first worship service using the Central Alliance Church (600 Bank Street) basement chapel. Attendance was approximately 15 persons. In August 1974, Rev. Paul Lai was ordained C&MA pastor in Hong Kong (Lai 1993).

During the first four years, basic functions of the church were established (Chan 1993). These included the worship service, the Sunday School classes, a few fellowship groups, an outreach program and the Building and Missions Funds. The early church ministry focused primarily on Chinese visa students, then mainly from Hong Kong. They formed a majority group of the congregation. In April 1975, the OCAC officially joined the Missionary Alliance Churches of Canada. In October 1976, the service was moved to the

¹⁵ The brief history of the OCAC is based on the information in the annual reports and *OCAC 20th Anniversary Special Edition*.

main chapel of the Central Alliance Church from the basement due to the increase in attendance. The church at first received support from the Hebron Missions in Hong Kong, but in 1977 became financially independent. By 1977, the church had a congregation of about 120.

From 1977 to 1982, the church experienced a stage of church strengthening and building up. In 1977, the OCAC started renting the primary school at 250 Cambridge Street for worship services and a building at 22 Rosebery Avenue as a Youth Centre. In September 1979, the OCAC bought a Roman Catholic school building at 22 Eccles Street for \$112,000 as its own church building.¹⁶

The church started reaching out to students on the university campuses and conducting discipleship training. As a result, a few members entered various seminaries to receive theological training and became pastors later. The best example was Francis Tam, who was baptized in the church in 1977 and became the Senior Pastor of the Ottawa Agape Chinese Alliance Church twenty years later. In 1982, the church established the English-speaking Elijah Fellowship and offered an English worship service, to meet the needs of the growing second generation members. The church growth was evident. In 1982, the average number of Sunday Service attendance was about 220.

The period from 1982 to 1988 was marked by many changes. The congregation had been growing with a constant influx of Chinese visa

¹⁶ See "The Outline of Church History," in *The OCAC 20th Anniversary Special Edition*. Pp. 31-34.

students. Between 1985 and 1987, the number of visa students in Ontario declined drastically due to the tuition fee increase of Ontario Universities, thus reducing the number of students coming to the church (Chan 1993). On the other hand, the number of families in the church was increasing at a steady rate. This situation continued until 1988 when the number of foreign students started to increase again. This resulted in a mixed congregation. In 1987, the average of Sunday service attendance was about 186.¹⁷

These six years also saw the arrivals and departures of the pastoral staff. Assistant Pastor David Poon (Pan Guohua) came to the church in 1981 and left in 1985. The Senior Pastor Paul Lai left in 1986. The church continued without a pastor for two years until Jason Yeung (Yang Qingqiu) came as Senior Pastor in 1987.

Since 1988, the OCAC has witnessed a history of growth and production. Under the leadership of Pastor Yeung the focus of the church began to shift to build stability and leadership among the family groups, instead of university students. This shift was evidently important and enabled the church to grow and become more strong and productive, because the children of these families gave the church strength in numbers (Dick 1993). In 1989, Rev. Dick Kaan (Jian Daide) came as Assistant Pastor to take charge of the growing English-speaking ministry.

In 1990, in view of the needs of the Mandarin-speaking members

¹⁷ See "Twenty Years Statistics," in *The OCAC 20 Anniversary Special Edition*. p. 52.

and influx of students and scholars from mainland China, the church started a separate monthly Mandarin-speaking worship service and invited Assistant Pastor Jonathan Teo (Zhang Fucheng) to develop the Mandarin ministry (Chen 1993).

During 1990-1991, the church accomplished its church building project by demolishing the old building and constructing a new one on the same site. Since then, the church has had a rapid growth. They have an aggressive outreach program, a vigorous Christian Education program and a church planting and growth plan. This has resulted in a rapid growth in the fellowship groups, a new early morning Cantonese Worship Service and the installation of a new leadership structure with one Board of Elders and three Boards of Deacons and Deaconesses, each serving a language ministry. As of 1993, the OCAC had a congregation of 312 chartered members, and had 15 fellowships and four Sunday worship services: two in Cantonese, one in Mandarin, and one in English. The average Sunday service attendance was about 580 people, including 100 children.¹⁸

After the departures of Pastor Jason Yeung in 1995 and Pastor Dick Kaan in 1997, Dr. Hing Wong (Huang Hongxing) came to be Senior Pastor in 1995. Pastor Daniel Tjoe-Long (Qiu Lifu) arrived in 1997.

In 1997, the OCAC had a congregation of 284 active members. According to information from the church, the average attendance for the year was 136 for the English service and 216 for the Cantonese

¹⁸ See "Outline of Church History" on the Wall of the OCAC chapel.

service. The congregation decline was a result of its church planting projects, which have produced three new churches.

As a mission-oriented evangelical church, the OCAC has been very active at missions and church planting. In 1978, the church held its first mission conference. Each year missionary conferences were held to provide focus and training for church members to be aware of the need for global evangelization. During 1978-1992, the church sent more than \$450,000 to support overseas mission projects (Dick 1993:12). In 1996 and 1997, the mission expenses grew to \$127,817 and \$168,372 respectively.¹⁹

Following the C&MA tradition, the OCAC has a major focus on church planting. In 1989, the church planted a Cantonese speaking church, the Kanata Chinese Alliance Church (now Emmanuel Alliance Church of Ottawa) in West Ottawa, with a starting congregation of about ten families. In 1990, a church planting proposal was made to cope with the "Church Planting Project 2000" of the Canadian Alliance Church, which plans to establish 21 new Chinese Alliance churches in Canada by the year 2000; it meant two new Chinese Churches in the Ottawa-Hull area. Accordingly, the OCAC aimed to found a Cantonese-speaking church before 1996 and a Mandarin-speaking church before 2000.

In August 1994, the OCAC founded a new Cantonese-speaking church, the Ottawa Agape Chinese Alliance Church (OACAC), in Ottawa

¹⁹ See the OCAC Annual Reports of 1996 and 1997.

South. The OACAC began with 70 people (15 working individuals plus students), renting facilities of the Fifth Avenue Free Methodist Church in Ottawa. In 1996, the OACAC moved to its church building at Unit 119, 21 Antares Drive in Nepean.

In July 1995, the OCAC planted a Mandarin-speaking church, the Ottawa Mandarin Alliance Church (OMAC), in Ottawa East. It started with 47 members, renting the facilities of the All Saints Anglican Church at 317 Chapel Street, Ottawa.

The OCAC now has the largest Chinese congregation in Ottawa. With the support of the other three Chinese alliance churches, and the cooperation of the other local Chinese churches, the OCAC plays a leading role in evangelical activities in local Christian community and Christian missions in local Chinese community. It still intends to plant new churches in Ottawa, when other Chinese churches focus primarily on the development of their own churches. Moreover, the church has developed a strong attachment to the Canadian Chinese Alliance Churches Committee and the other Chinese Alliance churches in the world.

2.2.3 Ottawa Chinese Bible Church

The Ottawa Chinese Bible Church (OCBC) is an independent local Chinese Christian church in Ottawa. The church is located at 381 Richmond Road, near the Ottawa Chinatown. Sunday service begins at 9:30 am in both Mandarin and English. Sunday School begins at 11:10

am. In 1997, the church had a congregation of 113 chartered members, and the average of Sunday service attendance was about 150.²⁰ The senior Pastor was Yu-Hsiung Chen (Chen Yongxong). Before 1995, the church was the only Mandarin-speaking church in Ottawa, despite some Mandarin-speaking groups in other Chinese churches.

The Ottawa Chinese Bible Church (OCBC) was founded in 1976 by a group of Chinese Christian families. The senior church member Winson K. Ng witnesses the origin of the church in his account:

In April 1976, the Ottawa Chinese Bible Church (OCBC) was established by five Chinese Christian families (one from Cambodia, one from Malaysia, and three from Hong Kong). We had been Christians before we came to Ottawa, and we were all working families. At that time, there were two Cantonese-speaking denominational Chinese churches (the Ottawa Chinese United Church, and the Ottawa Chinese Alliance Church) in Ottawa. The two churches did not fit us. The Chinese Alliance Church focused on university students, that could hardly meet our needs. The Chinese United church then was having internal conflicts between its early Taishanese-speaking and new Cantonese-speaking groups. We did not want to involve in church conflicts. We also did not like denominations. Moreover, we speak Mandarin, although some of us know Cantonese. Therefore, we decided to establish for ourselves an independent and Mandarin-speaking Chinese church.

Our church began with a small congregation. The total membership, including children were less than twenty. The constitution of the church was made with a reference to that of a Canadian church. We rented a room as our meeting place at Bronson Avenue in Chinatown and hired William Wen (Yan Guodong), a theological student from Singapore at the St. Paul University then, as minister. We paid for his food, accommodation and a salary of \$600 per month. After one year, because of the attendance increase, the church moved to the First Avenue, renting facilities from the St. Elias Presbyterian Church. We had Sunday afternoon services, for the St. Elias Church use

²⁰ See the OCBC Annual Report of 1997.

the facilities in Sunday morning. In 1977, Pastor William Wen left the church for Singapore, and Rev. David Pan (Pan Jianshen) from Taiwan came to be the Senior Pastor of the church. (Wilson K. Ng, interview, 1997)

During 1977-1993, the OCBC was under the ministry of Pastor David Pan. The church has been a family-oriented church, since the majority of the congregation have been working professionals with families. Children Sunday School and youth ministry have been very important ministries of the church.²¹ As the only Mandarin-speaking Chinese church in Ottawa before 1995, the OCBC attracted Mandarin-speaking Chinese from all over the world but mostly from Taiwan during the 1970s and 1980s and the mainland during the 1990s.

The OCBC experienced its first rapid growth during 1980-1981, when many Chinese students came to Ottawa from Taiwan and Hong Kong because Ontario waived foreign students tuition fees. Many came to know Christ as students, went on to graduate, got married, and started having children. In 1981, the average Sunday service attendance increase to about 140.²² The church became a well-known "Taiwanese church" for most of the members were from Taiwan during the 1980s.

In 1981, the church appointed the returning William Wen Assistant Pastor in charge of the English Ministry for the rapidly growing student and youth groups. William Wen achieved his immigration to Canada through that appointment, but he only stayed

²¹ See the OCBC Annual Report of 1987. p. 14.

²² Winson K. Ng. Interview. 1997.

for one year and abruptly left in 1982 for a position of Senior Pastor at the Ottawa Chinese United Church. Later, Ted Anderson and David Lee served as Youth Pastors for short periods respectively. The church annual report started in 1987, ten years later after its establishment.

In March 1988, the OCBC moved to Fourth Avenue, renting facilities from the Baptist Church. The new facilities enabled the congregation to start Sunday morning services and to have a Sunday lunch meeting together after services, which has been a significant part of church social life.

The OCBC has experienced another growth since 1988 when many Chinese students and scholars from mainland China began to arrive in Ottawa. In 1989, most of the 28 baptised new members were from mainland China.²³ In 1990, the congregation raised to 116 charter members. In 1997, among 102 charter members, more than 40 were from mainland China and formed a particular fellowship in the year. However, like other local Chinese churches, the church growth has often suffered from the mobility of its professional members. In 1996, five families left the church due to their relocation, which translated to the loss of more than ten members.

In 1993, after a 16-year service, Pastor David Pan was voted out by the congregation when the church board refused to renew his contract. The departure of Pastor David Pan resulted in a

²³ See the *OCBC Annual Report of 1989*.

congregation split. Some church members who supported Pastor Pan left for other local Chinese churches. Moreover, the church conflict in leadership also caused the 1992 public vote in favour of joining a Canadian denomination for leadership.²⁴ In July 1993, Rev. Yu-Hsiung Chen from Taiwan came to be the Senior Pastor of the church.

In January 1997, the OCBC bought the building at 381 Richmond Road in Ottawa for \$45,000 and renovated it as its own church. Since then the average Sunday service attendance increased from over 100 in 1997 to more than 140 in 1998.

The growth of the OCBC as an independent local church has been restricted by the limited resources of its congregation. It took more than 20 years for the OCBC to have its own church building in 1997. Some church leaders called for evangelism, but most members show little interests in mission and social action. During the last ten years from 1987-1997, the church mission fund was less than five percent of the total annual budget. A church leader once remarked:

Traditionally, our church has been conscious of the evangelistic responsibility. However, we are not yet developing a practical yearly plan. During the past year, there were individual efforts from some Christians; but the majority of the congregation still need to be mobilized to witness for the lord.

In the last few years, our evangelistic meetings did not go well because the Christians failed to make efforts in learning, practicing and persistently carry on personal witnessing ministry. At first, the board did not plan for any evangelistic meeting during the year; and then held

²⁴ In the 3 May 1992 congregational meeting, more than 70% of the congregation voted to join a Canadian denomination for leadership, and a committee was set up to formulate a proposal. However, the church remains as an independent church.

a joint one with The Chinese United Church when Rev. Stephen Tong came up here during his mission trip across Canada in last September. Although it was less than a success, we did learn in visitation and intercession.²⁵

The OCBC appears to focus on its church building up rather than outreach and mission, even though it claims to be a fundamentalist and evangelical church.

2.2.4 St. Peter's Chinese Church

The St. Peter's Chinese Church (SPCC) is a Chinese Anglican church of the Anglican Church of Canada in Ottawa. The parish shares the Anglican Church of St. Lukes at 760 Somerset Street West in the heart of Ottawa's Chinatown. Sunday Service is in Cantonese, since the majority of the congregation of 50 people are from Hong Kong. The Rector is David Stanley Yue (Ru Jikun). The small parish has two fellowships for adults and youth respectively. In 1998, the church had a congregation of about 40 members consisting of more than 20 families. The average of Sunday worship service attendance was about 50 (Records of Service Attendance, 1998). Parishioners going regularly to the Sunday noon services at the St. Peter stay for lunch (cooked in turn by four women), followed by conversation, a Bible study or a youth activity such as table tennis.

The SPCC emerged in 1980 as a minority parish for the Chinese Anglican immigrants in the city (Edward Zhang, interview, 1997).

²⁵ See Yan Yuxian, "Mission Report," in *the OCBC Annual Report of 1987*, p. 9.

During the 1970s, some Chinese Christians of Hong Kong came to Ottawa either as immigrants or students. They formed a Chinese fellowship in the St. George's Street Anglican Church in Ottawa. Whereas on June 29, 1980, the St Peter's Chinese Church was established for the Chinese congregation in the church, when their number raised to about 50, the minimum congregation requirement of the Anglican Church of Canada for a new parish. The first Rector of the church was James Chu (Zhu Zhewen), an immigrant Father from Hong Kong who had been among the Chinese Anglican fellowship in Ottawa.

In April 1984, the SPCC moved to the current place, sharing the Church of St. Duke in the heart of Chinatown. In 1989, Rector James Chu left the SPCC but got his friend Father David Yue in Hong Kong to replace him. Therefore Rev. David Yue has become the Rector of the church since 1990.

The SPCC has remained as a small parish. It has not succeeded in attracting new Chinese immigrants, probably due to its complex religious rituals. The congregation has been generally supplemented by the Chinese Anglicans from Hong Kong and by the nature growth of its members, rather than by new converts. After the 1980s, many of its student members left the church after graduation and the number of the people from Hong Kong decreased. Therefore, the congregation has declined.

The SPCC can exist as a minority church with a small congregation because of the support of its official denomination, the Anglican Church of Canada. The Rector of the SPCC is paid by the

Anglican Diocese of Ottawa and the SPCC only pays its telephone bill while sharing the Church of St. Luke. The SPCC only needs to submit to the Diocese of Ottawa a fixed amount of funds, which is usually raised in the November feast from its well-established membership of professionals, if necessary. For this reason, the amount of weekly donations is small. The Sunday donation of February 1, 1998 was \$260 only.²⁶ As a minority church, the SPCC has good attachments with the Anglican Church of Hong Kong and Chinese Anglican clergy and lay persons from all over the world, while maintaining smooth relations with the Diocese of Ottawa.

Being the only non-evangelical Chinese Protestant church in the region, the SPCC is inactive in evangelism, keeping a distance from the other seven evangelical Protestant churches, but makes a visible presence in the local Chinese community. In 1980, the small parish once sponsored ten Indo-chinese refugee families. Rector David Yue has been an editor of The Chinese Community Telephone Directory. The Church Warden Edward Cheung is a well-known lawyer in Ottawa. He has been active in community activities, serving as the lawyer of the Chinese Community Newspaper and sponsoring the yearly community Table Tennis Tournament. (Yu, interview, 1997)

²⁶ According to the SPCC Sunday Service Program of February 8, 1998.

2.2.5 Chinese Christian Church of Ottawa

The Chinese Christian Church of Ottawa (CCCO) is a local independent Cantonese-speaking Chinese church in Ottawa. It is located at 116 Empress Avenue in central Chinatown. In 1998, the Senior Pastor for English ministry was Rev. Gregory Wong (Huang Tianquan). The Pastor for Cantonese ministry was Clement Cheng (Zen Yongjian). The Youth pastor was Calvin Fong (Kuang Xiandao). In 1998, the church had a congregation of 157 charter members, and the average attendance of Sunday worship service was 257 including children.²⁷ Nearly 60 percent of the congregation are adults, including a big senior group, and 40 per cent children and youth.²⁸ The Sunday attendance of 339 people of April 12, 1998 included 175 in Chinese service, 115 in English service, 14 in Junior Worship, and 35 in Children Worship. The Sunday School attendance of that day was about 100.²⁹ Below is the meeting schedule of regular church activities as of 1998:

English Worship Service	Sunday	11:00 A.M.
Cantonese Worship Service	Sunday	11:00 A.M.
Sunday School	Sunday	9:30 A.M.
Prayer Meetings	Wednesday	7:30 P.M.
Senior Prayer Meeting	Tuesday	1:00 P.m.
Adult Fellowship	2nd Saturday	12:00 P.M.
University/Career Fellowship	Friday	7:30 P.M.
Youth Fellowship	Friday	7:30 P.M.

²⁷ Gregory Wong. Interview. 1998.

²⁸ See the *OCCC Annual Report of 1995*, p. 19.

²⁹ See the Weekly Program of the OCCC of April 19, 1998.

Pioneers Clubs for Children 2nd&4th Friday 7:30 P.M.

The CCCO is a family-oriented church. The theme of the church well represents in the two grand Chinese banners hung over the wall of the main sanctuary. One banner reads "I love my family" (*wuai wujia*) and another "Glorify God and Serve Mankind" (*yongshen yiren*). Because majority of the congregation are working professional families, the church services aim to meet the interests and needs of different age groups, and to enforce family values through various church activities.³⁰ The church seems to pay great attention to the second-generation of its congregation, because two of the three pastors work on English ministries. The Cantonese ministry is strongly supported by many church leaders with extensive experience of church management.

The CCCO was founded on January 1, 1989 by the congregation that separated from the Ottawa Chinese United Church. The CCCO constitution documented the origin of the church in its preamble:

Whereas the Ottawa Chinese United Church was inaugurated on October 28, 1962, and

Whereas on October 30, 1988, the OCUC resolved as a congregation to oppose the ordination of ministers who are practising homosexuality, premarital or extra-marital sexual activities (in the United Church of Canada) and

Whereas on December 18, the same congregation resolved to separate from the United Church of Canada on a date to be determined, and

Whereas on January 1, 1989, the separating congregation resolved to carry out its ministry as the continuing

³⁰ Gregory Wong, Interview, 1997.

congregation of The Ottawa Chinese United Church under the name of "The Chinese Christian Church of Ottawa."

It is hereby resolved that the same congregation carries on its existence by reconstituting itself for the purpose of continuing to maintain a place for worship of Almighty God, our Heavenly Father; to provide for Christian fellowship for those of like precious faith where the Holy Ghost may be honored according to our distinctive testimony; to assume our share of responsibility and the privilege of propagating the gospel of Jesus Christ by all available means, both at home and in foreign lands, we whose names appear upon the Church roster under above date, do hereby recognize ourselves as a local Church in fellowship with other churches of like precious faith, and shall adopt the following articles of church order and submit ourselves to be governed by them.³¹

It is more appropriate to use the term "congregation split" rather than "church split" for that incident, because the OCUC continued afterwards with about one tenth (40) of the congregation left.³² The incident, however, signified that the Chinese church had become a mature fundamentalist church after a 26-year development and sought to establish its identity as a Chinese minority church in terms of theology and public voice. Their fundamentalist action against the United Church of Canada also gained support from some other Canadian fundamentalist churches. About 200 Chinese Christians left the OCUC and founded the CCCO, renting the facilities from the St. Giles Presbyterian Church in Ottawa. Sunday afternoon service was in either Cantonese or English with translation. The church attendance

³¹ See the CCCO *Constitution and By Laws*. March 1995, p. 1.

³² The congregation eventually split into three groups: a small group of about 40 still remained in the OCUC, the majority of more than 200 subsequently established the CCCO, and the other left for other Chinese and Canadian churches.

was about 210, and the Sunday School was about 125 in 1989.³³ The church rents rooms from a neighboring school for Sunday School because of the insufficient facilities. Half year later, the church bought and moved to the current church building.

The CCCO started with nothing but a large congregation with fundamentalist beliefs and extensive experiences in church ministry. Thus the church quickly took shape and undertook various ministries. Moreover, the church could buy a grand church building within one year of its establishment. At the beginning, two Associate Pastors Li Yanling and Men Yaoguang from the previous OCUC came to lead the church. Pastor Men Yaoguang left in 1990 when Benedict Chan (Chen Jinghua) came as Senior Pastor. After the departure of Rev. Li Yangling in 1991, Pastor Chan was joined in July 1992 by Rev. Gregory Wong who became Associate Pastor for English Ministry. After the resignation of Pastor Chan in 1995, Gregory Wong has become Senior Pastor, and he was joined by Rev. Calvin Fong and Rev. Clement Cheng (Zeng Yongjian) in 1997.

Being an evangelical church, the CCCO has been active in outreach and missions. Mission Fund occupied over 12 percent of the church expenses in 1997. Their mission activities include sending short-term mission teams to other cities in Canada, organizing evangelical meetings with other local Chinese churches, and supporting overseas missionaries. They also organized shows of play

³³ See the *CCCO Annual Report of 1989*.

and Gospel dramas in the Chinese community. Their Gospel singing group accompanied with Cantonese folk music, became popular in the Chinese celebration of Chinese New Year.

2.2.6 Emmanuel Alliance Church of Ottawa

The Emmanuel Alliance Church of Ottawa (EACO) (originally the Kanata Chinese Alliance Church) at 4 Thorncliff Place, Nepean, is a Chinese church of the Canadian Alliance Church in West Ottawa. It is also the only Chinese church in Ottawa not bearing the word "Chinese" in its name. The church aims at becoming a local church not only for the Chinese but also for other ethnic groups, though only one non-Chinese was in its congregation by 1998.

The EACO was originally established in 1989 under the name of "The Kanata Chinese Alliance Church" (KCAC) as a result of church planting by the Ottawa Chinese Alliance Church (OCAC). The OCAC implemented this project as part of the "Church Planting Project 2000" of the Canadian Alliance Church when its congregation outnumbered the church facilities at 22 Eccles Street in Ottawa. The KCAC was designated to serve the Chinese working families in West Ottawa, where suburbanization rapidly developed from the 1980s. At that time, about 250 Chinese families lived there, including some Christians.³⁴

³⁴ See "Recall of the Church Planting Project" by He Wenqu, in *The OCAC 25th Anniversary Special Edition*. p. 38.

The KCAC began in August 1989 with about 10 families, mainly from the OCAC, renting facilities in a Canadian church in Kanata. The Sunday services were in Cantonese, for most of the congregation were from Hong Kong. On August 20th, the first Sunday service was held by Pastor Gu, the Superintendent of the Alliance Church of East Canada, with an attendance of over 40. The church became financially independent from the beginning. The OCAC Pastors came subsequently to lead services until July 1990 when the church had a Senior Pastor Li Shenling, previously of the Gospel Church in Hong Kong. On September 4, 1991, the KCAC moved to Castlefrank E. School at 39 Leacock Way, because of an attendance increase.

In August 1993, Pastor Li returned to Hong Kong. The church had Rev. Renault as advisor taking up Christian Education, while the pastors from other Chinese alliance churches and the Ottawa Chinese Christ church came to support the services.

By the end of 1994, Rev. Aaron Tang (Deng Guanghua) came as Senior Pastor. Rev. John Hall came in February 1995 as Associate Pastor for the English ministry.

In July 1995, the church moved to a school at 4 Throncliff Place, Nepean and quickly bought the property in December as its permanent church with the financial support of other Alliance churches. In March 1996, the church changed its name to "The Emmanuel Alliance Church of Ottawa."

In December 1996, the English service began. The English Ministry aims "to build up second generation Chinese Christians, in

addition to reaching out with the Gospel of Jesus Christ to the people who live in the communities in the west end of Ottawa."³⁵

Mandarin ministry began with a Mandarin Bible Studies group separating from the Ottawa Chinese United Church in 1996, and in 1997, along with the increase of participants from mainland China a Mandarin service started for a good reason:

The concentration of mainland Chinese in the Bayshore and Kanata area is probably the highest in the region. The local high-tech companies will ensure a steady increase in that population in the foreseeable future. Emmanuel Alliance is ideally located for that population.³⁶

With a congregation of over 76 members in 1998, the EACA now offers trilingual Sunday worship services in Cantonese, Mandarin, and English, which is unusual today in Ottawa, but conforms to this church's particular mission to serve all people in Kanata.

The church is characterized by its work among Chinese working families. The majority of the congregation are families of professionals with children. In Sunday attendance, the number of children was more than 50 percent the number of adults in 1991. Well-organized fellowships and activities for different age groups have become attractive to working families of both Christian and non-Christian people. A summer school teacher reported in 1997:

Through life-application messages, games, crafts and other activities, Pioneers Clubs attracted many children to come to the church every Friday evening from 7:00-8:30

³⁵ See "English Ministries" by John Hall in *the KCAC 1995 Annual Report*. pp. 30-31.

³⁶ See "Mandarin Ministry" by Zhao Yanhui in *the EACO 1997 Annual Report*. pp. 35-37.

pm. to have fun and a meaningful time. Our enrollment has increased over 30 percent (from 32 members for term '96-'97 to 42 members early this year). Approximately one quarter of them have come from non-church families.³⁷

The church began its work among working families and then extended to the university students and seniors, as it expanded to the children of its church members. The church benefits from the offering of a middle-class congregation, but also suffers from the frequent relocations of the members who are mostly working professionals. In 1997, for example, the 25 inactive members mostly left the church for relocation. The congregation remained at a number of 72 approximately.

2.2.7 Ottawa Agape Chinese Alliance Church

The Ottawa Agape Chinese Alliance Church (OACAC) is a Chinese church of the Missionary Alliance Churches of Canada in South Ottawa. It is located at Unit 119, 91 Antares Drive in Nepean. The Sunday worship service is celebrated in Chinese (Cantonese). In 1998, the church had a congregation of 73 chartered members plus 16 children. The senior Pastor was Rev. Francis Tam (Tan Wenjin).

The OACAC was established in August 1994 as a result of church planting by the Ottawa Chinese Alliance Church (OCAC). In 1993, the OCAC had a congregation of about 600 people, including about 100 children, which outnumbered its church facilities. The Cantonese-

³⁷ See "Pioneer Clubs" in *The EACO Annual Report of 1997*. P. 48.

speaking congregation was 320 strong with about 130 students in three fellowships. The number of Cantonese-speaking students mainly from Hong Kong was expected to increase in the next few years, because Ottawa has two universities and a community college. The OCAC also attempted to develop its mission among the Chinese students in the community college and the high schools. Therefore the OCAC began to implement its church planting plan to establish a new church mainly for students. According to the plan (Chan 1994), the new church would in the beginning consist of about 35-40 students and a core of 15-20 working people (singles or couples with children not older than three). It was for financial reasons that the new church began with young couples and workers, whose offerings would ensure church maintenance financially. On July 31, 1994 the OCAC sent off its young pastor Francis Tam and 70 members who had signed to join the new church with a church building fund of \$20,000 for two years, to establish the new church.

On August 7, 1994, the Ottawa Agape Chinese Alliance Church (OACAC) began their first worship service, renting facilities from the Free Methodist Church at Fifth Avenue in Ottawa. The church is very close to the university campuses. On August 28, 1994, the OACAC had the official opening worship service. Sunday worship service was celebrated in Cantonese in afternoon, since the Free Methodist Church had morning services. By 1994, the new church had a congregation of 53 chartered members. The average of Sunday service attendance was more than 80 including children (The OACAC Annual

Report of 1994). Francis Tam has been the Senior Pastor of the OACAC since then and he was ordained as a C&MA pastor in 1996.

The OACAC received financial supports from the other two local Chinese Alliance churches, the CCACC, and the C&MA at beginning³⁸ but achieved financial independence in October 1995.³⁹

Designed originally as a church mainly for students, the OACAC started as a church mainly for young people including students, young couples and workers. It is a young church of young people with fellowships for three groups of students, single workers, and couples with children. At the beginning, as designed by the OCAC, the OACAC focused on student work and played a leading role in campus missions through the Chinese Alliance Christian Campus Fellowship. However, later soon it had to cater to the needs of the growing and changing congregation. In 1995, professionals formed half of the congregation, while another half were students. The church was mainly supported and led by working professionals, rather than students. The church growth has witnessed the increase of members from working professionals rather than students, because students mostly leave the church after graduations. Meanwhile, the church began to attract more and more Chinese professionals working in high-tech companies in the region. Consequently, the church decided to shift its focus from students to working professionals.

³⁸ See *the OACAC Annual Report of 1994*.

³⁹ See *the OACAC Annual Report of 1995*.

On July 28, 1996, the OACAC moved to its own church building at Unit 119, 91 Antares Drive in Nepean, which was bought and renovated from a warehouse. The new building is far away from university campuses but enables the church to provide morning services for those working professionals with children.

The church relocation signifies that the OACAC has developed from a church mainly for students into a local balanced church, totally out of the influence of its mother church, the OCAC.

Now the OACAC is a Chinese church mainly for students and young working professionals who speak Cantonese in South Ottawa.

2.2.8 Ottawa Mandarin Alliance Church

The Ottawa Mandarin Chinese Alliance Church (OMAC) is a Chinese church of the Canadian C&MA in East Ottawa. It is located at 317 Chapel Street in Ottawa, renting facilities from the All Saints Anglican Church. The Sunday worship service is celebrated in Mandarin Chinese. In 1997, the church had a congregation of 71 chartered members. The average of Sunday service attendance was about 95. The church continues without a pastor after 1998.

The OMAC was established in 1995 as a result of the church planting of the Ottawa Chinese Alliance Church (OCAC). The OCAC began Mandarin ministry from the beginning in 1973, for the first Pastor Rev. Paul Lai spoke Mandarin, even though later Cantonese ministry became dominant. In 1990 the OCAC started monthly Mandarin

worship service with attendance of more than 30 and hired Jonathan Teo (Zhang Fucheng) for Mandarin ministry. In 1993, the number of Mandarin group increased to more than 70, mostly from mainland China.⁴⁰ After successfully founding the Ottawa Agape Chinese Alliance Church in October 1994, the OCAC decided to build a new Mandarin-speaking church in East Ottawa for missions among the increasing Chinese immigrants from mainland China after the 1990s. In January 1995, members shared the vision and a public forum was held in February, and a steering committee gave the name to the newly planted, planned special prayer meeting, looked for a meeting place and moved into the All Saints Anglican Church. The church planting project attracted 60 people (Teo 1996).

On September 10, 1995, the Superintendent of East Canada District of the Canadian C&MA joined the opening Sunday service of the Ottawa Mandarin Alliance Church (OMAC). The church began with 47 chartered members. Rev. Jonathan Teo became the first Senior Pastor of the church. The church received financial support from the East Canada District, the CCACC, and the OCAC (Teo 1996). The steering committee was dissolved after six months, and the congregation elected the first Executive Committee of eight members consisting of six men and two women. The eight members ministered to the congregation with the pastor. They called the committee to lead the church in different areas of ministries.

⁴⁰ See "The Development of Mandarin Ministry in the OCAC" by Chen Guaoxian in *The OCAC 20th Anniversary Special Edition*.

The OMAC rented the second sanctuary of the All Saints Anglican Church at 317 Chapel Street as its meeting place in the beginning. The worship time was 11:00 am and the Sunday School time was 9:45 am - 10:30 am. Later it rented the main sanctuary of the All Saints Church for the Sunday worship service, because of the rapid increase in church attendance. The time for worship was changed to 11:30 am and 10:14 am for Sunday School. They still use the second sanctuary for junior worship and a babysitting service.

The OMAC uses the 11-3-3 proportion for budget, which is suggested by the District, to support the Head Office, the District and the CCACC. They use 11 percent of the General Fund to support the Global Advance Fund, three percent to support the Canadian Ministry, and another three percent to support the CCACC.⁴¹

The OMAC is very active in mission among the Mandarin-speaking Chinese through various activities ranging from summer camps to fellowships. The Sunday service attendance increased from about 60 in 1995 to more than 100 in 1997. The average attendance was about 90 adults plus 20 children in 1997.⁴² The church has a Nehemiah Fellowship for students (30-40), a Joseph Fellowship for career people (20 plus), and an Enoch Fellowship for adults (20-30).

The OMAC is a young church which mainly consists of first generation Chinese converts mainly. The congregation mostly are

⁴¹ Jonathan Teo. Interview. 1996.

⁴² See the *OMAC Annual Report of 1997*.

working professionals, and some students and seniors. The congregation are mostly from mainland China, and Taiwan, Hong Kong, as well as other parts of the world. In contrast to the other three local Chinese Alliance churches, which quickly achieved financial independence, the OMAC had a financial crisis as of 1998, because the offerings of the congregation was far short of the church budget. Most of the congregation from mainland China appear to offer to the church far less than 10 percent of their incomes as suggested, even though they are well-paid working professionals. That was far below the expectations of the church and its mother church the OCAC. One of the reasons for that is because the people from Mainland have more financial pressures than those from Hong Kong or Taiwan who have well-established earlier.⁴³ In 1998, Pastor Jonathan Teo left the church for a missionary job among the Chinese construction workers in Israel. The departure of Pastor Teo somehow improved the financial situation of the church, since the salary of pastor formed about 47 percent of the total church income in 1997.⁴⁴ The church continues without a pastor. Pastors from other local Chinese churches have been invited in turn to lead the Sunday worship service.

⁴³ Jonathan Teo. Interview. 1998.

⁴⁴ According to *the OMAC Annual Report of 1997*.

2.2.9 Ottawa Chinese Catholic Community

The Ottawa Chinese Catholic Community is a Chinese Catholic congregation at 320 Olmstead Street, Vanier, renting facilities from the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary Church. Mass in Chinese (Cantonese) is celebrated by Chinese Pastor Bosco Wong every Sunday at 12:00 p.m.. In 1997, the congregation was made up of 80 families of 180 people, mostly from Hong Kong.

The Ottawa Chinese Catholic Community celebrated its 40th anniversary in 1995. Issued from a small Catholic group that resulted from missionary work among Chinese immigrants in Ottawa, the community now has a parochial structure and seeks to become a Chinese church.

This Chinese Catholic community started with missionary work among the Chinese in Ottawa. In 1955, Sr. St Raphael and two Sisters from the Missionary Sisters of the Immaculate Conception in Montreal came to visit the Chinese in Ottawa. On October 11, 1955, three Sisters and Madam Alice Wong arrived at 211 Bronson to start their work. A house belonging to the Grey Sisters of The Immaculate Conceptions was rented. This could be considered the cradle of the Chinese Catholic Community.

On September 4, 1956, the community took possession of a house at 443 Gilmour Street. The first Mass was celebrated by Mgr J.N. Gelineau, Vicar General and the first named chaplain was Father Joseph Lee. In 1958, Mr. Lee See Ning became the first adult

baptised in the Community.

In 1960, the missionary Sisters of The Immaculate Conception bought their own property, a three-floor building with a spacious yard, at 30 Goulburn Avenue for the community. That place was officially known as the Chinese Catholic Centre. In 1981, a new wing was extended at the basement for the Chinese centre to cope with the continuous development.

Prior to the 1980s, the work of the mission centre mainly aimed at the youth, especially the students from Hong Kong. Though the centre had services celebrated by priests, it actually was a popular "Chinese Centre," for its regular fellowships had attracted many Chinese students. The mission was not considered a success in terms of the number of converts.

In 1984, a fundamental change in the centre occurred when Father Bosco Wong, a Hong Kong engineering student with theological training in Ottawa, became the first Chinese priest in Ottawa and the chaplain of the community. Since then he has been the priest of the community. He transformed the centre from a mission centre into a community based on a parochial structure. This change was to cope with the growth of the Chinese congregation, whose majority were the Catholic immigrants from Hong Kong (that was already Christian before their arrival) rather than new converts in Ottawa, as is the case for other local Chinese Christian churches. The mission centre became an immigrant church-like congregation. In September 1984, the community moved to Our Lady of Perpetual Help Church in the

Chinatown area in order to attract more Chinese people. Sunday afternoon Mass started at 1:30 pm in Cantonese. Having a better time and better structure got more people involved in the community. In order to facilitate the convenience of having a parish hall available, the community was relocated to the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary Church in Vanier in 1991.

The community has had a steady congregation of about 70-80 families for many years. The congregation is augmented by the Chinese Catholic immigrants from Hong Kong and the natural increase of the families of its congregation, due to the strong family tradition of the Catholic church. It is a rather exclusive institution, because of the linguistic factor. Nevertheless, the community needs a new vision of mission strategy to meet the challenge of a recent congregation decline, for the immigrants from Hong Kong have rapidly decreased after the middle of the 1990s.

2.3 Sociological Inquiries in the Chinese Churches in Ottawa

2.3.1 New Chinese Immigrant Churches

These nine Chinese Christian congregations in Ottawa have been all established after World War II. The Ottawa Chinese Catholic Community started as the missionary "Chinese Catholic Centre" in 1955 but took a parochial shape in 1984. The Ottawa Chinese United Church was initiated in 1962 from the inter-denominational

missionary "Chinese Mission and Christian Association of Ottawa." The St. Peter's Chinese Church was inaugurated in 1980 from a group of Chinese Anglican immigrants from Hong Kong. Established by the Hong Hong C&MA Church in 1973, the Ottawa Chinese Alliance Church founded three Chinese churches (The Emmanuel Alliance Church of Ottawa, The Ottawa Agape Chinese Alliance Church, and The Ottawa Mandarin Alliance Church) in 1989, 1994 and 1995 respectively. The two independent local Chinese churches (The Ottawa Chinese Bible Church and The Ottawa Chinese Christian Church) emerged in 1980 and 1989 respectively.

These nine Chinese congregations have all been established by new Chinese immigrants coming after World War II, although the first Chinese Christian group emerged one century ago, and the Chinese Christian population once was the majority of the Chinese community in Ottawa before the 1950s. These Chinese Churches were all founded by the first-generation Chinese immigrants with their families, and they are still dominated by the first-generation Chinese immigrants, in spite of the increase of Canadian-born and Canadian-raised young generations in the congregation.

Most of the Chinese Christians are new converts, and some of them had been Christians before they immigrated to Canada. The congregations of the St. Peter's Chinese Anglican Church and the Ottawa Chinese Catholic Community have been mostly formed by those Chinese who had been Christians before they immigrated to Canada. The majority of the other seven Chinese Protestant congregations are

formed by new converts who have become Christians after they came to Canada.

Canadian social policies have a direct impact on the development of the Chinese churches. The post-War immigration policies have not only brought new Chinese immigrants with good education and skill, but also allowed the Chinese to work in all professions. In the case of Ottawa, that has caused the rapid increase of the Chinese population of working professionals and university students. It seems that only working professionals and university students seek to build Chinese churches, and only working professionals can do it.

The Chinese Mission and Christian Association of Ottawa in the 1940s, for example, had to rely on the United Church Mission Fund and only afforded a part-time minister at \$50 per month with about 50 Chinese members, most of whom were restaurant workers in Chinatown (Mah 1987). In contrast, five Chinese working families established the Ottawa Chinese Bible Church in 1976. They could afford the rent of the church and paid a minister a salary of \$600 per month plus food and accommodation.⁴⁵

The immigration policies also has impact upon the growth of the church populations. The nine Chinese churches have greatly benefitted from the growth of the Chinese population in the city. During the period from 1991 to 1996, the total Chinese Christian

⁴⁵ Winson Ng. Interview. 1996.

population in the National Capital Region increased 75 percent from less than 1,000 in 1991 to less than 1,750 in 1996. The Ottawa Chinese Alliance Church founded three churches in the 1990s to cope with the growth of the Chinese communities in the different areas of the region. Immigration policies have also influenced the resources of Chinese immigration. For example, the Chinese United Church began in 1963 with a mixed congregation of early Taishanese-speaking immigrants and later Cantonese-speaking immigrants. After the 1970s, the Cantonese-speaking group became dominant as the immigrants and students from Hong Kong increased. In the 1990s, the church began its Mandarin-speaking Ministry because the rapid increase of the immigrants from mainland China in the city, which also resulted in the emergence of the Ottawa Mandarin Alliance Church in 1995. The Ottawa Chinese Catholic Community and the Ottawa St. Peter's Chinese Anglican Church have witnessed a decline in the congregation respectively along with the decline of the Chinese population from Hong Kong after the middle of the 1990s.

The Chinese immigration patterns in terms of place of origin, language, age group, and occupation also have a deep impact on the growth of these Chinese churches. Among the nine churches, two are Mandarin-speaking, and seven are Cantonese-speaking. Among the seven Cantonese-speaking churches, two offer Mandarin worship services as well, and one has Mandarin fellowship. The Mandarin-speaking Ottawa Chinese Bible Church often sends Cantonese-speaking visitors to the neighboring Chinese Christian Church of Ottawa. The Ottawa Mandarin

Chinese Alliance Church always refers Cantonese-speaking visitors to the Ottawa Chinese Alliance church. All of the Chinese churches offer English services and English ministries for the Canadian-born or Canadian-raised second generation congregations.

The Canadian social policy of multiculturalism has a profound influence on the development of the Chinese churches. The Canadian denominations have gradually given up their mission strategy of assimilation, and instead, supported the development of minority churches in the post-war time. Consequently, the Chinese United Church, the St. Peter's Chinese Anglican Church, the Ottawa Chinese Catholic Community, and the Ottawa Chinese Alliance Church could emerge and develop as "ethnic minority churches" within the denominations. The founding of the other six Chinese churches also took place after the 1970s when the minority cultures were widely recognized and encouraged as a distinct feature of Canadian society under the ideology of multiculturalism. These nine Chinese churches have all benefitted in their development from the social policy of multiculturalism. Under multiculturalism, these Chinese churches can exist and develop as "visible minority churches."

2.3.2 Chinese Church Distribution Centered in Chinatown

These nine Chinese Christian churches form an ethnographic distribution pattern that centers in Chinatown. Among the nine churches, the six Protestant churches are in or near Ottawa

Chinatown, even though the vast majority of the congregations live in other areas rather than in Chinatown. The Ottawa Chinese Christian Church, the St. Peter's Chinese Anglican Church, and the Ottawa Chinese Alliance Church are located in the heart of the Ottawa Chinatown. The Ottawa Chinese Bible Church, the Ottawa Chinese United Church, and the Ottawa Mandarin Alliance Church are near Chinatown. The majority of the congregations live far away from Chinatown. For example, only less five percent of the congregation of the Ottawa Chinese Bible Church dwell near the church.⁴⁶

The Emmanuel Alliance Church of Ottawa (originally the Kanata Chinese Alliance Church) and the Ottawa Agape Chinese Alliance Church are particularly established to serve rapid growing Chinese communities in West Ottawa and South Ottawa respectively. These two churches tend to become the Chinese community centres in the two areas respectively. The Ottawa Agape Chinese Alliance Church was first located in the Free Methodist Church at Fifth Avenue, near by the university campus, because the church was designated originally for students. The church moved to the Nepean, when it changed its focus from students to the Chinese working families.

The church sites were chosen consciously to make the church attractive to the Chinese people visiting Chinatown and, on the other hand, to make it convenient for the congregation visiting Chinatown after church activities. The Ottawa Chinese Bible Church,

⁴⁶ Yu-Hsiug Chen. Interview. 1997.

for example, turned down a proposal for purchase of a church in 1988, because the proposed building is far way from Chinatown.⁴⁷ In 1996, the church moved into the church building at Richmond Road nearby Chinatown. From the perspective of church development, the physical presence of a church in Chinatown is the best advertisement to attract Chinese newcomers as well as the best option to undertake mission activities among the Chinese community. The Chinese Christian Church of Ottawa, the Ottawa Chinese Bible Church and the Ottawa Chinese Alliance Church in Chinatown all have had steady development during the 1990s. From another point of view, their locations give these churches a strong sense of being a part of the Chinese community and being a minority Chinese church. The location of these churches also helps their members not only to visit Chinatown easily but also to reinforce their identity of being Chinese when attending church becomes a part of their visiting of Chinatown. Church members often undertake shopping or dining at Chinatown after Sunday services and church activities. The Ottawa Chinese Catholic Community has suffered a decline in congregation and outreach after it moved out of Chinatown to Vanier in 1991.⁴⁸

It is evident that the distribution of the nine Chinese Christian churches represents the needs of Chinese Christians to construct a sense of a Chinese community.

⁴⁷ See the *OCBC Annual Report of 1988*.

⁴⁸ According to the *OCCC Special Edition of the 50th Anniversary Celebration*.

2.3.3 Church as a Religious Minority in the Chinese Community

The nine Chinese Christian congregations form a religious minority of the Chinese population in the National Capital Region. In 1996, the nine Chinese Christian congregations had a total population of less 1,750, which formed about nine per cent of the Chinese population (19,860) in the region.⁴⁹ In 1991, the Chinese Christian community numbered 1,000, which constituted about 14 percent of the total Chinese population of 7,260 in the region. In 1941, the Chinese Christian community, however, once formed more than 70 percent of the Chinese population in the region (Census of Canada, 1941). The Christian proportion among the Chinese community in Ottawa has obviously decreased during post-war times.

The growth of the Chinese Christian community is far behind the rapid growth of the Chinese community in Ottawa. The Chinese population in Ottawa sharply increased from 3,060 in 1971 to 3,800 in 1981, to 7260 in 1991, and 19,860 in 1996 (See Table 4.1). The significant increase of the Chinese population occurred during the 1990s, when in five years from 1991 to 1996, the Chinese community increased 275 percent from 7,260 to 19,860. During the same period, the Chinese Christian population, however, increased 75 percent from less than 1,000 to less than 1750.

⁴⁹ This finding sharply differs from the data in the Census of Canada. The 1996 Census of Canada, according to 2 percent of sample survey, indicated that more than 30% of the Chinese in Ottawa-Hull areas were Christians. The number of Census of Canada appeared inaccurate, although some Chinese Christians might not join in the nine Chinese congregations.

The Chinese Christian community makes a visible presence to the Chinese community through the existence of the nine churches and various church activities in the Chinese community.

The Chinese Christian community is the largest sub-community in the Chinese community in Ottawa. The official Ottawa Chinese Community Organization and the Federation of the Chinese Community Organizations exist symbolically, and offer no regular services to the Chinese community, except for organizing the annual celebration of the Chinese New Year. The Chinese community has dissolved into many community organizations after the 1970s. In 1997, there were 84 community organizations in Ottawa,⁵⁰ but only some of them have regular fellowships or meetings. Those offering regular services are becoming sub-communities. The Chinese Christian community is the largest sub-community among the Chinese community because of their Christian belief and their institutionalized community life. The Ottawa Chinese Catholic Community has no contact with the eight Protestant churches, and the eight congregations usually undertake their ministries independently. However, each of the nine churches functions as a community centre much better than any other Chinese community organizations in term of "institutional completeness."

The Chinese Christian churches greatly contribute to the disintegration of traditional Chinese community organization and the transformation of contemporary Chinese community organizations in

⁵⁰ According to *the Chinese Telephone Directory of 1997*.

terms of form and governance. The nine Chinese congregations are all neutral community organizations. They have never been involved in the community politics about supporting the communist government in China or the nationalist government in Taiwan. The nine Chinese Christian churches have never participated into the annual Chinese community celebration of the Chinese New Year, even though these churches have had the celebrations of Chinese New Year in their churches respectively. Thus these Chinese Christian churches institutionally help the Chinese members transform their ethnic identity from the attachment of political China to the attachment of cultural China.

2.3.4 The Middle-Class Chinese Christian Church

The nine Chinese Christian churches were founded by working professional Chinese. Most of the churches such as the St. Peter's Chinese Anglican Church, the Ottawa Agape Chinese Alliance Church, and the Ottawa Mandarin Alliance Church started with some student members, but the leadership was in the hands of the working professionals. The Emmanuel Alliance Church of Ottawa and the Ottawa Chinese Bible Church emerged exclusively for Chinese working professionals.

Most church members of the nine Chinese congregations are working professionals. They are joined by some students members. The Emmanuel Alliance Church of Ottawa, the Ottawa Chinese Alliance

Church, and the Chinese Christian Church of Ottawa have specially a considerable group of student members respectively. Student members have the great potential to be professionals afterwards and they have many same interests with the middle-class members.

The meeting schedules of church activities such as services, fellowships, and prayer meetings are made to meet the needs of professionals rather than workers in restaurants or grocery stores. The nine churches usually have Sunday morning services and Sunday Schools between 9:00 am - 12:00 p.m. and fellowships in weekend evenings. Such schedules contrast to the working schedule of most shops and restaurants in the Chinatown. Pastor Wong in the Chinese Christian Church of Ottawa admitted that the workers in the Chinatown have difficulty to attend Sunday morning services when they need to work.⁵¹

These Chinese churches can not survive without the financial support of its middle-class members. Except for the St. Peter's Chinese Church and the Ottawa Catholic Community who are supported by their Canadian denominations, the other seven Chinese churches are financially independent churches. The church incomes depend upon the offerings of the members. In 1997, the Emmanuel Alliance Church of Ottawa had an income of \$218, 273 from the offerings of its 76 members, and the church expenses were \$206,525, including the

⁵¹ Gregory Wong, Interview, 1997.

pastoral staff expenses of approximately \$83,271.⁵² In 1997, the Ottawa Mandarin Alliance Church was in a financial crisis when the offerings were behind the church budget. The Ottawa Agape Chinese Alliance Church was designed for students, but it eventually began with some working professional members for financial reasons. Soon, it had to transform itself as a local church mainly serving the working professional in order to maintain the church financially.

The experiences of these Chinese churches point to the pattern that the Chinese churches in North America are the middle-class churches.

2.3.5 Family Church and Membership

The nine Chinese churches are family-centered churches. These churches are mostly made of families, though each church has some individual members. The St. Peter's Chinese Anglican Church, for example, consisted of 20 families.⁵³ and the Ottawa Chinese Catholic Community had about 80 families in 1998.⁵⁴

In the eight Chinese Protestant churches, "members" means the baptized adults, the "congregation," however, includes adults and children. The Sunday service attendance includes the numbers of adults and children. The attendance of 339 people of the Chinese

⁵² According to the EACO 1998 Annual Financial Report.

⁵³ David Stanley Yu. Interview. 1997.

⁵⁴ See the *OCCC Annual Report of 1998*.

Christian Church of Ottawa of April 12, 1998 included 175 in the Cantonese service, 115 in the English service, 14 in the Junior Worship and 35 in the Children Worship. Children are actually treated as church members.⁵⁵

"Sunday church attendance" is a family or collective action rather than an "individual" action for church families. It is the routine for the church families to attend the Sunday services together, participating in different age groups for adults and children respectively. Other church fellowships and meetings are also arranged to meet the needs of church families.

Church programmes and activities aim to meet the interests and needs of the various family members or age groups and to enforce family values. The nine Chinese churches not only have different programs for adults and children in Sunday services, but also have various fellowships for different age groups. Therefore, English ministries receive strong attention and support from the congregations. The Chinese Christian Church of Ottawa, for example, in 1996 managed six Sunday morning children's programs for groups of 10 infants, 20 children aged between 2-5, 15 in Kindergarten, 14 at grades 1-3, 15 at grades 4-6, and 12 at grades 7-8. Two of the three pastors in the church worked for the English Ministries.

"Family" rather than "individual" becomes the basic church cell. The church membership is not as important as the family

⁵⁵ See the CCCO Weekly Program of April 19, 1998.

numbers in church management. When asked about the loss of church member in 1997, Pastor Chen of the Ottawa Chinese Bible Church immediately answered, "we lost five families." That means the congregation lost about 20 members including ten adults and several children.

In sum, the nine Chinese Christian churches were established by the post-War Chinese immigrants. Most members of the nine churches are first-generation Chinese immigrants. These churches are family-oriented middle-class congregations. These churches have obviously developed since their establishment. They use the Chinese language (Mandarin and Cantonese) in their church activities. Their church locations are centered in Chinatown, which represents their consciousness of being a part of the Chinese community. These churches constitute a minority and a visible Chinese Christian community among the Chinese community in Ottawa. The Christian community is the largest sub-community in the Chinese community.

Chapter Three Chinese Church as Adaptation

This chapter is a study of the social functions of the Chinese Christian churches in Ottawa in terms of cultural adaptation. Since Christianity is the dominant religion of Canada and forms an important dimension of social life shared by most Canadians, and since the Chinese Christian churches in Ottawa are the churches of Chinese immigrants, with a majority of Chinese adult converts from non-Christian backgrounds, I expect these Chinese Christian churches to play a major role in assisting in the cultural adaptation of these Chinese immigrants into Canadian society.

Religion, in terms of function, provides support, consolation, and reconciliation, by its invocation of a beyond which is concerned with human destiny and welfare. Religion offers a transcendental relationship through the ceremonies of worship; it thus provides the emotional ground for a new security and firm identity amid the uncertainties and impossibilities of the human condition and the flux and change of history. Religion sacralizes the norms and values of established society, maintaining the dominance of group goals over individual wishes, and of group disciplines over individual impulses. Religion also performs identity functions. Individuals, by acceptance of the values involved in religion and the beliefs about human nature and destiny associated with them, develop certain aspects of their self-understanding and self-definition. Also, by their participation in religious ceremonies, they act out key

elements of their own identity. In these ways, religion affects individuals' understanding of who they are and what they are.

3.1 Christian Belief and Conversion

Chinese Christian Doctrine

The Chinese Christian churches in Ottawa provide a Christian theology for their congregations. Among the nine Chinese Christian churches in Ottawa, the St. Peter's Chinese Anglican Church of Ottawa and the Ottawa Chinese Catholic Community are mostly formed by the Chinese Anglican and Catholic immigrants from Hong Kong, who had become Christians before they came to Canada. The four Chinese Alliance Churches (the Ottawa Chinese Alliance Church, the Emmanuel Alliance Church of Ottawa, the Ottawa Agape Chinese Alliance Church, and the Ottawa Mandarin Church) are evangelical churches. The Ottawa Chinese United Church and the St. Peter's Chinese Anglican Church of Ottawa all have maintained a conservative theology, which has kept them away from the liberal trend of their respective denominations, namely the United Church of Canada and the Anglican Church of Canada. The Ottawa Chinese Bible Church and the Ottawa Chinese Christian Church all claim a conservative theology. Most members of the seven Chinese Protestant congregations have become Christians after arriving in Canada. The seven Protestant congregations constitute more than 90 percent of the Chinese

Christian population in Ottawa. These nine Chinese churches generally follow a conservative Christian theology, although some church members have diverse denominational backgrounds.

The doctrinal statement of the Chinese Christian Church of Ottawa, for example, lists its Christian belief as follows:

- (1) The Divine Authority and Plenary Inspiration of the Whole Canonical Scripture.
- (2) The Trinity of the Godhead.
- (3) The Deity and the Virgin Birth of our Lord Jesus Christ.
- (4) The Personality, Deity and Present Mission of Holy Spirit.
- (5) The Fall of Man.
- (6) The Total Depravity of Man.
- (7) Salvation by Grace Through Faith.
- (8) The Atonement by the Blood of Christ.
- (9) Regeneration by the holy Spirit.
- (10) The Believer's Security and Assurance.
- (11) Biblical Separation.
- (12) Sanctification.
- (13) The Baptism within the Holy Spirit.
- (14) The Gifts of the Spirits.
- (15) Divine Healing.
- (16) The Unity of the Church in the Mystical Body of Christ.
- (17) Missions.
- (18) The Second Coming of our Lord.
- (19) The Resurrection of The Body.
- (20) The Eternal Blessedness of the Saved and the Eternal Punishment of the Lost.
- (21) The Personality of Satan.
- (22) The Church as the Bride of Christ.
- (23) Ordinances.
- (24) Dedication.⁵⁶

Christian theology is new to these Chinese people, since most members of these Chinese churches are adult converts. Except for the Ottawa Chinese Catholic Community, in which children are baptized with their parents, the membership of the other eight Chinese Protestant churches is exclusively for adult. Their conversion to

⁵⁶ See the CCCO Constitution/By Laws adopted in March 1995.

Christianity means that they must accept a Christian theology, and abandon their Chinese worldview and religion. The conversion of these Chinese immigrants to Christianity will be surveyed within the social context of Canada and with the social and cultural experience of these Chinese immigrants.

Conversion

The term "religious conversion" has different meanings to people in different disciplines. Here term "conversion" means the change from other religions or no religion to Christianity.

In the Chinese Christian churches in Ottawa, "conversion" means that a person has had the experience of being "born-again" (*chongsheng*) or "being saved" (*dejiu*). The Chinese churches expect a convert to be able to tell a story about how his or her life was changed by God. A convert needs to get baptized. An applicant needs to fill out an application form, either for getting baptized at the church or for transferring membership from a previous church. This form provides some basic biographical information, and most important, a testimonial of born-again and salvation experiences (*dejiu chongsheng jingli*). New converts are always expected to give public testimonies before and after their baptism. Most transferees also need to tell their conversion stories or other Christian experiences in order to be fully accepted by other members.

I have heard many conversion stories at church gatherings and read many testimonials in the church documents from my field work. I have collected several dozens of personal testimonials. These data represent the diverse social and cultural groups in the Chinese churches, including people speaking different languages and dialects, and people coming from China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and other Southeast Asian countries. I observed some individuals going through the conversions process and interviewed them at various points in the process. I have also conducted life-history interviews with dozens of church members, some informal and some semi-structured. I have also read many testimonials in nationally-circulated Chinese Christian magazines. Although these data might not be always objective, they are probably the best empirical data for people to investigate Chinese conversion. In this case study, personal conversion accounts were cross-checked by participant observation in these churches.

Ms. Jing An at the Ottawa Mandarin Church gave her testimony during my interview:

It took me about eight years to become a Christian. I was introduced to Christ in 1989 when I participated the Chinese Christian Fellowship on campus in Halifax after I came to Canada for my graduate study. I enjoyed those gatherings very much because it helped me make some Chinese friends and know some Western culture, but then I had no interests to Christian belief and ritual practice at that time. I was tired of all kind of worship due to my experience in China. The Christian Bible and Bible Study just reminded me the Chairman Maos Little Red Book and the crazy personal cult in the Great Cultural Revolution in China during the 1970s. I resumed my participation in the fellowships of the

Ottawa Mandarin Church after I moved to Ottawa, but I remained to be a non-Christian until November 1, 1996 when I attended the church seminar Science and Belief given by Dr. Pensheng Liang. His powerful speech made me suddenly believe the existence of God who created everything and human beings. After the seminar, Pastor Teo explained the born-again experience to me. I prayed and obtained an ultimate spiritual experience, in which I decided to be a Christian. Pastor Teo told me that I had actually become a Christian at the moment when I made that decision. I have had a lot of holy experiences after my baptism. Now I can say to all my friends that I believe in God and Jesus, and I believe in the salvation by grace through faith. (Jing An, interview, 1997).

Because of their Chinese religious and cultural traditions, the Chinese converts have had to overcome many social and cultural obstacles to enter the spiritual world of Christianity in terms of religious cosmology, ontology, and views on human nature.

The first kind of obstacle is cultural. The Chinese religious and cultural traditions have a long literary history. As noted in chapter one (pp.90-100), there were even no matching words for God, sin, commitment, and community in the Chinese language. There were and still are deep cultural conflicts between Christianity and Chinese cultural traditions.

Judging from the conversion stories I read and heard from the discussions in Bible Study groups, I find that many people had problems with believing in the existence of a personal God and Creator. Traditional Chinese cosmology is built on eternal circles of "Bureau of Divination" of Qi and Yin-Yang. Its responsibility was to regulate divination, astrology, and calendar. It regards the universe as having no beginning or end. The significance of unusual

natural phenomena, for example, was interpreted by the bureau. Christian cosmology maintains that the world had a beginning and an end. "God created everything including human beings." Upon first hearing this statement, many Chinese would naturally ask in reply: "If God created everything, who created God?" This question means that the "everything" should include God too. Therefore, if everything is created, God must be created too. This is a logical question in the traditional Chinese cosmology, though it may appear to be unreasonable in Aristotelian logic. The traditional Chinese cosmology does not deny supernatural forces, but a supreme God with personality is beyond the fantasy of many Chinese people. Very often, it is "miracles" or amazing coincidences that finally convince these Chinese converts to accept the existence of a personal God. Nevertheless, healing, protection, and vengeance by gods have been deep-rooted elements of Chinese religious tradition for thousands of years, notions appropriated by Christians who now emphasize the powers of Jesus.

Another cultural obstacle is the Chinese view of human nature. Christian claim that every person is tainted by "original sin" (*yuan zui*). In Chinese language, there is no matching word or character for the word "sin." The Chinese translation of "sin" is *zui*, which also means "crime." Many Chinese people were averse to the Christian belief that human beings were sinners, that is *zuirén* or criminals. In Christianity, original sin refers to the evil nature of human

beings. In Confucianism, however, human nature is basically good, although everyone has weakness and makes mistakes. Individuals seek to be morally perfect persons by self-cultivation of their good human nature. How can you call those things *zui*? Only if believers are convinced that Jesus is the only perfect person and all human beings are imperfect will they acknowledge their own "sins." In the testimonies and comments of my informants, I did not find comments on the contradiction of Confucianism and Christianity in human nature. Rather, the moral values of Christianity and Confucianism are often compared and declared to be similar or the same. Is Christianity then accepted as a religion of morality by these Chinese Christians?

The third kind of obstacle is located in Chinese nationalism. Because of the historical connection of Christianity and Western imperialism, the Chinese people often reject Christianity as a *yangjiao* (foreign religion) and a tool of Western imperialism and treat the Chinese converts as traitors to the nation. One more Christian, one less Chinese was a common slogan. However, the stigma of Christianity as the "alien religion" has become less a problem within the social context of Canada. The Canadian Chinese Christians can pursue their Christian belief and practice without being concerned about the political and nationalist conflicts of Christianity with China. Furthermore, many new Chinese converts believe that Christianity is the only hope for the Chinese nation.

The fourth kind of obstacle is the Chinese perception of modern secularization and materialism. Secularization and materialism in the West and other parts of the world have had a tremendous negative impact on Chinese conversion to Christianity. For many Chinese people from the People's Republic of China, Marxism and social Darwinism still play a role in their rejection of Christianity. Most members of the Chinese churches in Ottawa are professionals working in high-tech companies, research institutions, universities, and government offices. They practice empirical rationalism in their work, and face the strong challenge of secularization and materialism to their conservative Christian belief.

These four kinds of obstacles have different weights for different individuals. Sometimes a person has to overcome all four to reach the final point of conversion. Yet, the philosophical contradictions lose their impact when people are less knowledgeable and less aware of Chinese cosmological principles and when political antagonism is no longer sustained.

There are also social reasons for Chinese conversion.

The first reason is that Christianity provides a new meaning system to these Chinese immigrants who have experienced life-threatening traumas. Personal crisis plays an important role in religious conversion (Bainbridge 1992, Rambo 1993). According to Timothy Smith (1978), immigrants have often intensified their religiosity because of the tremendous uncertainty and hardship of their immigrant life. Any one life-threatening event can lead some

individuals to religious change. Many testimonials of Chinese converts clearly attribute their religious change to their harsh experiences of dramatic social and cultural changes in China and other parts of the world. As noted before (see pp.90-100), modern Chinese history has witnessed many dramatic changes in quick successions, including wars, social turmoil, and political storms. In the process of coerced modernization, Chinese cultural traditions have been fundamentally interrupted and damaged. The anxiety of modern Chinese identity is recapitulated by Wei-ming Tu (1994:vii).

The untold suffering of the Chinese people - caused by Western imperialism, the Taiping Rebellion, the collapse of the Manchu Dynasty, the internecine struggle of the warlords, Japanese aggression, the conflict between the Nationalists and the Communists, and the misguided policies of the People's Republic of China - contextualized the meaning of Chineseness in a new symbolic structure. Marginality, rootlessness, amnesia, anger, frustration, and helplessness have gained much salience in characterizing the collective psyche of the modern Chinese.

Suffering in wars, social turmoil, political campaigns, and natural disasters, many Chinese have been forced into unwilling migration, both physically and spiritually. Many have experienced chain migration - running from one strange place to another: they first left home to flee from war; then left the mainland for Taiwan or Hong Kong to flee from the Communists, then came to Canada as refugees, students, or immigrants, and wandered for years before settling down. In addition, after the Chinese people achieve immigration in Canada, because of their ethnic minority status, the Chinese often have had to experience a lot of uncertainties. Some

of them have a deep sense of homelessness, and seek permanence or eternity in the heavenly world promised by Christianity. These internal changes are crucial factors for the recent wave of Christian conversions among new Chinese immigrants in Canada. David Yan in the Ottawa Chinese Bible Church recalled his complex experience in Mainland China, Taiwan, and Canada:

After the Chinese Communists swept the mainland, my father led our family to flee to Taiwan. However, Taiwan is not really our home, as we are regarded as *waishengren* (non-Taiwanese). We felt alienated in Taiwan, although we physically settled down. I completed my college education in Taiwan and came to Canada for graduate study and achieved immigration afterwards. I can not go back to China because of the communist domination and I am unwilling to go back to Taiwan. I have to rebuild my new home and to pursue my career development as an ethnic minority person in the new country Canada. It has been a very tough process. Only with the Lord can my heart have peace and joy. I committed myself to the Lord and decided to be a pious believer forever. (Yan, interview, 1994)

The second reason is that these Chinese join the churches to meet their social needs. Some studies of immigrant churches argue that the motivation for joining an ethnic church comes from a social need for ethnic group belonging. This factor seems significant for many Korean immigrants:

Among the majority of Korean immigrants, the religious need (meaning), the social need (belonging) and the psychological need (comfort) for attending the Korean church are inseparable for each other; they are functionally intertwined under the complex conditions of uprooting, existential marginality, and socio-cultural adaptation for rerooting. (Hurh and Kim 1999:31)

Similarly, joining Chinese churches in order to meet with other Chinese people is a major reason for Chinese conversion among Chinese immigrants. In 1996, there were 86 Chinese community organizations in Ottawa in 1996, including the old Chinatown organizations of *huiguan* (home-district and clan association) and *tang* (triads and secret societies) and new immigrant organizations and associations such as *tongxuehui* (alumni associations of Chinese alma maters), Chinese language schools and cultural clubs. Nevertheless, these Chinese Christian churches are the most well-established ethnic communities. Because of their well-developed church institutions, these Chinese Christian churches have unique structures and functions that other ethnic Chinese organizations and associations do not have. The structure of congregations and an emphasis on fellowship groups help new immigrants find social belonging; weekly meetings provide opportunities for regular and intimate interactions with compatriots; the proclaimed teachings help to create a loving and harmonious community where new immigrants can find spiritual peace and psychological ease; church activities and youth programs help to foster a moral environment for nurturing the growing second generation. No other type of ethnic Chinese organizations or associations serves these functions in the way of these ethnic Chinese churches. These features of the Chinese churches are attractive to many new Chinese immigrants. At these evangelical Chinese churches, however, people can hardly gain integration without religious conversion.

I find from my fieldwork that many Chinese church members were first attracted to Christianity because of the Chinese churches. For many Chinese, the construction of their Christian identity was later developed with the construction of their Chinese identity (ethnic belonging) in the Chinese churches. Mr. Kai Wang of the Ottawa United Church recalled the social function of the Chinese church during the process of his conversion in our conversation:

I came to Canada from China in 1989 for my graduate study. My wife and daughter joined me one year later. We were introduced to the Ottawa Chinese United Church by my brother who had come to Canada and been in the church earlier. We went to the church every Sunday with my brother's family. We remained as non-Christians in the church for four years while participating in church activities such as Sunday worship service and various fellowships. At beginning, we took the church as a harmonious and cohesive Chinese community rather than a place for religious activities, because we had great difficulties to accept the Christian belief. My wife and daughter made some good friends in the church, who gave them tremendous support at the early stage of their new immigrant life. I also learned a lot for my university study and career development from the experiences of other church members. The church members formed our major social network. The church accounted us in their fellowships, and we regarded ourselves as their community members. Along with the increase of my knowledge of Christianity, I later became interested in Christianity. I still have some questions about the Christian theology, which resulted from the Chinese cultural tradition. I was told by the Pastor that I could pursue these questions after being a Christian. Consequently I received baptism and became a formal church member. (Wang, Interview, 1996)

A third reason explicitly given by Chinese members to join the churches is to adapt to the dominant culture of the host culture. Christianity is seen as the dominant religion of Canada and constitutes a major dimension of the social life shared by most

Canadians. Because above 80 percent of Canadians claim a Christian faith of one kind or another,⁵⁷ joining a Christian church will make a Chinese behave in order to be more like other Canadians. It is true that in contemporary Canadian society, it is no longer necessary to have a religion. Non-religious persons are accepted in professional working environments, and religious expression is discouraged in the highly secularized, private, high-tech companies or government offices in which many Chinese work in Ottawa. However, these Chinese Christian churches provide their Chinese members with a set of values based on belief in Christ, a belief which is seen as similar to the social ethics of the host culture. The institution and operation of the Chinese Christian churches, which mimic the host denominations, allow their Chinese members to become accustomed to the social administration of the host society. These nine Chinese churches are mostly formed by professional Chinese immigrants, who are the most integrated group among the Canadian Chinese community in mainstream society. During my fieldwork, many Chinese Christians attributed their career success to their Christian belief and practice. Xiwen Wu in the Ottawa Mandarin Church notes:

I think my career development is certainly related to some aspects of my Christian life and practice. In contemporary Canadian society, career success of working professionals is greatly determined by three elements: skill, working ethics, and communication ability. My Christian life has helped me improve my working ethics and communication ability a lot. My colleagues know I am a Christian, although we do not talk much religion at office. The

⁵⁷ Biby 1987.

Christian ethics drives me to work hard and to treat people nicely with love and forgiveness. Consequently, I have developed an excellent work relationship with my colleague. In addition, my communication ability in public speech and individual communication has been greatly improved through participating in different church fellowship activities. That has helped me a lot in my career development. (Xiwen Wu, Interview, 1996)

As people join the churches and convert to Christianity, they do so selectively. Not only do they join a Chinese community. They also favor a conservative theology.

There are some reasons for the Chinese churches to claim a conservative theology. Socially, as minority churches, these Chinese churches have very limited resources to address cultural obstacles and to provide pastoral guidance and reference literature on the contradiction of Chinese religion and Christianity to their adherents. Culturally, Chinese adherents are rather reluctant to bring in the open their questions about Christian belief to the church, since the Chinese cultural tradition encourages individuals to follow behavioural norms rather than to challenge authority or official theory.

In this context, it is easier to understand the conversion of Chinese people to evangelical Protestantism and conservative Christianity. First, one must note that most of the active missionaries, evangelists, and Christian organizations in Asia and in North America have been conservative. They made a major impact upon Chinese converts, because they invest more time and resources

in missionary work. Contemporary liberal Christians have shown little interest in converting people from other religions.

In Ottawa, the growth of the Chinese Christian population must be mostly attributed to the great efforts made by the evangelical Ottawa Chinese Alliance Church, which founded three churches in Ottawa in six years from 1989 to 1995. The four Chinese Alliance churches and the other three local evangelical churches (the Ottawa Chinese United Church, the Ottawa Chinese Bible Church, and the Chinese Christian Church of Ottawa) constituted more than 90 percent of the Chinese Christian population in the 1997. Meanwhile, the St. Peters Chinese Anglican Church of Ottawa and the Ottawa Chinese Catholic Community have experienced a decline in members since the 1990s, because the two churches have not been active in missions.

Second, conservative Christianity readily provides absolute and unchanging answers. Living in a pluralistic and relativistic world, conservatives are assertive in proclaiming the only and absolute truth that can only be found in the Bible. Conservatives assure believers of absolute love and peace in this world and eternal life after death. These beliefs provide a ground for Chinese Christians to justify the strict moral and behavioral values which they impose on themselves and their children. This certainty seems to be desired by those people who perceived their own life, or the world as a whole, in danger of being out-of-control in a restless modern world. Both the pre-immigration trauma and the post-immigration uncertainty in postmodern Canadian society fortify this desire. No traditional

Chinese religion or modern science and liberal Christianity could meet this need for these people. Furthermore, the certainty of conservative Christianity fits with the Chinese tradition of officialdom of respecting tradition and obeying authority.⁵⁸

Third, there are also social and economical factors. Most Chinese Christians are professionals living in the suburbs. What concerns them most is not the issue of social justice, the main agenda of liberal Christians, but belonging to a social group and the moral education for their children. The ethnic Chinese evangelical churches meet their needs.

There is a lack of concerns for social justice in the testimonies I have witnessed. Christianity is not a prophetic religion for these Chinese Christians. Instead, they see it as a priestly religion. These Chinese Churches focus to build a familial community life. The lack of social justice concerns also indicates that the first priority of these Chinese immigrants is to integrate into rather than to change the host society. Furthermore, their ethnic minority status does not encourage them to take a stand against the social practices of their host society.

These Chinese Christians are conservative in their theology either evangelical or fundamentalist. The fact that they are adult converts is an important aspect of their religious development. The Chinese Christian converts are in the process of entering into a

⁵⁸ See my discussion of Officialdom on Page 79.

Christian spiritual world and value system. They are ready to modify their faith claims, provided the changes are within the scope of conservativeness. Their Christian beliefs are in the process of formation and fit in a Christian society. The construction of their Christian identity must be seen as a continuing process, rather than as a steady state.

As far as the church leaders of the nine Chinese congregations are concerned, they have been influenced by western missionaries and missionary schools in Asia, mostly in Hong Kong. They are the starting block of the Chinese churches in Ottawa (pp. 139-172) and most of them are rather young. For example, the Ottawa Chinese Bible Church originated from a small group of Chinese Christian immigrants. The Ottawa Chinese Alliance Church was set by a Chinese missionary from Hong Kong to meet the needs of the Chinese students from Hong Kong.

The nine Ottawa Chinese churches have been successful in attracting converts and the second generation into Christianity. They have good Sunday School classes and fellowship activities for children. For those Canadian-born and Canadian-raised Chinese, Christianity is often becoming "naturally" part of their lives. As discussed in the previous chapter, children are always brought to the churches by their Christian parents, and treated as church members in most church activities. For them, Christianity is both the religion of their Chinese families and the religion of the host

society. It remains to be seen how strong is this commitment and what part it plays in identity construction.

3.2 Christian Rituals

Rituals are full of symbolic meaning shared by a community and made visible. Participant observation of collective rituals may enable people achieve some understanding of the collectively-shared religious feelings and ideas of the participants.

From a Chinese perspective, Christian rituals form the most important part of Christianity and are performed by a major social institution, that is the church, which is shared by many Canadians. While Chinese Christians learn to understand and practice Christianity, they also are able to visibly join Canadian social life by participating the Christian church rituals. For those Chinese Christian people who join mainstream Christian churches, participating to these same Christian rituals provides a way of participating in the mainstream society.

Significantly, the most important rituals are the sermon and the after-service potluck meal, and the most important symbols are the Bible and the church building.

Church

The church as a building is the central stage of religious rituals. These nine Chinese congregations in Ottawa all have their churches, and their members feel it is very important to do so.

The Ottawa Chinese Catholic Community rents church facilities with the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary Church, and the St. Peter's Chinese Church of Ottawa share church facilities with St. Luke Anglican Church. The other seven Chinese churches have their own church buildings. These Chinese churches show no trace of Chinese architecture and little Chinese appearance, except for their church names, which are all in both English and Chinese.

Church and membership are new concepts for the Chinese converts. Church in Christianity means a worship place to be exclusively used by its members and to provide regular services to its members. As noted before (p.81), in Chinese societies, lay Chinese usually do not belong to a church, and they practice ancestral worship at home regularly but seldom attend Buddhist or Daoist services. Thus, for these Chinese people, to be a Christian means that they must be a member of a particular church and regularly attend church services. In these Chinese churches in Ottawa, a Christian either a new convert or a transferee is expected be a church member, even though he or she may stay as a non-member of the church and acquire his or her membership through application. The difference between a member and a non-member is that the member

has the voting privileges at congregational business meetings and has the obligation of participating in church administration.

Those members who have absented themselves for over six consecutive months from regular church services are deemed "Inactive Members." Such members do not qualify for voting privileges at formal church meetings. Inactive members may have their membership reinstated at the discretion of the Church Board.

The Chinese churches always put their active and inactive membership lists in their annual reports. Although most new converts or transferees usually have become the members of their respective churches soon or later, some Chinese Christians appear to enjoy non-member status in these churches. Jing An of the Ottawa Mandarin Alliance Church (OMAC) explained her reasons of keeping a non-member status at the OMAC.

I have remained as a non-member in the OMAC after my baptism here, although I have attended church services and fellowships regularly. The reasons for that are because I attempt to keep a neutral position in church politics at the congregational business meetings and to keep a distance from participation in church administration. (Jing An, Interview, 1997.)

In addition, a Christian church forms a community based on voluntary membership and democratic management, which differs from Chinese social and religious organizations based on "primordial sentiment" and the familial management. Community and membership are two key concepts in Canadian social management. Church management will be discussed in the later section. Nevertheless, the Chinese experience of being a church member is one way for these Chinese

immigrants to experience Canadian social administration and thus to adapt to the social organizations in the host society.

The social and cultural experiences of the Chinese immigrants have shaped their adaptation of church and membership. As mentioned in chapter two, the nine Chinese Christian churches basically consist of three sub-cultural groups of postwar Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and mainland China. The mainland Chinese appear to have more difficulties in understanding and practicing the form of church than the people from Hong Kong and Taiwan. In the People's Republic of China, social organizations, including the officially recognized religious organizations, are usually sponsored by the government. Therefore, the mainland Chinese are not used to the concept that they need to pay for all services, including religious services, in a market society. Moreover, most mainland Chinese have just begun their new life in Canada. They usually need to help their relatives in China, and to pay the mortgages for their first new car and new house. Thus, the mainland Chinese Christians have not been active in religious offerings in these churches. Comparatively, the Chinese from Hong Kong and Taiwan have a good understanding of the concept of payment for services because of their pre-immigration experience of a market economy. They have also been well-established since they came mostly before the 1990s. Consequently, they are active in religious offerings. In Ottawa, only the newly-established Ottawa Mandarin Alliance Church (OMAC) experienced a financial crisis in 1997 resulting from the

unexpectedly small offerings from its congregation. Pastor Jonathan Teo from Singapore explained the financial crisis:

The OMAC consists of members mostly from mainland Chinese. The church has expected to achieve its financial independence through offerings, for most members are working professionals. Unfortunately, the offerings have been far below the church budget, although the offerings from several members from Hong Kong and Taiwan have been impressive. Our members from China appear to have difficulties in offerings because of their financial pressures in their early stage of immigrant life. (Jonathan Teo. Interview. 1997)

Sunday Worship Services

Sunday worship services are the most important rituals in every Chinese Christian church. The nine Chinese churches all have Sunday morning worship services. They all have services in Chinese, either in Mandarin or Cantonese. In addition, some also have English services; the Ottawa Chinese Alliance Church, the Chinese Christian Church of Ottawa, the Emmanuel Alliance Church of Ottawa, the Chinese United Church of Ottawa, the Ottawa Chinese Bible Church all offer Sunday worship services in English.

A first-time visitor to these Chinese churches would be greeted by ushers with a welcome package. It includes information on Sunday services, Sunday School classes, fellowship group meetings, and a brief statement of faith.

In the seven Chinese Protestant churches with both the Chinese and English services, the services follow a simple order (See Table 6.1). There is no recitation of creed, no dialogue or question-

answer exchange between the preacher and the congregation, and no altar call. Scripture reading often features New Testament verses thematically related to the sermon. Singing and preaching take most of the time. These services do not create any sacramental atmosphere like the Chinese Catholic or Anglican liturgies.

Preaching is the central focus in the Chinese services. It takes the longest period of the whole service. Preaching is also a very demanding task for the pastor. This is partly because a majority of church members are adult converts. They need the preacher to explain Christian beliefs, provide a new world view, and make sense of their experiences as immigrants in this new land. They want the preacher to suggest wisdom for life, ease their anxieties, comfort their hearts, and assure their identity. The requirement for preaching will be discussed in later sections.

The Chinese services are well-organized and characterized by full participation of the church members. The organization and participation of church members means that the services are led by the pastor and a group of church members assuming different ritual responsibilities such as chair or usher during the services. Church members are always expected to take part in the organization process. This ritual format, which is new to Chinese people, though very common to most Canadians, has to be learned.

Table 3.1

 Sunday Worship Program of the Chinese Bible Church of Ottawa

 Order

1. Organ Prelude & Silent Prayer
 2. Call to Worship
 3. Opening Prayer
 4. Apostles' Creed
 5. Scripture Reading
 6. Hymn Presentation (hymns in Chinese or English)
 7. Message or Sermon (40 minutes)
 8. Offering and Tithing
 9. Doxology
 10. Announcement and Welcome
 11. Hymn
 12. The Lord's Prayer
 13. Benediction
 14. Amen
 15. Silent Prayer
-

Source: The Ottawa Chinese Bible Church

Communion and Baptism

The nine Chinese Christian churches all have communion rituals. Besides the Chinese Catholic Community, the other eight Protestant churches have a communion on the first Sunday of each month. The Chinese and English congregations will join together in a combined worship service, in which monthly communion is served. This combined service is intended to symbolize and preserve unity. It is usually held in the main sanctuary and follows the Chinese service with

consecutive translation between Chinese and English. It strengthens the community as a whole.

Baptism is another important ordinance in the Chinese churches. The Chinese Catholic Community has baptism for children, but the other eight Protestant churches have baptism only for adult or youth. However, held as part of a Sunday service, baptism is always an event which involves the whole church.

The rituals of Holy Communion and Baptism of these Chinese Christian churches are basically the same as in other Canadian churches. However, these highly-developed rituals which are commonly found in Canadian churches are new to the Chinese, since there are no such religious practices in Chinese religion. For these Chinese converts, these rituals not only have religious meanings but also form some social customs shared by most Canadians.

Fellowships

The institution of fellowship is a distinct feature of Christian community life. The nine Chinese Christian churches in Ottawa all have various fellowships for various church groups. The Ottawa Chinese Bible Church, for example, has of Senior Fellowship, Adult Fellowship, Young Career Fellowship, Youth Fellowship, Junior fellowship, and a Women's group. Each fellowship has regular meetings and usually has a committee to organize fellowship activities ranging from bible studies to pot-luck dinners. Church

members are expected to actively participate in fellowships. The Mandarin fellowship at the Ottawa Chinese United Church, for example, has its regular meetings every two weeks. The meeting usually is held in the evening in a member's home with spacious facilities. The meeting usually includes bible studies and a pot-luck dinner. Moreover, it also organizes different fellowship activities, such as summer camp and table tennis games.

These Chinese churches are very active at leadership training through fellowship activities. Church leaders are trained through the fellowships. Leadership training starts in a junior group. These churches, for example, often arrange public speaking programs for children. That is one of the reasons why church junior fellowships attract juniors and children from non-Christian families. As a non-Christian mother, Huiyin Yun has actively supported her 10-year old daughter in the Junior program at the Ottawa Chinese United Church for good reasons:

The junior program at the church is very good for my daughter to develop her communication ability through the public-speech program and other activities, to learn family values and make good friends in such a liberal society, and to learn English literature through bible studies. (Huiyin Yun. Interview. 1995)

These fellowships make a strong contribution to the cultural adaptation of the church members. Through participation into fellowships, the Chinese members learn how to organize different programs, how to assume leadership, how to express themselves, how to communicate, how to behave in a community, and how to write in

English within the social context of Canada. It gives them the training necessary for their working in the larger society. Such kind of training is lacking in the Chinese societies.

The career success of the professional Chinese Christians in Canadian society is partly attributed by them to the leadership training they receive in their church fellowship, as illustrated in the preceding sections.

Missions

The nine Chinese Christian churches of Ottawa all have mission programs. The information of the nine Chinese churches has been put into the local *Chinese Canadian Community Newspaper*. However, their attitude towards missions varies from one church to the next.

The Ottawa Chinese Catholic Community shows little interest in mission and outreach, even though it was started from the missionary Chinese Catholic Center. The small St. Peter's Chinese Anglican Church of Ottawa has showed little interest in evangelism as well and is inactive in outreach and mission work, while identifying itself as a conservative Anglican church. However, this church has appeared to follow the Anglican tradition of social action. The small parish once sponsored ten Indo-chinese refugee families in 1980, and the pastor and a church leader contributed a visible presence of the church in the community activities. Rector David Yue has been an editor of *The Chinese Community Telephone Directory*. The

Church Warden Edward Cheung is a well-known lawyer in Ottawa, serving as the legal advisor of the Ottawa Chinese Community Organization and sponsoring the yearly Chinese community Table Tennis Tournament. Nevertheless, the other seven Chinese Protestant churches, especially the four alliance churches, are all active in outreach and missions.

The Ottawa Chinese Alliance Church (OCAC) plays a very active leading role in local evangelism, founding three Chinese alliance churches in Ottawa during the years from 1989 to 1995. The four mission-oriented Chinese churches center on evangelism. Student ministry has been the emphasis of their evangelism. As discussed in Chapter Two, most of the early church members were graduate students themselves. The four churches have active university ministry for campus evangelism. They organized Bible study groups on various campuses in this area. These Bible study groups have provided fellowship opportunities for lonely Chinese students, and have become effective means of converting fellow Chinese students. In the middle of the 1990s, the four Chinese alliance churches established a joint student ministry for campus evangelism. Moreover, in 1990, the OCAC further established a Mandarin-speaking ministry for the Chinese students and scholars from mainland China, which later resulted in the birth of the Ottawa Mandarin Alliance Church (OMAC) in 1995. They organized lectures, picnics, festival celebrations, and camp meetings. More and more mainland Chinese have been

baptised. Most new converts in the 1990s have been mainland Chinese. They constitute about 80 percent of the total OMAC membership today.

In addition, the four Chinese churches have organized various mission programs, including a monthly evangelical meeting, in the local Chinese communities. In 1990, the Ottawa Evangelical Chinese Christian Professional Fellowship was established. This fellowship has arranged many evangelical seminars and other activities for the Ottawa Chinese community. The four Chinese alliance churches also have worked together with other Chinese Alliance churches in Canada in mission programs. They have given financially towards the works of missions by supporting the Christian and Missionary Alliance Global Advance Fund, seminaries for the training of full-time workers, and various missionary agencies in Canada. In 1994, for example, with an average attendance of 448 people, the annual mission fund of 1994 was \$109,130 or 22.8 percent of the total church income.⁵⁹ In 1998, for example, Rev. Jonathan Teo of the OMAC went to Israel for mission work among Chinese construction workers there. In 1993, Pastor Yeung, along with Pastor Jonathan Kaan, went to England to help pave the way for a Chinese pastor Mr. Paul Ma to lead a church in the country. In the summer of 1997, the OMAC sent a short-term mission team to the Kingston Chinese community.

The Ottawa Chinese United Church (OCUC), the Ottawa Chinese Bible Church (OCBC) and the Chinese Christian Church of Ottawa

⁵⁹ See the *OCAC Annual Report of 1994*. P. 15.

(CCCO) all claim to be evangelical churches. The OCUC established a Mandarin-speaking ministry in 1989 to attract the rapidly increasing Chinese students and scholars from mainland China. Then the OCBC also started its work among the mainland Chinese. Meanwhile, the CCCO has been active in campus evangelism among Chinese students from Hong Kong and, in other mission programs, including the popular Mission Play and Gospel in Chinese Folk Music Show in the local Chinese community. However, different from the four alliance churches, the three local Chinese churches appear to focus on strengthening their church rather than in evangelism in the local Chinese community. Compared with the four Chinese alliance churches, the three churches spent much less in mission works. In 1994, the yearly mission fund of the CCCO was \$34,264 or 12 percent of the total church spending;⁶⁰ and \$4,100 or four percent of the total for the OCBC;⁶¹ and \$4,216 or four percent of the total for the OCUC.⁶²

The seven Chinese evangelical churches, however, have showed little interest in community service. The Ottawa Chinese United Church once offered a Chinese language class for second-generation Chinese during the 1960s. The class was later integrated into the Ottawa Chinese Language School using governmental funding for multiculturalism.

⁶⁰ See the *OCCC Annual Report of 1994*. p. 26.

⁶¹ see the *OCBC Annual Report of 1994*. p. 14.

While the nine Chinese churches have maintained their ties with the Ottawa Chinese community through their various mission programs, they have clearly kept a distance from other Chinese community organizations, due to their conservative theology and evangelism. The names of the nine Chinese churches have appeared under the category of "Chinese Religious Organizations" in the Chinese Telephone Directory of the Chinese Community Organizations in Ottawa and have regularly appeared in the several local Chinese newspapers. However, the nine churches have little political involvement, either in Chinese or in Canadian politics. In terms of community politics, the nine Chinese churches have not joined the Federation of the Chinese Community Organizations in Ottawa, which shows a strong pro-China attitude with its activities, such as the celebration of the National Day of the People's Republic of China on October 1st. Church leaders and pastors have rarely showed up in the annual banquet as China Day celebration for the Ottawa Chinese community leaders at the Chinese embassy in Ottawa. In addition, very few of the Chinese Christians have participated into the annual community election of the board members of the Chinese Community Organizations, which has been controlled by community leaders with a strong anti-communist sentiment. Although all these Chinese churches have had various activities to celebrate the Chinese New Year in their churches respectively, they show little interest to

⁶² See the *OCUC Annual Report of 1994*. p. 10.

the celebration activities of the Chinese community in Ottawa. These churches have showed little interest in China's politics. They have no contact with the Christian churches in China.

3.3 Adopting English

Language is a problem common to immigrant churches. When the original language of the immigrant group is not English, the issue of adopting English in the churches eventually will be brought up. As reviewed in chapter one, ethnic studies have showed that the pressure for adopting English may usually come either from the denominational hierarchy, or from the Canadian-born and Canadian-raised generation, or both. Chinese Christians have organised their churches so as to improve their English through participating in church services.

Christian and English Naming

The practice of giving English names to the Chinese church members contributes to the cultural adaptation of the Chinese congregations in the host society. The nine Chinese Christian churches in Ottawa all offer an English Christian name to a convert at baptism. Their English Christian names are chosen from the popular names in the Bible and made as given or first names. Thus the full name of a Chinese Christian is a combination of an English

name and his or her Chinese name. Chinese Christian parents usually make English Christian names for their children. Therefore, everyone of the nine Chinese congregations has an English Christian name. In church English documents, church members and pastors are referred by their English names rather than by their Chinese names. Very often, Chinese members will bring their English Christian names to their working places or social gatherings, since Chinese names are very difficult for Westerners to pronounce and remember. Their English Christian names help them to be accepted by the host society.

However, these English Christian names are not popularly used in the Chinese church activities. First, since some church members in a church often have the same English Christian names, they must be called in their long full names in order to avoid confusion. That is not preferred. Second, it is rude to call someone by a first name in Chinese culture. The Chinese like to call others by family names or full names with appropriate titles, such as Uncle Liu or Mr. Gong Wang. Consequently, Chinese Christians still prefer to their Chinese names in their church conversations and Chinese church documents.

Bible Studies and English Literature

The Sunday School services of these Chinese Christian churches eventually contribute to adopting English. The churches all have Bible Studies programs. The Ottawa Chinese United Church, for

example, begins its one-hour Sunday School class at Sunday 10:30 am. Church members are divided into several groups according to their levels. During the class, participants usually read several chapters of the Bible and some other reading materials and have group discussions on a certain topic.

Some social and cultural reasons have resulted in the use of English language in these Chinese Sunday School classes.

First, it is difficult to pursue Christian theology or to have a Christian theological discussion in the Chinese language. As noted before, the key concepts of Christianity such as God, sin, commitment, community are lacking in the Chinese language.

Second, the Chinese language of the Chinese Bible also sounds strange to the Chinese, because the Chinese Bible was translated more than one hundred years ago by early Western missionaries. The classical Chinese of the Bible is quite different from modern Chinese language in terms of words and style.

Third, Chinese biblical literature is very limited in the Chinese Christian churches in Ottawa because of their status as ethnic minority churches.

Fourth, most members of the nine Chinese congregations in Ottawa speak good English, as they usually have had their university education and graduate study in North America.

Therefore, many church members often read English biblical literature use English in the Sunday School classes. Actually, these Chinese Christians usually carry a Chinese Bible and an English

Bible in their Sunday School classes. For many Chinese Christians, learning English religious vocabulary begins with the Sunday School classes. Participation in the Sunday School classes is perceived as a way to help many Chinese Christians to learn English literature, English names, English customs, English history, and the minds of Western people. Like many Canadians, these Chinese have had their daily routine including participating Sunday School classes, which forms part of their Canadian identity.

Use of English in Church

The changes of language use in the Chinese churches in Ottawa do not follow a model of "straight-line evolution." According to Mark Mullins (1987), an immigrant church would evolve from a monolingual (non-English) stage to bilingual (English plus the original language) stage and end with a monolingual (English only) stage. However, this pattern does not apply to the Chinese churches in Ottawa. As long as the new Chinese immigrants continue to supplement the Chinese congregations in Canada, the Chinese churches are unlikely to use English exclusively.

The nine Chinese Christian churches all began with Chinese services, either in Cantonese or Mandarin, but five of them later started English services for the young generations.

The Ottawa Chinese Catholic Community, the St. Peter's Chinese Anglican Church, and the Ottawa Agape Chinese Alliance Church only

have Cantonese services. The Ottawa Mandarin Alliance Church has Mandarin Services only.

The Emmanuel Alliance Church of Ottawa has separate services in Mandarin, Cantonese, and English. The Ottawa Chinese Bible Chinese has separate services in Mandarin and English. The Ottawa Chinese Alliance Church and the Chinese Christian Church of Ottawa have separate services in English and Cantonese respectively. The Ottawa Chinese United Church has trilingual services in Cantonese, Mandarin, and English with translation. Before 1997, the Chinese services were in Mandarin and Cantonese with translation, while separate English services were offered. The trilingual Sunday worship services was a fascinating event to follow, although some participants found it difficult. The sermon and the announcement all were translated in three languages. Very often, the Caucasian Pastor would speak English, which was translated into Cantonese, sentence by sentence, by a person standing alongside the speaker behind the pulpit. Another person, invisible to the congregation, simultaneously translated every sentence into Mandarin, transmitted by earphones to the designated pews.

The trilingual or bilingual translations were unsatisfactory for many people, since monolingual services without translation would save time and make the sermon more effectively communicated to the congregation. The Cantonese-speaking Chinese Christian Church of Ottawa now sends Mandarin-speaking visitors to other Mandarin-speaking churches rather than provides translation services.

English services in those churches started in order to meet the needs of the growing young English-speaking Chinese church generation. The Emmanuel Alliance Church of Ottawa, for example, was established in 1989. The church services started in Cantonese. In 1996, the church began its English services.

In addition, English is also used in other church meetings. Fellowships at junior and youth levels also use English. However, in some adult fellowships, English often becomes a working language because members may speak different Chinese languages. This situation often happens in the annual congregational meetings and the Official Board meetings.

3.4 Church Institution Mimicking Canadian Denominations

Social governance is another avenue for the Chinese Christian churches to assist in cultural adaptation.

Denominational Churches

Most of the Chinese Christian churches are organized under the Canadian denominations. The Ottawa Chinese Catholic Community is developed from the missionary Ottawa Chinese Catholic Center and is a parish of the Catholic Church of Canada. The Ottawa Chinese United Church is a Chinese church of United Church of Canada in Ottawa. The St. Peter's Chinese Anglican Church is a Chinese church of the

Anglican Church of Canada in Ottawa. The Ottawa Chinese Alliance Church, the Emmanuel Alliance Church of Ottawa, the Ottawa Agape Chinese Alliance Church, and the Ottawa Mandarin Alliance Church are the Chinese churches of the Canadian Alliance and Missionary Church in Ottawa. These Chinese churches were thus established according to the rule and format of their respective Canadian denominations and were supported by their denominations in different ways.

The growth of the Chinese Alliance Churches in Ottawa represent the institutional relationships between these Chinese churches and their Canadian denomination.

According to the practice of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, church planting is executed under a sister church concept. That means the new sister church will have a high degree of autonomy. Basically, the ministry direction will be decided by the new sister church. If necessary, the new sister church will consult the District Superintendent directly. The sponsor church, commonly known as the mother church, is not involved in the administration of the new sister church. This is very different from the traditional mother-daughter church concept. However, continual support from the sponsor church in both financial and human resources are still necessary until the new church is fully independent in all aspects. Nevertheless, cooperation between the two churches is encouraged in all levels of church ministries.

When the Ottawa Chinese Alliance Church (OCAC) planted the Ottawa Agape Chinese Alliance church in 1994, the new church

received \$10,000 from the OCAC. In addition, the Canadian Chinese Alliance Church Committee (CCACC) also promised a monthly support of \$1,000 for the first six months of operation and \$500 monthly for the next six month period in 1995. A total of \$6,000 was received from the District of East Canada of the Canadian Alliance Church as a start-up fund in July and a monthly subsidy of \$2,000 was promised for the rest of the year. The Kanata Chinese Alliance Church also financially supported the new church for \$2,000 in August.

Local Churches

There are two independent local Chinese churches, the Ottawa Chinese Bible Church and the Chinese Christian Church of Ottawa. However, as noted in chapter two, the Ottawa Chinese Bible Church adopted the by-laws and constitution of Canada Free Methodist Church and the Chinese Christian Church of Ottawa continues to use the by-laws and constitution of the United Church of Canada, after it split from the Ottawa Chinese United Church in 1989.

Christianity is an institutionalized religion. Canadian major denominations are highly institutionalized churches. The Canadian churches are very similar to the Canadian social institutions in terms of structure and power relations.

The Organizational Chart of the Ottawa Chinese Alliance Church below illustrates the hierarchy of the Chinese churches in Ottawa.

Table 3.2

 Organizational Chart of Ottawa Chinese Alliance Church

Board of Elders
 Chair and Pastors
 Vice-Chair
 Secretary
 Treasurer and Financial Secretary
 Coordinator for Christian Education
 Coordinator for Missions
 Coordinator for Caring and Fellowships
 Coordinator for Gospel Outreach
 Coordinator for Worship
 General Manager.
 Cantonese Ministry of Deacons and Deaconesses
 English Ministry of Deacons and Deaconesses
 Mandarin Ministry of Deacons and Deaconesses
 Church-wide Committees

Source: The Ottawa Chinese Alliance Church

Because the Chinese churches have institutionized themselves according to the rule and principles of Canadian denominations, they can help their Chinese members to acquire not only a sense of being a member of a Canadian denomination and or the larger society, but also a comprehensive and experiential knowledge of Canadian social institutions and power structure. Consequently, these Chinese Christians can behave like other Canadians in the larger society. It is worth noting that modern Western social institutions and power relations in terms of contract and democracy differ from those in the societies in Asia. Thus, by proposing western models of social institutions and power relations, church life contributes to the cultural adaptation of the Chinese Christians in Canada.

3.5 Social Values

The choice and practice of specific social values is another important contribution of Chinese Christian churches to cultural adaptation of their congregations. The term "social values" here refers to the social values advocated by the churches as well as by the society.

The dominant social and moral values in Chinese churches could be summarily described as what Max Weber called the "Protestant ethic." More specifically, these conservative churches hold and promote values that are consistent with "this worldly asceticism," including success, thrift, delayed gratification, and spiritual rewards. Thus Chinese churches oppose sensationalism, consumerism, and eroticism. They encourage their members to be at once good Christians and good citizens according to the view of the mainstream or established portion of the Canadian society.

Success

Success is a theme promoted in the community life of the Chinese churches. The majority of the adult members of the nine Chinese Christian congregations in Ottawa are successful people in terms of educational and career achievements. The great majority have received university education and many hold master's and Ph.D. degrees. They have decent jobs as engineers, scientists, or

government officers, and are involved in the economy of the Canadian society at large.

What is more important, church members are success-oriented people. During my interviews with church members, many of them proudly showed me or explained their career accomplishments and scientific or engineering contributions. They highly value their educational and career achievements. Those who are in the early stages of a career look up to well-established persons as role models and often consult them for advice and suggestions. Those who have school-age children also emphasize the importance of success to their children. Fellowship group meetings sometimes hold "In Search for Excellence" meetings to discuss career success.

The emphasis on educational achievements appears to have been successfully passed to their children. I have heard many stories of the excellent educational achievements of the children in these churches.

For many Chinese church members, success also has a religious motivation. They emphasize the religious justifications of success. They attribute their career success to the God's blessing. Moreover, they want to show the fruits of their Christian faith to non-Christians. The social success of many church members is impressive for the occasional non-Christian visitors. Many educated Chinese believe that all religions are synonymous with superstitions. They think that Christians, just like all religious people, could be very kind people, but lack intelligence. When they come to the church for

a social occasion, some are surprised to meet professors and scientists in various areas. This surprise often precedes serious enquiries about Christian beliefs and a subsequent conversion to Christianity. This is especially true for many new comers from mainland China. Many of their testimonials express surprise at the success of Chinese Christians. For these people, the most welcome evangelistic lecturers were not pastors or professional evangelists, but successful lay Christians.

Most church leaders of the nine Chinese churches are successful professionals who also work very hard for their church jobs. Shubang Zhou of the Chinese United Church has a senior position in government. He bought a large house in order to hold fellowship activities there, and spent most his after-work time in church affairs. He asserts, "a Christian should serve the church as much as possible." (Shubang Zhou, Interview. 1996)

Thrift

The Chinese churches are characterised with thrift. The Chinese churches are affluent but frugal. These churches have a very good income from tithes and offerings. The Ottawa Chinese United Church, for example, bought its own building with a total cost of more than \$600,000 in 1984, totally relying on the donations of its members. The Ottawa Chinese Alliance Church, for example, with an average attendance of 420, had the offerings of \$409,166 in 1992. The church

paid three pastors good salaries and generously supported missionaries and Christian organizations. In the early 1990s, the church constructed a two-story sanctuary within two years. The church project relied on members's donations.

However, church life is frugal. The well-maintained buildings of these Chinese churches have little interior or exterior decoration. Air-conditioners, heaters, and lights in the building are always off unless there are group meetings. All of the church budgets are subject to item-by-item scrutinizing by church members in congregational meetings. Church leaders usually have to justify every item of the budget in detail. Thrift becomes a characteristic aspect of many church members. Even children are educated to spend money only when strictly necessary.

Temperance

From the beginning, temperance has been the norm among Chinese Christians. Chinese Christians enjoy good food. Fellowship meetings often hold potluck gatherings, to which every family brings a home-cooked dish. However, all the group gatherings are "dry" -no wine, beer or other alcohol beverage are never served. In addition, I have never seen any person smoke at church or in group gatherings.

This is part of the implicit moral code of all the conservative Chinese churches, since smoking is taken as a symbolic indication of other deeper, moral and spiritual problems. In their conversion

testimonials, some people mention that they used to smoke or drink before conversion. Although smoking and drinking never became a topic at these Chinese churches during my fieldwork, the implicit moral code was clearly against smoking and drinking.

In the Chinese churches, there seem to be no rules against seeing movies or watching sports, although these activities are vaguely discouraged in favour of work or study. Chinese parents often invest time and money in their children's more productive activities, such as learning to play the piano and violin, and playing volleyball, or swimming. They want their children to develop in an all-around way. However, church leaders and most parents often discourage children from entering a sport as a professional.

Gender Equality

These nine conservative Chinese churches in Ottawa do not proclaim equality between men and women in church leadership. However, there have been disagreements voiced about women's roles. In terms of education and jobs, the women members are generally not much different from the men. For many couples, both the husband and the wife are PhD holders and both have good careers. While some women are housewives, especially when they have small children, most women have their own jobs. At home and in the society these women and men are not much different in status.

The participation of women in the churches has been active and enthusiastic. Women sing in choirs, teach children's Sunday School, and coordinate group and church activities. For example, the Mandarin ministry at the Emmanuel Alliance Church of Ottawa was initiated by a female church leader, Yanhui Zhao. Moreover, Ms. Xiwen Wu made a significant contribution to the early development of the Ottawa Mandarin Alliance Church in 1996. Family remains a unit in most church activities. Adult women attend church or group activities with their husbands. Every week volunteers cook the Sunday lunch for the congregations. Most of the time men and women cook together. This would suggest equality of women and men.

The Ottawa Chinese Catholic Community is the only one in which where women (sisters) have been in church administration, even after the community took a parish shape under the leadership of Father Bosco Wong in 1984. A women became the Board Chair in the 1990s.

Some changes occurred recently. I was told that a Chinese alliance church in Toronto had a women pastor. The Ottawa Mandarin Alliance Church encouraged women to be Board Members in 1997.

However, men still dominate church leadership positions in these churches. These Chinese churches have never had a women pastor. The Ottawa Chinese United Church and the Emmanuel Alliance Church of Ottawa have had some deaconesses. However, the Chairs of the Official Boards have always been men and the majority of board members have always been men.

Christian fundamentalism seems to produce an impact upon the power structure of these Chinese immigrant churches. It is true that the status of women was not recognized in traditional Chinese culture. However, most church members of these Chinese churches have had modern educations in China and North America, which have taught the notion of gender equality. These Chinese churches have excluded women from power in order to maintain a fundamentalist image. The fact that women are excluded from church leadership is also influenced by their traditional Chinese notion of gender status. However, generally speaking, compared with other traditional Chinese community organizations, Chinese churches allow women a much more visible role in church management and leadership.

Sexuality and Marriage

These nine Chinese Christian churches all claim a conservative theology as far as sexuality is concerned.

Church leaders and the parents clearly discouraged dating among high school boys and girls. To guard against bad influences the parents relied on the church for meaningful and attractive youth activities. They also try to fill their children's schedule by sending them to camp meetings, encouraging or pressing them to study the Chinese language, and bringing them to private music and sport classes. These efforts have been quite successful. The problems found in Canada, such as drugs and teenage pregnancy have been very

rare in any of these Chinese Christian churches. I heard of no case of such problems during my field work.

Chinese parents are in constant fear of what they perceive as the bad influence of North American society. Their children's education is a great challenge for them. One of the frequent topics at fellowship group meetings is how to successfully educate children in the free Canadian society. The most recommended strategy is, as I heard many times, to bring the kids to the Lord. Intact and traditional marriage and family life are highly valued. The majority of the church members are married. The few singles in their thirties or forties are seen as yet-to-be married. There might be marriage problems among church members. However, family problems are generally not made known to the public, and divorce cases are few. In 1994, Pastor Mak of the Ottawa Chinese United Church was criticized for his sympathy to a Christian couple living together without marriage. The pastor of the Ottawa Mandarin Alliance Church once worked hard to help a female member save her marriage in 1996.

Democracy

The nine Chinese Christian churches in Ottawa have always exhibited a spirit of equality and democratic participation of individual members, which may have been new for people used to other values. These Chinese churches have had a congregational policy in their church histories.

For example, the below is the OCUC Annual Congregational Meeting Agenda of February 10, 1991, 1:30 pm.:

- I. Prayer
- II. Minutes of the last congregational meeting
Business arising from the meeting
- III. Reports and Question Period
 - 1. Slate of church officers, 1991
 - 2. Election of the Chair of Stewards and the Representative to Presbytery
 - 3. 1991 Budget
 - 4. Project "500"
 - 5. Church Repeat, Saturday, March 30, 10 am - 4 pm.
 - 6. Other Business
- V. Prayer and Adjournment
- VI. New Congregational Meeting: June 28, 1991, 1:30 pm.

The OCUC Church Officers, 1991

Official Board:

Chair

Recording Steward

Nominating Committee Chair

Property Manager

Mission and Service Coordinator

Representative to Presbytery

Spiritual Matters Committee

Chair

Secretary

Worship Coordinator

Christian Education Coordinator

Membership Coordinator

Committee of Stewards

Chair

Treasurers

Auditors

Propers Coordinator

Library Coordinator

Audio, Video Coordinator

Lunch Fellowship Coordinator

Sunday School Superintendent

Children's Program Coordinator

Junior Program Counselors

Pastoral Zone Coordinators: East, Central, South, and West

It may be relevant to note that many Chinese immigrants from non-democratic societies in Asia began their democracy practice in their churches. Throughout their activities and within their organization, these Chinese Christian churches do provide tools leading to the adaptation of Chinese immigrants to Canadian society as a whole. Democracy is expressed in their church structures and church management. Board members are elected through congregational meetings. Church ministries are carried up by various committees. Pastors are hired by the churches.⁶³ The power of Elders Board members and pastors is institutionally restricted. Major church issues are usually called for public debate and voting. Moreover, various committee members are also elected from members.

There have been some attempts in the Ottawa Chinese Alliance Church and the Ottawa Chinese United Church to select lay "Elders" for the purpose of long-term church stability and planning. The Elders would become permanent church leaders. The title of "Elder" conveys a meaning of authority with senior status. These attempts were blocked by congregations. Some church members worried that "elders" might become patriarchy leaders in church management. Some saw no need for the church to have Elders, from the point of view of church democracy.

⁶³The pastors in the Ottawa Chinese Catholic community and the St. Peter's Chinese Church were hired by their Canadian denominations respectively.

3.6 Chinese Church and Cultural Adaptation

The process of cultural adaptation in the Chinese churches is partly implicit and due to the nature of the institutions, partly explicit and actively pursued by the members of the churches.

In terms of belief, these Chinese churches provide a Christian theology to the Chinese converts. Many Chinese immigrants have had to overcome many obstacles to accept Christian beliefs. These were cultural obstacles, modernist and nationalist obstacles. The conservative nature of Chinese Christians may have many roots. Out of turmoil and chaos they want peace and certainty. Conservative Christianity provides absolute assertions and assurance for permanency and eternity. But people also have pragmatic reasons to join the Chinese churches, which are more conducive to their success and the success of their children in Canadian society. The social status of these Chinese Christians - highly-educated professionals living in suburbs, is a factor for their joining these conservative ethnic churches, which provides group belonging and moral education for their children. Their minority status also let them remain in a conservative theology rather than to follow the liberal trends.

In terms of ritual, the collective rituals of membership, the Sunday worship service, Holy Communion, baptism, fellowship, and missions in these Chinese churches are organised as following Canadian denominational traditions. The English Christian naming of the Chinese members are seen as part of the social construction of

their Canadian identity. With the exception of the Ottawa Chinese Catholic Community and the St. Peter's Chinese Anglican Church, the other seven are evangelical churches with strong influences of the Reformed traditions with a Baptist tone. The emphasis is community. Sunday services in the seven Protestant churches are simple and lack formality. They always centre on the sermon and singing, and call for close relationship with God. The Holy Communion is celebrated as commemoration and is intended to symbolize church unity. Church programmes include Evangelical activities in accordance with the network corresponding to their denominations.

In terms of church institution, these Chinese churches are institutionalized according to the formats of Canadian churches. These Chinese congregations are set so that members learn and practice democracy through their church management, which assists their participation in the Canadian society.

As far as language is concerned, these Chinese churches all began in Chinese languages (Cantonese or Mandarin), and most of them started English services later to serve growing English-speaking young generations. Since new Chinese immigrants continue to arrive, the monolingual English services are not likely to appear in these Chinese churches. However, the use of English in these Chinese churches has increased. English becomes working language in church meetings of the Chinese churches with diverse Chinese linguistic groups and young generation. English is more and more used in the Sunday School classes, as the Chinese vocabulary is insufficient for

Christian theological discussions and as the demand for English training increases. The Chinese members appreciate that the benefits from Bible Studies classes include knowledge of English arts, literature, history, and access to the mind of the Western people.

In terms of social values, these Chinese churches value worldly success and justify it on religious grounds. The values of the host society are not always adopted. In terms of gender equality and democracy, for instance, there have been disagreements among church members. Most church members insist that women should not become spiritual leaders at the churches, while women are very active in church program management. While some more conservative members want to grant more authority to ordained pastors or elders, most immigrant members insist on congregational democracy and equal participation of every church members in decision-making.

If one were to superficially read the history of these Chinese churches, these churches would appear to be, in the term of Milton Gordon (1964), at the stage of cultural assimilation but not yet to the stage of structural assimilation. However, the choices made by the church members and their own testimonials clearly show that the stage model is much too simplistic to account for the cultural and institutional processes taking place in the Chinese Christian churches. Assimilation is not the end of the process when people select the focus and mode of adaptation they favor. The next chapter will explore how these Chinese churches, in the meanwhile, also function as cultural agencies to assist in ethnic maintenance.

Chapter Four: Minority Chinese Church as Community: Construction of Confucian Christianity

The conservative functions of religion in ethnic maintenance have been well recognized in the study of immigrant churches in North America (Greeley 1971; Mol 1976). Migrant churches have been regarded as the most effective bastions of ethnic preservation. Many studies have shown that the transplanted traditional religious organisations serve to maintain the ethnic identity and preserve cultural traditions.

However, the Chinese Churches in Ottawa are directed to post-war Chinese immigrants and have been the churches with a majority of adult converts. As a convert group, Chinese Christians in Canada are more thoroughly uprooted. When Chinese immigrants forsook their traditional religions and adopt Christianity, the dominant religion of Canada, what would be left for them to preserve? This question is particularly important for Chinese Christians due to the cultural contradictions between Christianity and Chinese, and the politic conflicts between Christianity and the Chinese nation (see chapter one). Chinese identity and Christian identity have been regarded as incompatible with each other.

The Chinese churches in Ottawa are self-defined as Chinese churches. However, what is the Chinese identity. In what sense do these Chinese Christians claim their Chinese identity? What aspects of Chinese traditions do these Chinese churches preserve?

This chapter will survey the social functions of the Chinese Christian churches in Ottawa in ethnic maintenance. It will study the function of these Chinese churches in ethnic maintenance in terms of community development, the use of Chinese language, Chinese customs and festivals, church activities, church management, theological orientation, Chinese church network, and the church relationship with the Chinese community as well as with the Canadian denominations. Finally it will survey how these Chinese churches contribute to the construction of the Chinese identity of Chinese congregations. Generally speaking, Chinese churches help Chinese Christians to selectively preserve certain aspects of Chinese culture.

I will also focus on certain symbolic aspects of traditional Chinese identity - language, rituals and symbols. Some scholars argue that orthopraxy was the principal means of unifying the Chinese despite social and cultural pluralism. In addition, many scholars agree that the unique Chinese language has provided a constant reinforcement of Chineseness. Therefore, how these Chinese churches preserve traditional rituals, symbols and the Chinese language is an important issue in the perception and construction of Chinese identity for these Chinese immigrants.

4.1 Chinese Churches as Chinese Communities

This section will study the social function of Chinese Christian churches in Ottawa in ethnic maintenance in terms of the development of a distinct Chinese community, church growth and community development.

In chapters one and two, I have briefly examined the history of Chinese immigration and Chinese Christianity in Canada as well as in Ottawa. However, the role of the Chinese Christian churches in the Chinese community in Canada has been often ignored in the study of Chinese immigrants in Canada.

From the perspective of ethnic community development, the church growth of the Chinese Christian churches in Ottawa has been an integral and significant part of the community development of the Chinese community in the city. The church growth of the nine Chinese churches in Ottawa has two distinct features. First, some of these Chinese churches started as the first Chinese community organisations. Second, these Chinese churches have been developed on the basis of demographic and linguistic division of the Chinese immigrants. The churches could be sociologically defined as locality associations. In other words, the social and cultural heritages of the Chinese immigrants have shaped the establishment and the development of the Chinese Christian churches in Ottawa.

Before the 1970s the growth of the Chinese Christian churches largely represented the institutional development of the Ottawa Chinese community. By contrast with the Chinese communities in Vancouver and Toronto, where traditional Chinese organisations such as clan associations and secret societies emerged as the first Chinese community organisations, in Ottawa, the Chinese Christian churches emerged as the first Chinese community organisations.

In the early 20th century, the earliest Chinese Sunday Schools were among several Canadian denominations in Ottawa. They were the first and only Chinese community organisations in the tiny Chinese community in Ottawa. The Chinese fellowships in these Chinese Sunday Schools were the only Chinese social groups in Ottawa.

During the period from 1920 to 1950s, the Chinese Mission and Christian Association of Ottawa (CMCAO) was the only Chinese ethnic community organisation for the early Chinese immigrants in the city. The CMCAO had regular religious services in Cantonese for a small group of about 20 of Cantonese-speaking Chinese Christians, while the majority of the early Taishanese-speaking Chinese Christians were in other Canadian denominational churches. However, the CMCAO in fact served as the only Chinese community centre with its 125-seat church facilities, providing Chinese language classes and fellowships for all the Chinese including non-Christians. Since the majority of the Chinese in Ottawa were Christians before the 1950s (see Table 1.3), the CMCAO served not only as a cross-denominational association for all the Chinese Christians but also as a community

centre for all the Chinese in Ottawa.

After the CMCAO was inaugurated as the Ottawa Chinese United Church (OCUC) in 1962, the OCUC continued to function as the only Chinese community centre in the city during the 1960s and most of the 1970s for post-war Chinese immigrants.⁶⁴ At beginning, the OCUC brought together some earlier Taishanese-speaking Chinese and the later-on Cantonese-speaking immigrants from Hong Kong before other Chinese community organisations such as the clan associations and secret societies emerged in the 1980s. The OCUC once was the most influential and largest ethnic Chinese organisation in Ottawa. Before 1982, major Chinese community activities were mostly conducted with the church facilities of the OCUC. In 1988, the OCUC still remained as the largest Chinese organisation in Ottawa with a congregation of more than 400 people, when the total Chinese population in the city was about 5,000 people.

The Ottawa Chinese Catholic Community (OCCC) emerged in 1955 as a missionary centre and mostly focused on the Chinese students from Hong Kong. Thus, it was once popularly known as the "Chinese student centre" in Ottawa. The centre later brought together the Chinese Catholic immigrants from Hong Kong and took a parish form in the 1980s. It had a congregation of about 180 people in 1997.

The Ottawa Chinese Alliance Church (OCAC) was initiated in 1973 by a small group of Chinese students from Hong Kong. Since the

⁶⁴ The Ottawa Chinese United Church had long been the Chinese community center until the early 1980s when the Ottawa Chinese Community Organization founded

OCAC focused on university evangelism until the early of the 1980s, the OCAC served as a Chinese community for the Chinese students from Hong Kong. Located in the heart of the Chinatown, the OCAC has attracted many new Chinese immigrants with its various church programs and since the 1990s been the biggest Chinese organisation. Consequently, the OCAC founded three Chinese churches or communities during the 1980s-1990s. In 1997, it had a congregation of about 350 people. Now it has services in Cantonese and English.

The Ottawa Chinese Bible Church (OCBC) was established in 1976 by a group of post-war Mandarin-speaking Chinese immigrants who were working professionals. Since most of the Mandarin-speaking Chinese immigrants were from Taiwan during the 1970s and 1980s, the church later became known as a Taiwanese church and actually was the only community in the city for the Mandarin-speaking Chinese immigrants before the 1990s. The congregation now consists of two Mandarin-speaking groups from Taiwan and mainland China. It has a special fellowship for the mainland Chinese members. In 1997, it had a congregation of more than 150 people in 1997.

The St. Peter's Chinese Anglican Church emerged in 1980 for the Chinese Anglican students from Hong Kong and has remained as a community for the Cantonese-speaking Chinese Anglican immigrants. The services are in Cantonese.

the building as community center at 80 Florence Street in Ottawa.

The Chinese Christian Church of Ottawa is a result of a congregation split from the Ottawa Chinese United Church in 1989. Thus the church has remained as a Cantonese-speaking community of early and contemporary Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong. In 1997, it had a congregation of about 300 people.

The Emmanuel Alliance Church of Ottawa was established in 1989 as the Kanata Chinese Alliance Church to serve the Chinese working families in that area where suburbanization rapidly developed since the 1980s and there then lived about 250 Chinese families. It has become the only Chinese community in that area since then. Its trilingual services have attracted many Chinese non-Christians with cultural diversity in the area. The church had a community of about 170 in 1997.

The Ottawa Agape Chinese Alliance Church was designated in 1994 as a Chinese student church. However, for financial reasons, it has developed itself as a church for Chinese students and working professionals. Being the only Chinese church in South Ottawa, it has become the home and community centre for the Cantonese-speaking Chinese Christians in that area. The church had a congregation of less 100 people in 1997. The services are in Cantonese.

The Ottawa Mandarin Alliance Church was built in 1995 from the Mandarin ministry of the OCAC mainly for the Chinese coming from mainland China. The church had a congregation of about 100 people in 1997.

It may be relevant to note that the Chinese community in Ottawa has only had a significant population growth after the 1980s, and that other Chinese community organisations have emerged only after the 1980s. Before the 1980s, the four Chinese churches (the OCCC, the OCUC, the OCAC, the OCBC) formed the only visible Chinese community centres in Ottawa, which provided regular fellowships and community activities, such as the celebration of the Chinese New Year for Chinese, including non-Christians, with their church facilities. During the 1980s, the churches remained as major Chinese community centres in Chinatown. After the 1990s, these Chinese churches still exist as the most active and visible ethnic organisations. In 1997, of the 84 ethnic Chinese organisations in Ottawa, the OCUC, the OCAC, and the CCCO are among the largest Chinese organisations. Therefore, in Ottawa, the Chinese church growth has greatly contributed to the development of the Chinese community.

Church institutions greatly contribute to the development of these Chinese churches as ethnic communities. The denominational churches such as the Ottawa Chinese United Church and the Ottawa Chinese Alliance Church have received strong institutional support from their Canadian denominations in terms of church facilities, funding, and the priesthood. The independent local churches such as the Ottawa Chinese Bible Church and the Chinese Christian Church of Ottawa have good support from their congregations in terms of offerings and church format. Consequently, these Chinese churches

have become the best-developed ethnic Chinese community centres in the city. Following the Canadian church format, these Chinese Christian churches are highly institutional communities in terms of funding, membership, and organisational structure. Church facilities greatly contribute to develop community life. Church facilities allow Chinese members to organise different activities. (Some other non-Christian community organisations sometimes come to rent the church facilities for their group activities.) Well-organised church fellowships further the social gatherings of these Chinese Christians; church activities such as summer camp, often attract many non-Christian Chinese but are still centred on connections between Chinese families. These church activities have become part of Chinese community life.

These nine Chinese churches have served as the best-organised community organisations in the Ottawa Chinese community. Each church has a cohesive Chinese congregation and becomes an insitutional Chinese sub-community. In the term of Breton (1991), these Chinese churches have achieved their "institutional completeness" and their high degree of "ethnic enclosure" through their well-developed church institutions and church programs. In Ottawa, now, no other Chinese community organisations like the Chinese Christian churches can organise so many regular community activities for their Chinese members.

The second feature becomes obvious when one looks at the cultural composition of the congregations. These Chinese churches

have developed themselves as particular Chinese communities to serve Chinese Christians with certain geographic, linguistic, social, and cultural backgrounds. The churches first grew by attracting members originating from specific regions in China, thereby shaping their church growth in terms of congregation and language. Consequently, these Chinese churches are distinct ethnic Chinese communities. The official Canadian immigration system allows, if not favour, this.

As a result of the previous process but also as a consequence of the linguistic situation in China, language has become a main component of their specific identity of Chinese churches. But language affiliations have their own dynamic momentum.

Each of these Chinese churches now exists as a linguistically homogeneous Chinese community centre for distinct Chinese immigrant groups. Seven of the nine Chinese churches use Cantonese in their services, as the majority of their congregations are from Hong Kong. Two Mandarin churches are mainly for the Chinese immigrants from Taiwan and Mainland China respectively. The Ottawa Chinese United Church and the Emmanuel Alliance Church of Ottawa both have services in Cantonese and Mandarin for their different language groups. Mandarin-speaking groups have increased during the last ten years. The churches function to actively promote their linguistic distinctiveness.

Table 4.1 below shows the cultural and linguistic diversity in these Chinese churches.

Table 4.1 Geographical and Linguistic Diversity among the Chinese Churches in Ottawa

Church	Chinese	Congregation
Ottawa Chinese Catholic Community	Cantonese	Hong Kong
St. Peter's Chinese Church	Cantonese	Hong Kong
Chinese Christian Church of Ottawa	Cantonese	Hong Kong
Ottawa Chinese Alliance Church	Cantonese	Hong Kong
Agape Chinese Alliance Church	Cantonese	Hong Kong
Emmanuel Alliance Church of Ottawa	Cantonese Mandarin	Hong Kong Mainland
Ottawa Chinese United Church	Cantonese Mandarin	Hong Kong Mainland
Ottawa Chinese Bible Church	Mandarin	Taiwan Mainland
Ottawa Mandarin Alliance Church	Mandarin	Mainland

The Cantonese-speaking churches now always refer Mandarin-speaking visitors to other Mandarin-speaking churches, while the Mandarin-speaking churches usually send Cantonese-speaking visitors to Cantonese-speaking churches. Chinese newcomers can and do choose their churches primarily according to their Chinese linguistic abilities and cultural background, rather than theological orientation, since all these Protestant churches basically follow a conservative theology. For instance, a Chinese Christian from Taiwan would join the Ottawa Chinese Bible Church rather than the Ottawa Mandarin Alliance Church.

Meanwhile, the language tensions created by different dialects in a church have largely declined. It has been a challenge for a local Chinese church to meet the needs of both Cantonese-speaking and Mandarin-speaking groups with limited church facilities, though the church often wishes to achieve church growth. The Ottawa Chinese Alliance Church founded the Ottawa Mandarin Alliance Church in 1995, because it could not afford its Mandarin ministry with its church facilities along with the development of both Cantonese-speaking and Mandarin-speaking groups. In the Ottawa Chinese United Church, Pastor Wu resigned in 1997, as he failed to manage the conflicts between the Mandarin-speaking and the Cantonese-speaking groups.

Once churches are established according to geographical and linguistic labels, they tend to reinforce their specificity, thus increasing rather than decreasing their ethnic maintenance function.

4.2 The Use of Chinese Languages

Theories of assimilation regarded losing the original language as inevitable to assimilation. Many ethnic groups strive hard to preserve their original language, but most fight a losing battle. For Chinese immigrants in Canada, preserving Chinese language is particularly difficult because of (1) the vast difference between English and Chinese, (2) the great distance between China and Canada, (3) Chinese as an ethnic minority in Canada, and (4) the

competition of multiple Chinese dialects.

Nevertheless, the Chinese language has continued to be the major language in the Chinese Christian churches in Ottawa. As shown in chapter three, the use of English has increased, but these churches remain as bilingual or trilingual churches, using Mandarin, Cantonese and English. The Chinese-speaking Sunday service continues to have a larger attendance than the English service in every Chinese church in Ottawa.

Because most church members are adult converts and new immigrants continue to come and join the Chinese-speaking congregations, and the first generation of immigrants continues to dominate church leadership, the Chinese language services no doubt will continue.

In addition to the use of Chinese language in services, these Chinese pastors often use Chinese literature in their sermons. Pastor Wu of the Ottawa Chinese United Church, for example, used two ancient Chinese poems in one of his sermons in March 1996.

Moreover, Chinese speakers have been invited to give lectures on Chinese literature and arts. Professor Yu of the University of British Columbia, for example, was invited to give several lectures on ancient Chinese literature in the Ottawa Chinese Bible Church during the year from 1991-1997.

The challenge to the use of the Chinese language in these Chinese churches comes from the English-speaking young church generations. Among the nine churches, six are offering separate

English services for the English-speaking young generation.

Language training is a difficult issue. It is not resolved within the churches. These Chinese churches have now no Chinese language schools for church members to learn Chinese. The Chinese United Church once opened a Chinese language school which later merged in the Ottawa Chinese School in the 1970s. The reason for that is because there are several government-sponsored Chinese language schools in Ottawa. However, most of the church members have made strong efforts to help the young church generations learn the Chinese language. They always send their children to the local Chinese language schools on Saturday. Many parents have started to send their children to Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Mainland to learn Chinese language and culture during summer.

Learning Chinese is hard for many Canadian-born and Canadian-raised children (CBC and CRC). They complain about the vast differences between English, their first language, and Chinese. Many see learning Chinese as an overburden because it is extracurricular and demands time and consistent effort. Many of these children resist learning it, some even refuse. Some parents insist that their children must learn it, whereas other parents ease up. Some parents have asked their children to attend Chinese services in order to improve the Chinese of their children. It is therefore remarkable that most children have learned to speak some Chinese at church.

However, many CACs at church can speak little Chinese. Some of the CBCs continue to attend these Chinese churches, mostly the

English service. The non-Chinese-speaking Chinese have presented challenges to the definition of Chineseness. They are Chinese without being able to speak Chinese language. Consequently, the definition of Chineseness had to be changed by dropping off the language requirement. As a result, Chinese language may be gradually nonessential to Chinese identity in the Chinese churches in Canada.

The challenge to the use of the Chinese language in these Chinese churches also comes internally from the linguistic diversity among the Chinese congregations. As mentioned before, there are many mutually unintelligible Chinese dialects, although written characters and grammars are much the same. Among the Chinese Christians in Ottawa, there have been many people speaking Mandarin, Cantonese, Minnan dialect, Fujian dialect, Shanghai dialect, and other Chinese dialects.

Dialectical differences have certain social and cultural applications for Chinese immigrants in Canada. Before World War II, Taishanese, as commonly spoken by the immigrants from certain rural districts of Guangdong of South China, was regarded the true Chinese language in Canadian Chinatowns. Later, Cantonese, as spoken in the cities of Hong Kong, Macau, and Guangzhou, replaced Taishanese as the common language, because it would signify a more genteel urban background. With the increase of new Chinese immigrants after World War II, Mandarin has gradually become popular. Mandarin is the official language of China that every educated Chinese is expected to be able to speak. Other dialects or Mandarin variants also have

particular cultural customs and social norms attached to them.

These nine Chinese churches in Ottawa have all started as monolingual churches either in Cantonese or Mandarin Chinese. Consequently, the early Taishanese-speaking Chinese Christians have been excluded. Later, in order to meet the need of the diverse congregations, English and another Chinese dialect had to be added in some of the Chinese churches.

The linguistic and cultural diversity of the Chinese Christians has presented strong challenge to communication and integration of these Chinese churches. The conflicts between the Cantonese and Mandarin groups in the Ottawa Chinese United Church resulted in the resignation of the Pastor Wu in 1997. The Mandarin-speaking Ottawa Chinese Bible Church has a fellowship specially for people from Mainland China, and other fellowships for the members from Taiwan and other areas of the world.

4.3 Chinese Customs and Festivals in the Chinese Churches

Symbols and rituals are visible and observable phenomena. They are particularly important for defining "Chineseness" because Chinese ritual life is deeply woven into the broad fabric of social life, and public rituals allow for a public display of allegiance to both local and global Chinese community and identity.

In this section, I will study collective rituals and important symbols in the Chinese Christian churches in Ottawa in terms of

Chinese customs and festivals, family shrines, and the dragon as a symbol. These Chinese Christians appeared to have made great efforts to differentiate traditional symbols and rituals of a religious nature from those of a secular nature. As part of the process by which they become Christians, they had to redefine "religion." Embracing Christianity means rejecting a former religious affiliation. When that affiliation is not clear, as in China, a typology has to be created in which religious items and symbols can be marked as acceptable or non-acceptable. What is marked as secular or profane is acceptable from a Chinese Christian perspective. Rituals and symbols marked as "religion" are rejected. This process calls for fine-tuned but pragmatic selection. Public traditional rituals provide an example of the choices to be made.

Before discussing public rituals, it is necessary to say some words about the Chinese calendar. The traditional Chinese lunar calendar has been used for many centuries in China; thus many cultural and religious meanings are attached to special holidays and seasons. The Chinese lunar calendar is symbolised by the Chinese Zodiac and astrology, and is traditionally celebrated with ancestral worship.

China officially adopted the Western solar calendar after the founding of the Republic in 1911. However, Chinese people continue to observe traditional festival days according to the traditional calendar. This results in the bi-calendar system: following the solar calendar in public life - government, school, and work

schedule, and following the lunar calendar in private life - family, cultural and religious activities. Chinese calendars need to print both systems.

Chinese Christians, like other Chinese, maintain the bi-calendar system. The weekly cycle and Christian seasons bear significant meanings for their religious faith and practice. In the meantime, observing Chinese festivals is important for them to assure their Chinese identity. The Chinese bi-calendar is popularly visible in the church offices and homes of many Chinese Christians in Ottawa. Generally Chinese Christians celebrate only those traditional Chinese festivals which are perceived to have no overtones of traditional religious meanings unless they can reinterpret the meaning of the festival according to their Christian faith. A Chinese Christian in Canada, for example, usually knows the lunar year of his or her birth in the Chinese zodiac, for example, the year of dragon, but avoids finding further information about the year of birth in the Chinese astrology.

With a history of several thousand years, China has many traditional festivals; many of which are judged to have religious meanings or implications. For example, *Qingming Jie*, which is around Easter time, is a day to remember dead ancestors by visiting ancestor tombs. The Ghost Festival of the fifteenth of the seventh month, like the Yulan Jie of Buddhist origin, is a day to "feed" the vagrant ghost. Traditional rituals on these days include burning "paper moneys" and other offerings to the dead. Chinese Christians

in Ottawa consider these religious practices and do not observe the holidays.

Some traditional festivals are deemed not to have explicit religious meanings. For example, *Duanwu Jie* (the fifth day of the fifth month) is a day to commemorate Qu Yuan, an ancient patriotic poet who committed suicide in a river, with yachting and other activities on the river.

The most commonly celebrated traditional festivals are Chinese New Year and the Middle-Autumn Festival.

The Chinese New Year (*xin nian*), also called Spring Festival (*chun jie*) marks the beginning of a year and the coming of spring. Chinese New Year is a day usually in the early part of February in the Western solar calendar. In Chinese societies, the Spring Festival is a holiday season, like Christmas in Canada, extending to many days before New Year's Day and ending around the *Yuanxiao Jie* on the fifteenth day of the first month (*zhengyue shiwu*). Chinese families traditionally would have all family members meet together on this day, and conduct the rituals of ancestral worship together. The ancestral worship might take various forms in the urban cities of modern China. The community celebration of the New Year is often accompanied with lion or dragon dances.

In the Chinese Christian churches in Ottawa, the celebration of Chinese New Year usually is held with a grand dumpling banquet. Chinese in Canada have no paid holidays for celebrating Chinese New

Year, so they have to adjust the communal celebration time. The dumpling party is often on the Saturday nearest the Chinese New Year or the *Yuanxiao Jie*. Dumpling is traditional Chinese food for Chinese New Year like turkeys for the Thanksgiving in Canada. Entertainment programs often follow the dumpling party, including performing Chinese folk dance and music and singing gospel songs. New Year's celebration is a special time for Chinese immigrants to remember the past, a joyful time for the younger generations to learn about Chinese customs and cultural traditions and a good time to get non-Christian Chinese into the churches.

Chinese New Year is celebrated as a cultural festival, not a religious holy day. Yet, the Chinese churches celebrate the Chinese New Year significantly differently from other Chinese. The churches do not put up red paper couplets outside the doorways; nor burn incense or make ritual offering to dead ancestors, nor do they perform lion and dragon dances. The eight Chinese Protestant churches deliberately try to distance themselves as far as possible from what they consider as "pagan" practices in Chinese traditions. However, the Ottawa Chinese Catholics differ from the evangelical Chinese in that way and adopt more traditional Chinese symbols and practices. In their celebration, traditional Chinese fortune god (*cai shen*) came to send "red-pockets" with lucky money to children.

The Middle-Autumn Festival (*zhongqiu jie*) on the fifteenth day of the eighth month (usually in September of the solar calendar) is another important traditional Chinese festival. The moon on that day

is said to be at its roundest and brightest. The "roundness" symbolises the whole family being together. It is a time for family reunion. The round moon-cake is the special food for this day. The Chinese churches in Ottawa usually have special fellowship meetings or parties to celebrate this festival. Family values are often emphasised the theme of this gathering. This celebration also is a good opportunity to bring non-Christian Chinese into the churches, especially the lonely students who have left their families in Asia.

Ancestral worship plays a central role in Chinese religious practise. Traditionally, many Chinese families had family shrines, either consecrated to venerate ancestors or to worship certain gods, or both. During my fieldwork, I have not seen any family shrines at the homes of the Chinese Christians in Ottawa, neither ancestral tablets nor religious altars.

However, I have seen individual Chinese Christians practising folk Chinese religions in terms of geomancy (*feng suir* or wind and water). For example, being a church leader in an evangelical Chinese church in Ottawa, Mr. Wang carefully chose his new residence site in Nepean in the 1990s according to the Chinese geomancy. Subsequently, he put some glass above the main door of his house in order to prevent the evil souls and energies. Many church members saw Mr Wang's glass and understood the meaning of the glass at their frequent visits to his house for fellowship meetings. Mr. Wang appears to be able to continue his practice of Chinese geomancy without public oppositions from the church.

The symbol of dragon has a significant meaning in Chinese culture. Chinese people call themselves "Dragon Descendants" (*long de zisum* or *long de chuanren*). The dragon is a kind of totemic symbol for the Chinese people. It is also a popular decorative image in the Chinese communities.

However, this sacred Chinese symbol presents some problems for Chinese Christians. In the Western tradition, the imaginary dragon is a vicious monster, as depicted in the Revelation of the New Testament and in stories of St. George the dragon slayer. The English word "dragon" comes from the ancient Greek word "drakon," which originally means "Serpent" (grand snake) in ancient Greek literature. The dragon represents the image of Satan or evil in the West.

This may be why there are no dragon images in the Chinese Christian churches in Ottawa. These Chinese Christians also do not hold dragon dances to celebrate Chinese New Year. However, I have seen paintings or decorative images of the dragon at some Christians' homes, though they are quite common among non-Christian Chinese.

In Ottawa, the Chinese people themselves appear to hold no clear position either for or against the dragon. Some think the auspicious Chinese dragon is different from the evil dragon in the Bible. Some insist that the oriental dragon was the dragon referred in the Bible. Consequently, they simply avoid it as much as possible.

Traditional Chinese painting, sculptures and calligraphy are appreciated by Chinese Christians, and encouraged by the Chinese community as a whole. But it so happens that in several cases it is difficult to differentiate the artistic values from religious elements.

The Chinese Christians in Ottawa take a practical attitude to traditional Chinese medicine such as acupuncture and martial arts exercises, including Taiji and some meditations, with ignoring what they see as the religious aspects of these traditional Chinese customs and public rituals.

Mrs. Zhou is a senior church member at the Ottawa Chinese United Church. She is a popular Chinese medical doctor, offering treatments of acupuncture and Chinese herb at her clinic in Chinatown. Some of her patients are from the Chinese churches.

In 1996, in the entertainment program at a summer camp held by the Ottawa Chinese Bible Church, I observed the performance of Taiji sword by senior member Li Enzhi. People enjoyed his excellent performance, and nobody rejected the exercise of Tanji sword as a traditional Chinese meditation on the basis of the harmony of Yin and Yang.

These conservative Chinese Christians have shown a determined rejection toward family shrines, general acceptance of traditional artworks, and ambiguous and conflicting attitude toward the dragon as a symbol. The general pattern of their inheriting cultural traditions is: where it is easy to differentiate the secular

meanings from religious meanings, they take up the cultural aspects of the traditional ritual or symbol to affirm their Chinese identity; where it seems impossible to make such a distinction, they reject them; where it is possible but difficult to separate religious implications from cultural meanings, they avoid them as much as possible,

4.4 Chinese Church as Big Family

This section will study the community life of the Chinese Christian churches in Ottawa. The Chinese congregations are organised as Chinese communities. Most importantly, they emphasise family life as a model for church programs and church management.

Familial Chinese Church

The Chinese Christian churches in Ottawa present themselves as God-centred churches as they claim a conservative or evangelical Christian theology. But in concrete terms, they are indeed highly family-centred or family-oriented churches.

The terms of "family church" and "church family," which are often heard in the churches, well characterise the community life of the Chinese Christian churches in Ottawa. This aspect is found in other Chinese churches in Canada as well.

The term "family church" indicates that these Chinese churches

feature as family-centred churches in terms of congregation and church programs. As mentioned before, these Chinese churches are dearly seen as well-balanced family churches. They are mainly made of families. To serve families, church congregations and church service attendance always take children into account. Family is their church unit. For example, the annual church directory of the Ottawa Chinese Bible Church has been organised according to families rather than individual members. Pastor Gregory Wong at the Chinese Christian Church of Ottawa identifies the role of the church in my interview:

Our church is an independent evangelical church. It is a family-oriented church. Our church functions like a big family. That means the church treats every of the congregation including children as a family member. Church programs have been developed to meet the needs and interests of all age groups. Church programs also aim to enforce family values. (Wong, interview, 1997)

Church programs aim to meet the interests and needs of all age groups. As mentioned before, these Chinese churches all have various church fellowships for various age groups. The time schedules and the programs of these fellowships are usually determined according to the needs of the families. Among the church programs, Sunday Worship Services and fellowship meetings always have very high attendance because of the nature of these gatherings as a "family business." However, the attendance of prayer meetings and Sunday school is very low, partly due to the nature of this gathering as "individual action." For example, on the February 22, 1998, at the Ottawa Agape Chinese Alliance Church, the total attendance of Sunday

Worship was 73, but only 44 for Sunday school and 32 for the Prayer Meeting respectively.⁶⁵

Church programs also aim to enforce family values. There are some tensions and conflicts between Chinese immigrants and their Canadian-born and Canadian-raised children. The "generation gap" in these Chinese churches is largely due to conflicts of Chinese and Canadian cultures. The Chinese immigrants want their children to show deference and obedience, whereas the young people want more independence and respect. The immigrants want to pass on the Chinese language and Chinese traditions to their children, whereas the young generations want to develop themselves with liberty. The church programs support the stance of parents.

The church programs focus on their church growth much more than evangelist missions. These Chinese Christians want the Christian faith and church life to strengthen and improve their family life. They want their children to excel in school and succeed in careers. After years of suffering in wars, political violence, social turmoil, and immigration instabilities, these Chinese Christians hope for a stable and peaceful family life. Thus mission programs are out of favour among these Chinese Christians.

The familial community life of the Chinese Christian churches is reinforced rather than weakened by the social isolation of immigrant newcomers who seek a substitute for their former families.

⁶⁵ See the OACAC Attendance Record of 1998.

The term "church family" indicates that a Chinese church functions as a big family. These Chinese Christian members often claim, "our church is a big family."

The Chinese family-oriented Confucian ethics also finds a home in the Christian churches. The familial characteristics of the Chinese Christian churches also express a Confucian "family ethic" in interpersonal relations.

A traditional Confucian view of women fits the evangelical theological stance of women being submissive. Sermons and lectures often affirm a conservative position about traditional gender division. This theological oppression of women's humanity is far more difficult to change than cultural oppression. Wives are expected to be subordinate to husbands, and men are expected to take up leadership. Women identify with a "wife" role in church management and are hesitant to join church leadership. A senior church leader at the Ottawa Chinese Alliance Church explained the absence of the women in church leadership:

The church does not reject women to join the church board, but no woman wants to do. Because women intend to let their husbands participate into church administration. They like to play a role of "wife" in the big church family. (Gerald Chan. Interview. 1997)

In these Chinese churches, seniors always receive high respect and children often get special care. The two cases below show the Confucian ethics at work in church activities.

Case One: In a congregational meeting of the Ottawa Mandarin Alliance Church in 1997, senior Li Enzi and junior member Shi Jin

became the two final candidates for a position in a church committee. Most of the members voted in favour of Li Enzi, although Shi was obviously more qualified for the job. When asked for the reasons of their voting, several members gave me the same reply, "because Li is a senior and should have experiences to get the job well done." They seemed to choose the candidate according to age and experience rather than qualifications.

Case Two: In October 1996, I attended a Mandarin fellowship lunch meeting of the Ottawa Chinese United Church. When the buffet began, the congregation let the seniors to get the food first, then the children, the women followed, and the men at last. It occurred just like a Chinese family about to start a dinner.

Familial relations provide a model for social behaviour. Respect your own elders, as well as others' elders; be kind to your own children and juniors, as well as those of others. These have been the reason for the strong sense of solidarity in the Chinese churches as well as in the overseas Chinese community at larger.

Patriarchy in Chinese Church

Following the formats of Canadian denominations, the Chinese churches have vigorously maintained congregational democracy. The congregational meeting has the highest authority in decision making. Some Chinese Christians argue that a church should be a theocracy - ruled by God, not a democracy - ruled by people. Pastors are

servants of God and only God can decide the staying and leaving of a pastor: a democratic vote on a pastor is not biblical. However, even these Chinese churches have followed a democratic structure.

Nevertheless, the familial community life model of these Chinese churches often brings patriarchy in church management. As mentioned before, in these Chinese churches, women have been excluded from church leadership, even though they have actively participated in the management of church programs and activities. Often the male who defines female qualities labels a female's assertiveness aggressiveness.

Patriarchy takes various forms in church management. Since seniors always get high respect from the congregation, some senior church leaders and ordained pastors often expect respect and power in church administration. Pastors are often regarded as the church heads. It is difficult for the Chinese churches to impose limits to the term and power of their pastors. Conflicts usually occur between patriarchal pastors or senior church leaders and the church members who insist on democratic principles.

There were many controversies about the 1994 congregation split of the Ottawa Chinese United Church. Some young members left the church for the Kanata Chinese Alliance Church because of their dispute with some senior members with regard to the qualifications of several new converts. They claimed that their opinions were unfairly ignored. Some other members insisted that it was a result of personality conflicts or conflicts between true Christians versus

false Christians. However, in terms of church patriarchy, it may indicate that it was a result of church conflicts between the patriarchal senior leaders and a young generation.

Chinese Clergy as Sage, Saint, and Church Head

It is useful here to discuss the role of the Chinese pastors in the Chinese Christian churches in Ottawa. The responsibilities and power of these Chinese pastors have been shaped by the status of the Chinese churches as minority churches in Canada as well as by the cultural heritage of Chinese congregations.

As minority churches, these Chinese churches are priestly churches. Chinese congregations strongly expect the pastors to answer the questions not only about their belief but also about their social life. Chinese pastors must be at least bilingual, speaking English and one or two Chinese languages. They must have cross-cultural pastoral experiences and theological training.

Below is a quotation about pastors from "*A Basis of Covenanting*" of the Ottawa Chinese United Church:

Members of the association shall call to the pastorate only those who are able, with integrity, to sign and live by the articles of the association. It is expected that those called to the pastorate of associated congregations will exemplify the highest ideals of faithful service in the exercise of their public ministry and will live in honesty, purity and charity with all people. Fidelity in marriage and chastity in singleness are the standards of faithful conduct required of pastors of associated congregations.

Within the context of these Chinese churches, these Chinese pastors are expected to play three roles of "sage," "saint," and "leader" at same time. In terms of a sage, a Chinese pastor must be a knowledgeable person who can offer a strong message in his sermons. In 1993, Pastor David Pan at the Ottawa Chinese Bible Church was voted out because most of the congregation became unsatisfied with the quality of his sermons. In terms of a saint, the pastor must be a moral model of Orthodoxy Christian faith. In 1997, Pastor Wu at the Ottawa Chinese United Church had to resign for several reasons. One of the reasons was he failed to make a moral commitment of the kind expected by the congregation. In terms of leadership, a Chinese pastor may enjoy high respect and power in church if he can make a full commitment to the church administration. Throughout his activities and responsibilities, the model pastor of a pastor is Confucius.

Pastor Rod Bennettee at the Ottawa Chinese United Church compared his pastoral experiences between the Chinese church and the Canadian churches he had worked for in our conversation:

In the Chinese church, I enjoy more respect and power, as people appear to wait for my opinions very often. However, I need to meet their higher expectations. (Rod Bennettee. Interview. 1995)

Chinese pastors must meet the high demand of the congregations. In theory, a pastor is a spiritual leader and a full-time church minister. In practice, a Chinese pastor must be available 24-hours a day to the congregation. He must give high

quality weekly sermons, regularly visit the congregation, and actively participate in all church activities, if available, and to undertake church administration, outreach and missions. Because the congregations give high respect to the pastors, they can hardly impose limits to the terms and power of pastors. Thus, Chinese pastors often have an authoritative position in churches.

Yet, conflicts sometimes occur between the authoritarian pastors and church leaders and the congregation members who favour more democratic management. Such church conflicts sometimes result in the departure of some church members or the pastors. In 1993, a congregation split occurred at the Ottawa Chinese Bible Church because of the departure of Pastor Pan. A group left for the Ottawa Chinese United Church.

The church conflicts were sometimes related to the cultural backgrounds of the pastors. As minority churches, these Chinese churches often have to bring pastors directly from Asia to Ottawa. It is a challenge for those pastors without Canadian experiences to manage the church conflicts here. For those pastors who used to enjoy an authoritarian position in Asian churches, they need to adapt to the church democracy in Canada. In 1995, Pastor Chen from Southeast Asia resigned his job at the Chinese Christian Church of Ottawa after he failed to work with some church members, partly due to his authoritative management styles. Therefore, now these Chinese churches put a heavy emphasis on the North American experiences of their pastors.

Chinese Management of Church Conflicts

In the Chinese Christian churches in Ottawa, conflict management features indirect and non-confrontational communication in order to achieve or maintain a harmonious social atmosphere. The Chinese way of conflict management differs from the Western one that emphasises direct communication and open confrontation. In 1996, Pastor Rod Bennettee was voted in as Senior Pastor of Ottawa Chinese United Church without debate. Most church members had well known the voting result before the congregational meeting through extensive indirect communications. They did not bring different opinions into the congregational meeting mostly in order to avoid confrontation.

Chinese conflict management is rooted in Confucian social theory. According to Confucian social theory, human beings are understood as "relational beings." Therefore, people need to develop themselves as "relation-oriented" individuals (King 1991:64-68). In this respect, Chinese adults have to consider three key concepts in their management of everyday life: *guanxi* (personal relationship or personal network), *manzi* (face) and *renqing* (human obligation). In the Chinese mind, direct confrontation will result in losing face for the loser, a situation that must be avoided. Open communication may cause confrontation and bring damages to other people. Indirect communication may reduce possible damages and keep them to a minimum. Social life focuses on the relationships and obligations that accompany relationships.

Therefore, in Chinese church management, imposing limits to the terms and power of a pastor could be seen as a humiliation for the pastor. It may also be understood as the church not trusting the pastor to fulfil his obligations.

4.5 Confucian Christianity

Traditional cultural values and notions are important elements in identity construction. Many scholars have argued that the Confucian value system defines the nature of Chinese culture and Chinese identity. Confucianism for a very long time used to be the orthodoxy in Chinese society and Chinese culture. Meanwhile, Taoism and Buddhism have also been widely woven into the social fabric of Chinese society to complete the pattern of traditional Chinese values. How do Chinese Christians inherit traditional Chinese values and notions while maintaining their Christian beliefs? What kind of integration or fusion between Christianity and Chinese traditions can take place in the present condition?

In this section, I will discuss the voices in the Chinese churches in Ottawa with regard to Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. Generally speaking, these Chinese Christians affirm Confucianism as a system of ethics, but with a certain amount of reformulation; they differentiate Taoist philosophy from Taoist religion, appreciating notions of the former but rejecting the latter; and they clearly reject Buddhism.

The Chinese Christians in Ottawa claim Confucianism as their cultural heritage. They ask for an integration of Confucianism and Christianity. They believe that Confucianism is very much compatible with Christianity in terms of moral values and a philosophy of life. Christianity is seen as complementing Confucianism. Whenever it is possible to find points of junction between Confucian values and Christian teachings, Confucianism is reaffirmed.

The central doctrine of Confucianism is that of the virtue of *ren*. In etymology and interpretations, *ren* is always concerned human relations. Confucianism regards *ren* as the foundation of goodness and all virtues. *Ren* is commonly rendered benevolence and love in various interpretations, including the phrase "*ren* is to love people" (*ren zhe ai ren*). The Chinese Christians in Ottawa equate *ren* with *ren-ai* (love), and regard this *ren-ai* as the core of Confucianism. They claim that *ren* as a core principle of Confucianism is very close to Jesus' teaching of love. Chinese Christians often point to many New Testament verses, such as what Jesus said to his disciples, "A new command I give you: Love one another" (John 13:34). "God is love. Whoever lives in love lives in God, and God in him" (1 John 4:16). Confucianism regards love as the foundation of all virtues, so does Christianity. The virtues of compassion, humanity, gentleness, patience, forgiveness, and kindness are emphasised in the Bible, "over all these virtues put on love, which binds them all together in perfect unity" (Colossians

3:14). Citing these biblical verses and Confucian texts, these Chinese Christians assert and believe the compatibility of Confucian *ren* and Christian love.

The fundamental virtue in Confucianism is filial piety (*xiao*). It constitutes the principle of family ethics and the norm of social behaviour. It means that children should respect their parents and elders, take care of them when in need, honour them in deed by achieving success, and venerate them after death. In sermons, lectures and interviews the Chinese Christians often stress the importance of filial piety. They often cite the fifth biblical commandment:

Honour your father and your mother, so that you may live long in the land the Lord your God is giving you.
(Exodus 20:12)

They assert the commandment that contains a promise, as Paul said,

Children, obey your parents in the Lord, for this is right. Honour your father and mother - which is the first commandment with a promise - that it may go well with you and that you may enjoy long life on the earth.
(Ephesians 6:1-3)

The emphasis on filial piety result in an emphasis of a peaceful family life, including harmonious relationships between husband and wife, between parents and children, and among siblings. These Chinese Christians disapprove of what they perceive as "the breakdown" of the family in Canadian society. They emphasise the need to extend family life beyond the nuclear family, although Chinese Christian families are usually nuclear ones. They regard taking care of old parents as part of the good Chinese tradition

that should be preserved. Moreover, familial relations provide a model for social behaviour. Respect your own elders, as well as others' elders; be kind to your own children and juniors, as well as those of others. These have been the reason for the strong sense of solidarity in the Chinese churches.

The interpretations of filial piety in the Chinese churches appear to be a reformulation of traditional Confucian filial piety. Traditional Confucian filial piety required Chinese children to devote themselves without reservation to the welfare of their parents. The duty of a son's wife was to share in this complete devotion to her husband's parents. The personal feelings of the son and his wife were hardly taken into account. Thus, the son and his wife were required to live with his parents, owed absolute obedience to them, and had no independent property rights. The Chinese Christians in Ottawa apparently do not follow the traditional norms of filial piety. They emphasise filial piety with recognition of juniors' right and interests.

These Chinese Christians believe that Confucianism and Christianity share many social and moral values. In chapter three, I describe several important values the Chinese Christians cherished and promoted, the total of which could be seen as the "Protestant ethic." In fact, most of these values are part of Confucian ethics too. In terms of ethics, both Christianity and Confucianism maintain the importance of "this-world asceticism" - success in this world, thrift, delayed gratification, practical rationalism among their

traits. Indeed, they claim that the philosophy of life is very much the same in Confucianism and Christianity.

The Chinese Christians understand the religious differences between Confucianism and Christianity, while they identify many similarities between the both. Chinese Christians never say that the both are similar. They frequently mention various differences between Confucianism and Christianity, in terms of notions of God and life after death. However, according to them, the religious differences between the both eventually make the integration of Confucian values or Confucianism into Christianity possible.

From the point of view of the Chinese Christians, Confucianism lacks a clear view of God and of the spiritual world. Confucianism appears to lack a clear view of the transcendent and of personal God, creator and ruler of the world. Confucius himself did not deny the existence of God, gods or spirits. However, his view is agnostic, because Confucius cared little about the spiritual world and death when he asserted that "without knowing life how can you know death" (*wei zhi sheng, yan zhi si*). Chinese Christians argue that agnosticism is not necessarily essential for Confucianism. Confucianism was based on early Chinese cosmological notions, including "way" (*qi*) of the universe. However, Confucianism emphasised the "way" of social action and political order and functioned mostly as a system of ethics. In Confucian classics, *Shangdi* and *Tian* is the supreme ruler who has supernatural power and personality, a notion Chinese Christians see as very close to the

notion of God in Christianity. The notion of supernatural forces in Confucianism, however, remained ambiguous under the interpretation of the Chinese Bureau of *Yin-Yang*.

Chinese Christians think the lack of a religious dimension in Confucianism is a deadly deficiency. Human beings need the answers for the questions about the spiritual world, and death. For these Chinese Christians, Christian beliefs provide the right answers to the questions Confucianism failed to address. In this sense, Christianity does complement Confucianism.

Chinese Christians add that without believing in God Confucian values would be mostly devoid of meaning or impossible to practice. These Chinese Christians assert that only if one receives love from God can one love others without utilitarian purpose. In this sense, Christianity would accomplish Confucian moral ideals. In such a modern materialistic world, Confucianism needs to be complemented by Christianity in order to revive.

Chinese Christians further believe that Confucianism is a system of ethics, which lacks authority, because it is not built on a clear view of divine transcendence or life after death. The absolute notion of God in Christianity is seen as a powerful source of authority. In this perspective, Christian beliefs provide an absolute foundation for the moral principles of Confucianism in the modern world, and this foundation has well survived different modern challenges. There is no better institution than the church with the fundamental resources to implement and pass on Confucian values. Far

from having to reject Confucianism, Chinese Christians can justify both keeping Confucianism and accepting Christianity. The fact that main Confucian ethics are compatible with the conservative Christian moral values makes it easier to fit Confucianism within Christian beliefs, and to maintain Confucian values through Christian institutions.

Is Confucian Christianity a syncretism? It is an issue in great controversy. Confucian Christianity may be regarded as a syncretism if Confucian values or Confucianism is thought to be an ethical formulation of Chinese religious tradition rooted in traditional Chinese outlook.

Most Chinese Christians appear to regard Confucianism as a system of moral values, whereas Christianity provides transcendent belief and spiritual guidance. In other words, the core of Confucianism is on the level of moral values or social ethics, whereas the essence of Christianity is on the level of spirituality concerning the transcendent. These two systems do not compete on the same level, yet they meet and complement each other. If we can accept interpretations of these Chinese Christians of the core or essence of Confucianism and Christianity, we may accept their claim that they remain truthful to both Christianity and Confucianism without being syncretic. Chinese Christians have made genuine efforts to rank these two systems represented by their founders. This clearly reflected in the popular statement in the Chinese churches:

Worship Jesus Christ as God, revere Confucius as a sage, and honour ancestors as human beings.

The Chinese Christians in Ottawa generally share this position about the order of Jesus and Confucius.

In their efforts to integrate Confucianism and Christianity, the Chinese Christians have tried to differentiate primitive or essential Christianity from Western theologies. Western theologies adopted Greek and Roman philosophies to understand the gospel and explain Christianity. To Chinese Christians, the Greek and Roman elements are only a means to approach God and the gospel, but not the essence of Christianity. Chinese Christians hope that Chinese theologians will develop a Chinese theology rooted in traditional Chinese philosophies and cultures. Thus Chinese people can easily understand and accept Christian belief. In their view, an indigenous Chinese Christian theology should be rooted both in continuity with the historical church and in Chinese traditions. If the westerners could successfully integrate Greek and Roman philosophies with their Christian faith, the Chinese might also be able to integrate Chinese philosophies into their Christianity.

As we have seen in the previous pages, the choice of a conservative Christianity by the Chinese Christians is deliberate. Even though it is motivated by many factors, it expresses the need to maintain values that are essential to Chinese social and moral ideals. A liberal Christianity could not fit with their ideals.

The influence of the larger denomination in this respect is indirect. A strong relationship with denominations, especially when the religious authorities might frown upon syncretic process would undermine the Chinese Christian churches.

As minority churches, most Chinese churches have closer relations with each other than Canadian denominations. Chinese Christian churches are more and more learning toward Confucian Christianity without much influence from their denominations. One of the consequences of this situation is a certain distancing from mainstream Euro-American society.

Taoism is another Chinese religious tradition. Chinese Christians selectively accept some Daoist notions while rejecting most religious elements of Daoism. Anything deemed non-religious is an acceptable if not welcome part of the Chinese cultural heritage. This position is very different from the mystical evangelical position that the introduction of Christianity must correspond to a rejection of the whole "pagan" culture. As a consequence, Chinese Christians selectively accept some notions from Taoist Philosophy but reject religious Taoism. From a philosophical perspective, the main link between Taoism and Christianity is the word "Tao." The word "Tao" appears to be very close to the conception of *Logos* in Greek philosophy. The commonly used Chinese Bible translates "Logos" into "Tao." The Chinese "Tao" is often referred to as the "way" in the Bible in the Chinese churches. Some Chinese Christians even believe the Chinese "qi" manifests as Holy Spirit.

Buddhism is seen as an institutional religion. Therefore, the Chinese Christians totally reject Buddhism. However, some Chinese Christians appear to hold the popular Buddhist concept of karma.

The preservation of Confucian moral values, the selective keeping of certain elements of Taoism, and the categorical rejection of Buddhism forms a general pattern in the whole Chinese Christian community. Many adult converts go through several stages in their attitude toward traditional Chinese culture over time: at first they distance themselves from Chinese cultural traditions as much as possible, then they gradually return more and more to these traditions, and finally recognise their Chinese identity while maintaining their Christian identity.

As a result, most Chinese Christians in Ottawa are conservative in theology, traditionalist in ethics, reserved in behaviour, and rationalistic in beliefs. They emphasise family life, moral education of children, and success in the world. Their religious life is very much family-centred or community-oriented.

The Chinese Christians in Ottawa can be generally called "Confucian Christians." However, they usually call themselves "Chinese Christians" instead of "Confucian Christians" for several reasons. First, for most Chinese Christians, Confucianism means "Chinese." They often refer to values as "Chinese" values rather than as Confucian values. An important reason for this is that the term "Confucianism" is a misnomer coined by Westerners. The Chinese term for Confucian is "scholarly tradition" (*rujia*). The Confucian

tradition has therefore often been characterised as synonymous with Chinese culture. Second, eventually Chinese Christians selectively preserve Confucianism by preserving Confucian moral values while rejecting Confucian agnosticism and mysticism. They also reject much of the ritualistic and state-sanctified version of Confucianism, such as worshipping Confucius and emphasising imperial loyalty. Third, the term "Chinese" is more flexible than the "Confucian," and it may better help the Chinese churches as ethnic minority churches maintain their cultural traditions without being criticised as a syncretism.

Confucian Christian theology has become popular in all Chinese churches in Ottawa. Because they follow a conservative theology, the term "conservative Confucian Christianity" well describes their theological orientation. Conservative Confucian Christianity has actually become popular in the Chinese Christian churches in North American as well as in other parts of the world and seems to characterise the Chinese Christians wherever they are found. However, the Chinese churches in different areas of the world have different interpretations of this term, due to their different social conditions.

Several hypotheses can be brought forward to explaining this popularity of Confucian Christian theology in the Chinese immigrant churches in Canada. The integration of Confucianism and Christianity may be the expression of the Chinese efforts to maintain their Chinese identity while practising Christianity. Conservative

Confucian Christianity may be explicitly preferred because it provides stable moral norms and certainty to the Chinese immigrants, as discussed. Confucian Christianity of the Chinese Christian churches in North America also fits with the minority status of the Chinese Christians; the Confucian or Chinese behaviour norm is to follow rather than challenge tradition, authority, or theory. Thus the Chinese Christians tend to follow a conservative theology.

According to this last view, the adaptation of conservative theology in the Chinese churches could manifest the inability of the Chinese Christians as an ethnic minority to undertake theological pursuit and social action that would challenge the social order. As an ethnic minority, Canadian Chinese Christians have cultural and institutional difficulties to get involved in theological discussions. Culturally, the Chinese language and Chinese literature lack many Christian terms, such as god, Holy Spirit, commitment, and community. Socially, Chinese immigrant Christians in Canada usually have not enough education in both Chinese language and culture as well as in English language and culture for more than simple theological pursuit. A conservative theology is therefore suitable.

The integration of Confucianism and Christianity in Chinese churches allows the expression and practice of religious belief in a Chinese pluralist context. As discussed in chapter one, the pluralistic Chinese religious tradition remains open to all foreign religions through the Chinese people, as long as the Confucian ethics exists even with new interpretations, the Chinese can

practice Christianity as they absorbed Buddhism 2000 years ago.

All these hypotheses point to factors that may have contributed to the rise of conservative Confucian Christianity. However, they all imply the participation of the Chinese Christians in a remarkably explicit process of selection. The Chinese Christian churches in Ottawa were built and decided by people who made their own choices. This process deeply influences the nature of these churches as minority churches.

4.6 Minority Chinese Church in Multicultural Canada

In the previous sections, I have discussed how the Chinese Christians have selectively brought their Chinese cultural heritages into their construction and operation of the Chinese churches in Canada, specifically in Ottawa. During the process, these Chinese churches help the Chinese Christians preserve their Chinese cultures in terms of Chinese community development, use of the Chinese language, Chinese rituals and symbols, and Chinese values.

In this section, I will study the impact of the minority status of these Chinese churches upon their identity construction at collective and individual levels.

Minority Chinese Church

I will study the collective identity of the Chinese Christian churches in Ottawa by exploring their church relations. I think their group identity is represented in their relations with Canadian denominations and with other Chinese churches.

The Chinese Christian churches in Ottawa remain as minority Chinese churches. Of the nine Chinese Christian churches in Ottawa, seven are the Chinese churches of Canadian denominations, and two are independent local Chinese churches.

The seven denominational Chinese churches remain as minority "local" churches in Ottawa of four Canadian denominations. The Ottawa Chinese Catholic Community is a Chinese parish of the Canadian Catholic Church. The St. Peter's Chinese Church is a Chinese church of the Anglican Church of Canada. The Ottawa Chinese United Church is a Chinese church of the United Church of Canada. The Ottawa Chinese Alliance Church, the Ottawa Mandarin Alliance Church, the Ottawa Agape Chinese Alliance Church, and the Emmanuel Alliance Church of Ottawa (formerly the Kanata Chinese Alliance Church) are members of the Canadian Alliance Church.

The relations between the seven Chinese minority churches and their respective Canadian denominations differ from one to another.

The Ottawa Chinese Catholic Community depends on the Ottawa Catholic Church. As noted before (see p.177-181), the Chinese community rents facilities from a Catholic Church to hold their

Chinese services. They also have joint religious services with the white congregation at the church at some Christian and Chinese festivals such as Easter Sunday and the Chinese New Year. The Ottawa Catholic Church pays the Chinese pastor; and he is assigned to work not only for the Chinese but also for the white congregation at the church. The Chinese community remains a minority Chinese parish in the Ottawa Catholic Church. Without the institutional support of the Canadian Catholic Church, this Chinese community can not survive. These Chinese Catholics have tried to have their church building and priests. In addition, the community has developed close relations with other Chinese Catholic communities in Canada, especially in Montreal. In 1996, for example, when Father Bosco Wong took a vacation leave, Chinese Father Thomas Tou of Montreal was invited to come to celebrate Mass with the community. On August 1, 1987, the community and the Chinese Catholic community of Montreal went on a pilgrimage to Rigaud together. An outdoor Mass was celebrated by priests of the two communities. Over 200 pilgrims attended.⁶⁶ Moreover, the community has maintained contacts with Chinese Catholics in Asia, particularly in Hong Kong and Taiwan, given the fact that most of them are Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong. In its 40-year history of 1955-1995, for example, the Chinese community was led mostly by ten visiting Chinese fathers from Taiwan and Hong Kong, who came to Ottawa mostly for theological studies at St. Paul university during their terms.

⁶⁶ See *The OCCC 40th Anniversary Commemorative Issue*. p. 28.

The St. Peter's Chinese Anglican Church also depends upon its Canadian denomination. The Diocese of Ottawa assigns the Chinese parish to share church facilities with a white Canadian church and to submit a certain amount of their offerings yearly. The Diocese of Ottawa also pays for the Chinese rector. The Chinese parish has joint services and fellowships with the white Anglican community at festivals. This Chinese parish was initiated as a minority Chinese church in the 1980s from a group of Anglican Chinese students and immigrants from Hong Kong, and later joined by Hong Kong immigrants. Thus, the Chinese parish has maintained an informal but close relationship with the Anglican Church of Hong Kong. They have brought for themselves Rector David Yue from Hong Kong from the early beginning of the church. In April 1997, David Yue and three Chinese clergies of Canada attended the Sixth World Anglican Chinese Clergy and Workers Conference (WACCWC) held in Sabah, Malaysia. The WACCWC is held every three years to discuss such topics as Chinese mission and Chinese Anglican theological training. After the meeting, David Yue made a personal visit to the Diocese of Hong Kong and received a welcome from Bishop Peter Kwong.

The Ottawa Chinese United Church has had a bittersweet relationship with the United Church of Canada. Inaugurated from a missionary Chinese Christian association in 1962 (see pp.145-151), the church once enjoyed the denominational support and guidance at the early stage of church growth. Since the 1980s, the rapidly growing Chinese church has become evangelical and has had a tense

relationship with the liberal Canadian denomination, which caused the schism in 1988. The remaining Chinese congregation still maintains a conservative evangelical theology but stays as an autonomous minority church within the conservative Canadian Chinese United Churches, while developing relations with other Chinese churches in Ottawa.

The four Chinese alliance churches in Ottawa have had good relationships with their Canadian church. They have emerged as minority Chinese churches in Ottawa as a result of denominational evangelical work. They enjoy autonomy under the denominational policy that favours church independence and evangelicalism. Since the first church was founded by the Alliance Church of Hong Kong, and since the Canadian Chinese Alliance Churches (CCAC) have a long successful history, the four young Chinese churches have developed their church network mostly with the Chinese Alliance churches, either in Canada or in other areas of the world. During the period from 1988-1997, the CCAC supported the establishment of 22 Chinese churches, including the three in Ottawa, which brought the CCAC number to 57 in Canada.⁶⁷ The CCAC has developed various fellowships and mission works to bring these Chinese Alliance churches together with other Chinese Alliance churches in the world. In 1996, for example, the Ottawa Mandarin Alliance Church sent a short-term Gospel team of 11 people to help the London Mandarin Alliance Church

⁶⁷ See *Communiqué* 1998. no.1. p. 3.

to take a short-term mission among the Chinese community in London. Later, the CCAC sent Rev. Jonathan Teo of the Ottawa Mandarin Alliance Church to Israel for a mission among the Chinese there.

The experiences of the Chinese denominational churches in Ottawa indicate that Canadian denominations have in fact helped the minority Chinese Christians to develop their Chinese communities and their relationships with other Chinese Christians in other areas. Meanwhile, their Canadian identity is also strengthened through denominational church life.

The Ottawa Chinese Bible Church and the Chinese Christian Church of Ottawa are independent minority Chinese churches. However, they have developed their church networks with other minority Chinese churches, especially those in the city.

The Chinese churches with diverse denominational backgrounds have showed a significant trend of co-operation in their religious life. In Ottawa, except for the Ottawa Chinese Catholic Community, the eight Chinese churches have begun to work together since the 1990s, even though the St. Peter's Chinese Anglican Church keeps a low profile in evangelism. The pastors of the eight Chinese churches have regular meetings to exchange information and ideas and develop such co-operative programs as seminars and joint mission programs. The Professional Chinese Christian Association of Ottawa (PCCAO) has subsequently emerged to execute joint programs. The pastors have often become guest speakers or pastors for each other. The Assistant Pastor of the Ottawa Chinese United Church, for example, once also

jointly worked for the English Ministry of the Ottawa Chinese Bible Church for one year in 1995. Members of the seven Protestant churches feel free to transfer from one to another, and the churches welcome newcomers with diverse denominational backgrounds. In addition, these Chinese churches have developed their relations with the Chinese churches of other areas through either personal network or Canadian denominations. For example, the PCCAO has often invited guest speakers from other North America cities through their personal network. In 1993, the Ottawa Chinese Bible Church directly brought Rev. Yu-Hsiug Chen from Taiwan as its Senior Pastor by sending job information to Taiwan. In 1990, the Kanata Chinese Alliance Church also directly brought Rev. Shenling Li of the Gospel Church of Hong Kong with the help of the Canadian Chinese Alliance Church. From their perspective, the denominational differences exist but have no importance in Chinese church management and mutual church relations. Moreover, Canadian denominations often provide good opportunities, like what the Canadian Chinese Alliance Churches did, for these Chinese churches to develop their Chinese church network on different dimensions. Evangelism for the Chinese churches means to do mission work exclusively for Chinese people. Therefore, an evangelical mission has become a tool for Chinese Christians to promote their relations with other Chinese and by that to promote their Chinese identity.

The rapid growth of the Chinese Christian community in Ottawa during the 1990s is mostly attributed to the fast-growing Chinese

population in the city. These churches are losing members every year due to the high mobility of their members as students and working professionals. However, these churches have got new members not only from new converts but also from those who had become Christians in other North America cities and come for their new career and study in the city. For these Christian newcomers, these Chinese churches are their first Chinese communities in the city. They can expect to get genuine help from the churches. Their new life greatly benefits from their Christian membership. The high mobility of the Chinese Christians in North America has brought the integration of the minority Chinese churches to a new level.

These Chinese churches in Ottawa have developed their Chinese church network with the help of Chinese Christian media and their personal network. Most of the Chinese clergy in the Chinese churches are also immigrants from Asia. They have used their personal network in Asia to develop their church network. The Chinese churches in Ottawa subscribe many Christian newspapers and magazines, mostly in Chinese. Some popular ones in Ottawa include: 1) *Herald Monthly*, a Chinese newspaper published in Toronto; 2) *Overseas Campus*, a Chinese evangelical magazine published in California; and 3) *Chinese Churches Today Monthly*, a Chinese magazine published in Hong Kong. These Chinese Christian newspapers and magazines have an impact on the identity construction of overseas Chinese Christians. Popular articles are often used in Sunday school classes and sermons.

The experiences of these Chinese churches in Ottawa indicate the manufacturing of a contemporary sect-like Canadian Chinese Christian Church and Overseas Chinese Christian Church at different levels and or in different places, whereas Chinese Christians are a religious as well as an ethnic minority at the same time. The group identity of minority Chinese churches is determined by their social status of minority Chinese church in Canada and enforced through their religious life.

The structure and operation of the sect-like Canadian Chinese Church is different from Canadian denominations. It is not only a conception but also a social network shared by all minority Chinese Christian churches in Canada and overseas.

The Chinese churches in Taiwan and Hong Kong appear to become the reference groups or churches for the minority Chinese churches in Canada. The Christian churches in Taiwan and Hong Kong have produced most of the Chinese biblical material and magazines, which are used by the Chinese churches in Ottawa and North America at large. In addition, pastors and Christian immigrants from Taiwan and Hong Kong have been in the leadership of the Chinese Christian churches in Ottawa.

It may be relevant to note that western missionaries once built churches in Taiwan and Hong Kong as bases for missions in China, especially when thousands of missionaries were expelled to the two regions from China by the communists in the early 1950s. However, contemporary Chinese churches in the two different social

situations are mostly out of the control of western missionaries, and mostly beyond the imaginations of western missionaries.

The experiment of the Chinese churches in Ottawa provides a unique case to the sociological study of Canadian minority churches. They are "minority Chinese churches." In theory, they are "native-oriented churches," because they believe in the dominant religion of the host society and they mostly follow the Canadian denominations. However, in practice, they are foreign-oriented churches. They remain as local minority Chinese churches and develop their relations with each other more than with the Canadian denominations. They identify themselves with other overseas Chinese churches. They share with this international community with a unique conservative Confucian Christian theology and constitute an informal but effective social network, which can eventually meet their religious and social needs at low cost with the help of modern technologies. The Chinese churches in Canada eventually do not fit Millett's sub-typology of minority church in terms of "foreign-oriented church" and "native-oriented church" (Millett 1969).

The significant experiment of Canadian Chinese Christian communities is a result of nationalism in modern globalisation. In a pluralist modern society, individuals have to continuously reconstruct their identity during the age of information and cross-national migration. Cross-national identity is becoming inevitable.

Canadian Chinese Christian

Minority Chinese Christian churches in Ottawa help Chinese Christians achieve their identity reconstruction of being a Canadian Chinese Christian with their distinctive religious life.

The Chinese Christians in Canada generally have three identities. As Chinese, they are Canadian Christians; As Christians, they are Canadian Chinese; as Canadians, they are ethnic Chinese Christians. The three identities are competitive sometimes but they are integrated in their Chinese Christian religious life in Ottawa.

For a Chinese Christian in Canada, being a Chinese is achieved through selectively following Confucian social values and some cultural rituals but abandoning the religious and political elements of Chinese traditions. Being a Canadian is achieved through learning English and English literature, and learning Canadian values relating to conservative Christian ethics, participating in a major dimension of Canadian social life, and learning the structure and operation of Canadian social institutions through church programs. Being a Christian is to follow conservative Christian beliefs and ethics in one's religious and social life in Canada.

The three dimensions of ethnic identity of the Chinese Christians are achieved through participating in the minority Chinese Christian churches in Canada. The Chinese Christian churches in Canada provide strong institutional support for these Chinese Christians to achieve their identity reconstruction. Without these

Chinese churches, these Chinese Christians will have been in a much more difficult situation to face the enormous challenges of ethnic reconstruction in contemporary Canadian society.

To sum up, these Chinese immigrant churches have Chinese congregations, which grow into Chinese communities. In addition, the use of the Chinese language and dialect in church services contributes to the community development of Chinese linguistic groups. Their church organisations, church facilities, and church activities greatly contribute to the community growth of their congregations as well as the Chinese community in Ottawa at large. The Chinese churches have become the best-developed community organisations among the Chinese community in Ottawa. Their format and fellowship have become models of other Chinese organisations, thus supporting Chinese social networks.

Chinese cultural festivals and customs are selectively celebrated and followed in the Chinese churches. The Chinese churches usually celebrate the Chinese festivals without explicit religious meanings, but they continue to carry and support Chinese identity. The Chinese Christians appreciate traditional Chinese arts like calligraphy and painting.

Chinese languages and Chinese literature in church services and church activities contribute to the ethnic maintenance of the Chinese congregations. Although the English-speaking younger generation increases in all Chinese churches, the Chinese language service, Chinese fellowship, and Chinese community life all

contribute to the Chinese identity construction of these young generations in Canada, even when they do not speak Chinese, therefore demonstrating a necessary flexibility.

"Family church" and "church family" characterise these Chinese Christian churches in terms of composition and management. These Chinese Churches are family-centred churches, as the congregations mainly consist of working families. Family is the unit for church activities, as it is supposed to be in traditional Chinese society. Church activities aim to meet the interests and need of all age groups and to enforce family values. Each Chinese church functions as a big family, and "family ethics" applies to many aspects of church social life. Seniors receive high respect while children get special attention. Women fully participate in church activities but are rejected from church leadership. Pastors enjoy high respect and authority as church heads, while meeting the high expectations of the congregations. Though the familial church management sometimes results in church conflicts between pastor and church leader or senior and juniors in the democratic church format, the ideal Confucian model remains in place.

The Chinese Christian churches in Ottawa claim a conservative Confucian Christian theology, integrating Confucian values with Christian beliefs. The Chinese Christian congregations want to retain Confucianism selectively while attaining Christianity. The conservative Confucian theology offers moral norms and certainties to the Chinese Christians as a minority in Canada.

These Chinese churches remain as local minority Chinese churches, although most of them belong to Canadian denominations. They identify themselves with other minority Chinese churches more than with Canadian denominations in their church operation. The social and cultural conditions of these Chinese churches as minority churches have evolved the emergence of a sect-like Canadian Chinese Christian Church, which is not only a conception but also a social network shared by all minority Chinese churches in Canada.

The minority Chinese Christian churches in Ottawa make a decisive contribution to the identity construction of Chinese Christians in Canada with their Confucian theology and familial Chinese church life. In these Chinese churches, Chinese Christians have achieved their identity construction of being a Chinese, being a Canadian, and being a Christian. Thus the Chinese Christian churches in Canada become agencies of cultural accommodation.

Conclusion: Minority Church within Multiculturalism

The nine Chinese Christian churches in Ottawa have been founded by new Chinese immigrants with diverse social and cultural backgrounds after World War II. Now these Chinese churches have evolved into distinct Chinese communities differing in social status, dialects, and place of origin. Most of all past and present church members are adult converts from non-Christian backgrounds. To summarise their description, these churches are middle-class family-oriented churches, feature a familial community life, claim a conservative Confucian Christian theology, and remain as local "minority Chinese churches."

My sociological survey of the nine Chinese Christian churches in Ottawa shows that Chinese churches in contemporary Canada have been deeply influenced by Canadian social policies and the changing patterns of Chinese immigration in Canada. This development was recent and rapid, following the abolition of racist social policies and the resulting arrival of new Chinese immigrants with good education and skill. After the 1970s, along with the development of Canadian Multiculturalism and a significant increase of Chinese immigrants, more and more Chinese Christian churches have emerged in Ottawa to serve mostly working professionals. These Chinese Christian churches have become the most cohesive and active ethnic community organizations in Ottawa, despite their minority status both in the Canadian society and in the Ottawa Chinese community.

The Chinese churches in contemporary Canada function as agencies of cultural accommodation. On the one hand, these Chinese churches help their members to selectively adapt to the Canadian society. On the other hand, they also help the Chinese congregation to selectively preserve their Chinese cultural traditions. From the perspective introduced in this thesis, the key notion in both functions is selectivity.

The Chinese churches assist the cultural adaptation of the Chinese congregations in several respects.

First, the Chinese churches have helped Chinese immigrants accept Christianity, which is perceived by Chinese people to be the dominant religion of Canada. Many Chinese immigrants had to overcome many obstacles to accept Christian beliefs. I describe these obstacles as traditional, cultural and religious, modernist and nationalist obstacles. In contemporary Canadian society, there are several social and cultural reasons for the Chinese people to convert to conservative Christianity. According to my informants, the hard life experience of the Chinese immigrants in the third-world before coming to Canada and their difficult immigration experiences as an ethnic minority in Canada intensified their desire for religious interpretations about the meaning of life and society. Conservative Christianity is attractive to the Chinese because it proclaims absoluteness, love and certainty. Chinese converts can enforce their cherished social ethical values in conservative Christianity. The social status of these Chinese Christians, who are

highly-educated professionals living in suburbs, adds a factor for their joining these conservative churches, which provides group belonging and moral education for their children. I should also add that, as ethnic minority churches, these Chinese churches have very limited resources to undertake theological pursuits, thus doctrinal questions would not create open conflicts.

Second, as a social institution, Christian churches are also perceived by their members as a good place to get introduced to the Canadian way of life, social values such as democracy and even English literature. The collective rituals of membership, Sunday worship service, Holy Communion, baptism, fellowship, and missions in these Chinese churches are organized according to the model of Canadian denominations, which form an important aspect of their Canadian social life. The English Christian naming of the Chinese members are seen as part of the social construction of their Canadian identity. Though these Chinese churches all began in Chinese languages, most of them have added English services later for a growing English-speaking younger generation. English becomes the working language in the meetings of the Chinese churches with diverse linguistic groups and younger generation. English is more and more used in Sunday school classes, as the Chinese vocabulary is insufficient for theological discussion and as the demand for English training increases. The Chinese members appreciate very pragmatically that the benefits from Bible studies classes include knowledge of English arts, Literature, history, and therefore access

to the mind of the Western people. The Chinese churches also help Chinese Christians to become accustomed to the social governance of the host society and the practice of democracy through church operation.

The Chinese churches assist Chinese Christians in accepting a set of values based on belief in Christ, the so-called "Protestant Ethics," that is seen as similar to the basic beliefs of the host culture. These Chinese churches openly value worldly success and justify it on religious grounds. We can see here how the Chinese churches are perceived as compatible with the most important Chinese values. Of all the Chinese organizations, these Chinese churches appear to be ones, which are best, integrated into Canadian society.

Meanwhile, these Chinese Churches also function as ethnic Chinese communities, that is, they are identified by their members as Chinese. These well-organized Chinese churches not only formed the first Chinese communities in Ottawa but also have become the best-organized contemporary Chinese organizations in the Chinese community in Ottawa. Through participation in well-developed church services and programs, the Chinese Christians engage in selectively preserving their Chinese cultural traditions in terms of use of Chinese language, Chinese customs and festivals, familial community life and Confucian ethics, which manifest in church management. Choices are made concerning such diverse aspects as the theoretical understanding of the church teaching, its moral stand and its use of particular symbols.

One must note that though these churches may be defined as minority Chinese churches in Canada, they however, contribute to the construction of a larger community of sect-like overseas Chinese Christian churches. They share with this international community what is identified as a Confucian Christian theology, where conservative Christian values are seen as compatible with traditional Chinese values.

The characteristic features and the experiences of the Chinese Christian churches as minority churches in Canada have theoretical implications concerning the role of minority church in modern pluralism and ethnic identity construction.

But both functions of the Chinese Christian churches, that is facilitating entrance in the mainstream society and maintaining a Chinese ethnic identity, must be reassessed as part of a complex social and cultural context. This context allows among other processes the explicit expression of definite choices concerning such aspects as the theological understanding of the church, its moral stand, its use of Chinese symbols, as well as its social organization. Such choices shape the integration of Chinese Christians into the larger society as a whole, and their retention of Chinese social and cultural references.

The nature of Chinese identity and Chinese religious culture make this cultural accommodation possible. Traditionally, Chinese identity is not inseparably attached to any religion defined as such; and the term religion is applied to fewer aspects of Chinese

culture, mostly Buddhism and Taoist rituals. The orthodoxy of Confucianism is not seen as religious orthodoxy. It is mostly a system of social ethics, and it allows coexistence with all religions as demonstrated in the past. Chinese unity has been a cultural unity. Therefore, Chinese Christians can claim their Chinese identity by preserving non-religious elements in their Chinese cultural heritage, rejecting traditionally religious elements of the culture, and sometimes reinterpreting the meaning of certain cultural traditions. This constructive integration of Confucianism and Christianity is one of the most interesting aspects of the Chinese Christian churches in Ottawa as well as in the rest of the world.

Within the Canadian social context and through their church community life, Chinese Christians are able to achieve multiple identities, such as Christian identity Canadian identity, but also a new Chinese identity. This process reveals potentially important aspects of the socio-cultural adaptation process of immigrants.

Rather than defining ethnicity simply as the result of the convergence of people with common cultural attributes, or with shared feeling, or a shared association of identity, one must consider a definition recognizing the intervention and goals of the members of the ethnic group in the constitution of the community or communities through which they identify themselves.

It is useful at this point to recall the conceptualization of "invention of ethnicity" proposed by Conzen (Conzen et al. 1992) and

presented earlier in chapter one (p.20). While it does emphasize the transforming role of immigrants in the host society and the incorporation of elements of ethnic culture in the host society, it allows for an active participation of the members of a group in the construction of their own identity, the form of their participation in the host society and the expression of particular goals.

Similarly, the concept of minority might be more relevant if its definition were to take into account the fact that the members of a minority group do make choices and may participate in their distancing from the main societies. The Chinese Christian churches as minority churches may appear more deliberate in their self-definition and their selection of cultural references but their example is not unique.

As mentioned in chapter one, Shubutani and Kwan (1965:119, 263, 280) were among the first authors to bring the concept of accommodation as a specific mode of adaptation, that is "the outcome of conflict or competition, the establishment of relatively stable patterns of concerted action, involving social isolation despite physical proximity of groups" (p.30). This concept fits the case of the Chinese Christians in Ottawa, even if the competition is culturally given, and social isolation is constructed from within. Accommodation becomes even more useful a concept if one emphasizes the dynamic process whereby "concerted action" is developed.

I would like to add two features to the concept of accommodation if it were to be revived by contrast with the more

general notion of adaptation.

- 1) Accommodation has a pragmatic orientation. It is a response based on concrete goals.
- 2) Accommodation is selective, that is, it is oriented toward specific goals; its terms can be negotiated according to circumstance or culturally given, but it remains a partial transformation, leaving room for continuity.

In the case of the Chinese Christians, this selectivity applies to the details of religious belief and practices as well as to the larger framework of their position in the Canadian society.

For instance, following the relatively old but still valid direction proposed by Milton Gordon (1964) between cultural assimilation and structural assimilation (see chapter one, p. 27), Chinese Christians appear to have chosen structural assimilation, while refusing cultural assimilation. Another example is provided by the definition of what constitutes an appropriate cultural marker of Chinese identity. Chinese Christians had to make a choice concerning the definition of religion. The selection of Chinese concepts and symbols to be retained according to their placing within or without the new definition of religion, is a deliberate exercise.

The new theoretical perspectives on social adaptation recognize the complexity of a world where immigrants, especially those immigrants that are professionals with the means to travel and communicate on a worldwide basis construct multiple identities both

locally and internationally. Such complex identification processes favor the development of an active participation of the individual members in their religious communities as well as in their other cultural and social affiliations. Religion, as well as culture, can be thought of as assets, means toward ends, and capitals to be expanded.

The previous cultural experiences of the newly converted Chinese Christians are rooted in traditional Chinese philosophy promoting the pragmatic concrete rewards of rituals, ethical behaviors, and community participation. Their experiences are reflected in the accommodation process by which Chinese immigrants become Chinese Christians and in turn shape the churches to fit both their Chinese upbringing and their perception of Canadian society. Thus "Chineseness" is promoted in the religious content - symbolic or philosophical - of their church activities; it is also promoted in the social norms and the morality of community life; it is further strengthened by the form of the encounter with Christianity as neither general adaptation nor refusal but rather accommodation befits the Confucian ideal.

Bibliography

- Abu-Laban, Baha and Donald Mottershead. 1981. "Cultural Pluralism and Varieties of Ethnic Policies," *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, XIII (3):44-63.
- Adilman, Tamara. 1984. "A Preliminary Sketch of Chinese Women and Work in British Columbia, 1858-1950," in *Not Just Pin Money*, B Latham and R Pazdro (eds), pp. 53-78. Victoria: Camosun College.
- Allen, Richard. 1975. *The Social Gospel in Canada*. Ottawa: National Museum of Man.
- An, Jing. 1997. Interview. Ottawa.
- Anderson, Alan B. and James S. Frideres. 1981. *Ethnicity in Canada: Theoretical Perspectives*. Toronto: Butterworths.
- Andracki, Stanislaw. 1978. *Immigration of Orientals into Canada with Special Reference to Chinese*. New York: Arno Press.
- Bainbridge, W.S. 1992 "The Sociology of Conversion," in *Handbook of Religious Conversion*, H. N. Malony and S. Southard, (eds) pp. 178-192. Birmingham,AL: Religious Education Press.
- Barber, Marilyn. 1975. "Nationalism, Nativism and the Social Gospel: the Protestant Church Response to Foreign Immigrants in Western Canada," in *The Social Gospel in Canada*. Richard Allen (ed). Ottawa: National Museum of Man.
- Barot, Rohit. 1993. *Religion, Ethnicity and Change*. Kampen, the Netherlands: Kok Pharos Publishing House.
- Baureis, Gunter. 1983. "Ethnic Organisational Theory: The Chinese Case," in *Racial Minorities in Multicultural Canada*. Peter S. Li and Babara Singh Bolaria (eds). Toronto: Garamond.
- Beckford, James. 1974. *Religious Organisation*. Published as Vol. 21, No. 2, *Current Sociology*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Bennettee, Rod. Interview. Ottawa.
- Berger, Peter L. 1967. *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion*. New York: Doubleday.
- Berry, B. 1958. *Race and Ethnic Relations*. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin.

- Berry, John and J.A. Laponce. 1994. *Ethnicity and Culture in Canada: The Research Landscape*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Bibby, Reginald W. 1987. *Fragmented Gods: The Poverty and Potential of Religion in Canada*. Toronto: Irwin Publishing.
- . 1993. *Unknown Gods*. Toronto: Stoddart.
- Bienvenue, Rita M. and Jay E. Goldstein. 1985. *Ethnicity and Ethnic Relations in Canada*. Toronto: Butterworths.
- Bolaria, B. Singh and Peter S. Li. 1988. *Racial Oppression in Canada*. Toronto: Garamond.
- Bonacich, Edna. 1972. "A Therapy of Ethnic Antagonism: The Split Labour Market," *American Sociological Review* 37:547-559
- Bond, M.H. (ed). 1986. *The Psychology of the Chinese People*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Breton, Raymond. 1964. "Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the Personal Relation of Immigrants," *American Journal of Sociology*. 70(1964): 193-205.
- . 1991. *Governance of Ethnic Communities: Political Structures and Processes in Canada*. Westport,CT: Greenwood Press
- , Raymond, Wsevolod W. Isajiw, Warren W. Kalbach, and Jefferey G. Reitz. 1990. *Ethnic Identity and Equality: Varieties of Experiences in a Canadian City*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Cannon, Margaret. 1989. *China Tide: The Revealing Story of the Hong Kong Exodus to Canada*. Toronto: Harper Collins.
- Cassillis-Kennedy, F.W. 1926. "Assimiability of Orientals in Canada," *British Columbia Monthly*, XXVI, no 3. November.
- Chan, Anthony B. 1983. *Gold Mountain: The Chinese in the New World*. Vancouver: New Star Books.
- . 1980. "The Myth of the Chinese Sojourner in Canada," in *Visible Minorities and Multiculturalism: Asians in Canada*. K. Ujimoto and G. Hirabayashi (eds). Toronto: Butterworth's.
- Chan, Gerald. 1997. Interview. Ottawa.

- Chan, Gerald. 1994. "Vision of A New Gospel Church," in *Agape People*. pp. 7-8.
- Chan, Gerald. 1993. "On the OCAC 20th Anniversary" in *Ottawa Chinese Alliance Church: The 20th Anniversary Special Edition*. pp. 21-22.
- Chan, Janet B.L. and John Hagan. 1982. *Law and the Chinese in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Chan, Guoxuan. 1993. "Development of Mandarin Ministry," in *Ottawa Chinese Alliance Church: The 20th Anniversary Special Report*. pp. 40-41.
- Chen, Wen-hui Chung. 1952. *Changing Sociocultural Patterns of the Chinese Community in Los Angeles*. Ph.D. dissertation. Los Angeles: University of South California.
- Chen, Yu-Hsiung. 1997. Interview. Ottawa.
- Chang, Ch'i-Yun. 1980. *Confucianism: A Modern Interpretation*. CA: Partridge Bookstore.
- Chen, Yu-Hsiung. 1997. Interview. Ottawa.
- G, Tien-Fang. 1931. *Oriental Immigration in Canada*. Shanghai: The Commercial Press.
- Ching, Julia. 1993. *Chinese Religions*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books.
- . 1989. *Christianity and Chinese Religions*. New York: Doubleday.
- Chow, Lily. 1996. *Sojourners in the North*. Prince George, BC: Caitlin Press.
- Clifford, N.K. 1977. "His Dominion: A Vision in Crisis," in *Religion and Culture in Canada*. Peter Slater. (ed). Waterloo, ON: Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion.
- Cohen, Myron L. 1994. "Being Chinese: The Peripheralization of Traditional Identity," in *The Living Tree: The Changing Meaning of Being Chinese Today*. Tu Wei-Ming (ed). pp. 88-108. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Con, Harry, Ronald J. Con, Graham Johnson, Edgar Wichberg, and William Willmott (eds). 1982. *From China to Canada: A History of the Chinese Communities in Canada*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart.

- Conzen, Kathleen Neils, et al. 1992. "The Invention of Ethnicity," in *Journal of American Ethnic History* (Fall 1992):3-41.
- Crissman, Lawrence W. 1967. "The Segmentary Structure of Urban Overseas Chinese Communities," *Man*, 2:185-204.
- Croll, E. 1995. *Changing Identities of Chinese Women*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Culin, Stewart. 1970 [1887]. *The I Hing or "Patriotic Rising," Chinese Secret Societies, Customs of Chinese in America*. San Francisco: R & E Research Associates, Publishers and Distributors of Ethnic Studies.
- Dashefsky, Arnold. 1975. *Ethnic Identity in Society*. Chicago: Rand McNally.
- . 1975. "Theoretical Frameworks in the Study of Ethnic Identity," *Ethnicity* 2:1-15.
- Dawson, Charles A. 1936. *Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada*. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada.
- Day, J.R.. 1922. "The Beginning and Growth of Chinese Work in Ottawa," in *The Missionary Outlook*, pp. 258-9. vol. 42, No.1 (January) 1922.
- De Vries, John. 1988. *The Integration of Ethno-Cultural Communities in Canadian Society*. Ottawa: Policy and Research, Multiculturalism and Citizenship.
- Dick, Kaan. 1993. "Twenty Something," in *Ottawa Chinese Alliance Church: The 20th Anniversary Special Edition*. pp. 11-12.
- Driedger, Leo. 1996. *Multi-Ethnic Canada: Identities and Inequalities*. Toronto: Oxford Press.
- . 1989. *The Ethnic Factor: Identity in Diversity*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson.
- . 1987. *Ethnic Canada: Identities and Inequalities*. Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman.
- Durkheim, Emile. 1965. *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*. New York: Free Press. (Originally published in 1912)

- Erickson, B.H. 1966. *Prestige, Power, and the Chinese*. M.A. thesis. University of British Columbia. Vancouver.
- Fingarette, Herbert. 1972. *Confucian--the Secular as Sacred*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Fishman, Joshua. 1972. *Language in Sociocultural Change*. CA: Stanford University Press.
- . 1985. *The Rise and Fall of Ethnic Revival*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Fitzgerald, Stephen. 1972. *China and the Overseas Chinese*. Cambridge,MA: Cambridge University Press.
- Frideres, James S. 1993. *Native People in Canada: Contemporary Conflicts*. 3rd edition. Scarborough,ON: Prentice-Hall Canada
- Friesen, John W. 1993. *When Cultures Clash: Case Studies in Multiculturalism*. 2nd ed. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises.
- Fugita, Stephen S. and David J. O'Brien. 1991. *Japanese American Ethnicity: The Persistence of Community*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Glazer, N. and Moynihan, D. (eds). 1963. *Beyond the Melting Pot*. Cambridge,MA: Peabody Museum.
- Gleason, Philip. 1980. "American Identity and Americanisation," in *The Harvard Encyclopaedia of American Ethnic Groups*, Stephan Thernstrom, Ann Orlov and Oscar Handlin (eds). Cambridge,MA: Harvard University Press.
- Goldstein, Jay (ed). 1980. *Ethnicity and Ethnic Relations in Canada*. New York: Banton.
- Greeley, Andrew. 1972a. *The Denominational Society*. Glenview,Ill: Scott Foresman.
- . 1972b. *Unsecular Man: The Persistence of Religion*. New York: Schocken Books
- . 1974. *Ethnicity in the United States*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- . 1976. *Ethnicity, Denomination, and Inequality*. Beverly Hills,CA: Sage Publication, Inc.

- Haas, Ernst B. 1958. *The Uniting of Europe*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Haas, Jack. 1978. *Shaping Identity in Canadian Society*. Ontario: Prentice-Hall.
- Handy, Robert T. 1977. *A History of the Churches in the United States and Canada*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hurh, W. M., and K.C. Kim. 1990. "Religious Participation of Korean Immigrants in the United States," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*. (1990)29:19-34.
- Hawkins, Freda. 1972. *Canada and Immigration*. Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press.
- Hechter, Michael. 1978. "Group Formation and the Cultural Division of Labour," *American Journal of Sociology*. 84:293-318.
- . 1975. *Internal Colonialism: the Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536-1966*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Henry, Frances, Carol Tator, Winston Mattis, and Tim Rees. 1995. *The Colour of Democracy: Racism in Canadian Society*. Toronto: Harcourt Brace Canada.
- Herald Monthly*. Scarborough, ON: CCHC
- Herberg, Edward. 1989. *Ethnic Groups in Canada: Adoptions and Transitions*. Scarborough, ON: Nelson Canada.
- Hewitt, W.E. 1993. *The Sociology of Religion: A Canadian Focus*. Toronto: Butterworths.
- Hoe, Ban Send. 1989. *Beyond the Golden Mountain: Chinese Cultural Traditions in Canada*. Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilisation.
- Hoge, Dean R. and David A. Roozen. (eds). 1979. *Understanding Church Growth and Decline: 1950-1978*. New York: The Pilgrim Press.
- Huang, Shuyiao. Interview. 1996. Ottawa.
- Isajiw, Wsevolod W. 1974. "Definitions of Ethnicity," *Ethnicity* (1):111-124.
- . 1975. "The Process of Maintenance of Ethnic Identity," in P.M. Migus (ed), *Sounds Canadian*, 128-138. Perter Martin Associations.

- Ishwaren, K. 1980. *Canadian Families: Ethnic Variations*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson.
- Jackson, John D. 1975. *Community and Conflict: A Study of French-English Relations in Ontario*. Montreal: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Jaenen, C. 1971. "New Canadians and the Schools," Toronto, Dept. of the Provincial Secretary and Citizenship. October. p.64.
- Jensen, Lionel. 1997. *Manufacturing Confucianism: Chinese Tradition and Universal Civilisation*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Johnstone, Ronald. 1983. *Religion in Sociology*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- King, Ambrose Yeo-chi. 1991. "Kuan-His and Network Building: A Sociological Interpretation," in "The Living Tree: The Changing Meaning of Being Chinese Today." *Daedalus*. Vol.120, no.2, spring, 1991, 63-84.
- Knott, Kim. 1986. "Religion and Identity, and the Study of Ethnic Minority Religion in Britain," in *Identity Issues and World Religions*. V. Hayes (ed). Proceedings of the 15th World Congress on the International Association for the History of Religions. Netley, Australia: Wakefield Press. 13-25.
- Kohn, Hans. 1955. *Nationalism: Its Meaning and History*. New York: Van Nostrand.
- Kong, Albert. 1987. "Period of Accelerated Growth, 1972-1977," in *Ottawa Chinese United Church: The 25th Anniversary Commemorative Issue*, pp. 63. Ottawa, Canada.
- Kroeber, A. and Kluckhohn, E. 1952. *Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions*. Cambridge, MA: Peabody Museum.
- Kwoh, Beulah Ong. 1977. "The Occupational Status of the American Born Male Chinese College Graduate," *American Journal of Sociology*. (53)192-200.
- Kwong, Julia. 1984. "Ethnic Organisation and Community Transition: The Chinese in Winnipeg," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, (7)374-386.
- Lai, Chuen-Yan David. 1988. *Chinatown: Towns within Cities in Canada*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia.

- . 1976. "How County and Clan Origins of Overseas Chinese in Canada in the Early 1880s," *B.C. Studies*, (27)3-9.
- Lai, Paul. 1993. "My Service in the OCAC," in *Ottawa Chinese Alliance Church: The 20th Anniversary Special Edition*. pp. 5-6.
- Lai, Vivien. 1973. "The New Chinese Immigrants in Toronto," in Jean Leonard Elliot (ed), *Minority Canadians*, (2)120-140. Scarorough, ON: Prentice-Hall
- Lamb, Kaye W. 1977. *History of Canadian Pacific Railway*. New York: Macmillan.
- Law, Gail (ed). 1981. *Chinese Churches Handbook*. Hong Kong: Chinese Coordination Centre of World Evangelism.
- Law, Tim. 1997. Interview. Ottawa.
- Law, Tim, 1987. "The Church Facing the Challenges, 1982-1987," in *Ottawa Chinese United Church: The 25th Anniversary Commemorative Issue*. pp. 65-67.
- Lee, Rose Hum. 1960. "Chinese Christian Churches," in *The Chinese in the United States of America*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press. 276-298.
- Li, Donghai, 1978. *Jianada Huaqiaoshi* (a history of the Chinese in Canada).
- Li, Feiwu. 1993. "Twenty Years under the Grace of God," in *Ottawa Chinese Alliance Church: the 20th Anniversary Special Edition*. p.5.
- Li, Peter S. 1988. *The Chinese in Canada*. Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- Li, Wen Lang. 1982. "The Language Shift of Chinese Americans," *The Sociology of Language*. (38)109-124.
- Link, Perry. 1994. "China's 'Core' Problem," in *China in Transformation*. Tu-Wei-ming (ed). pp. 189-205. Cambridge,MA: Harvard University Press.
- Liu, Kwang-Ching. 1990. (ed). *Orthodoxy in Late Imperial China*. Berkeley,CA: University of California Press.
- Lu, Yun. 1991. *Religion in China*. Beijing: New Star Publishers.

Luckmann, Thomas. 1967. *The Invisible Religion: the Problem of Religion in Modern Society*. New York: Macmillan.

Luo, Jinqun. 1994. Interview. Ottawa.

Lyman, Standford. 1974. *Chinese Americans*. New York: Randon House.

----- . 1970. *Asian in North America*. California:ABC-Clio Press.

----- . 1965. "Chinese Secret Societies in the Occident: Notes and Suggestions for Research in the Sociology of Secrecy," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*. 1:79-102.

Mah, Alic. 1987. "The Birth of the Church," in *Ottawa Chinese United Church: The 25th Anniversary Commemorative Issue*. p. 6.

Manual of the Christian and Missionary Alliance in Canada. 1996 edition.

Martin, J. 1978. *The Migrant Presence: Australian Response, 1947-1977*. London: Allen and Unwin.

McAll, Christopher. 1990. *Class, Ethnicity, and Social Inequality*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

McClenon, James. 1990. "Chinese and American Anomalous Experiences: The Role of Religiosity," *Sociological Analysis*. Spring (51):53-67.

McLellan, Janet. 1987. "Religion and Ethnicity: Role of Buddhism in Maintaining Ethnic Identity Among Tibetans in Lindsay, Ontario," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* XIX(1987):63-76.

Mehl, Roger. 1970. *The Sociology of Protestantism*. London: SCM Press. trans. by James H. Farley from the *French Traité de sociologie du protestantisme* published 1965 by Delachaux & Niestlé Neuchatel, Switzerland.

Millett, David. 1969. "A Typology of Religious Organizations suggested by the Canadian Census," *Sociological Analysis*. Vol. 30 summer, 1969.

----- . 1975. "Religion as a Source of Perpetuation of Ethnic Identity," in Paul M. Migués, ed. *Sounds Canadians: Languages and Cultures in Multi-Ethnic Society*. Toronto: Perter Martin.

- . 1979. "Religious Identity: The Non-Official Languages and Minority Churches," in *Two Nations, Many Cultures: Ethnic Groups in Canada*. Jean Leonard Elliot. (ed). Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall.
- Mol, Hans. 1985. *Faith and Fragility: Religion and Identity in Canada*. Burlington, ON: Trinity Press.
- . 1976. *Identity and the Sacred: A Sketch for a New Socio-Scientific Theory of Religion*. Agincourt: Book Society of Canada.
- Montero, Darrel. 1980. *Japanese Americans: Changing Patterns of Ethnic Affiliation over Three Generations*. Colorado: Westview.
- Morton, James. 1973. *In the Sea of Sterile Mountains: The Chinese in British Columbia*. Vancouver: J.J. Douglas.
- Mullins, Mark. 1987. "The Life-Cycle of Ethnic Churches in Sociological Perspective." in *Japanese Journal of Religious Religious Studies* 14/4321-334.
- Niebuhr, H. Richard. 1957. *The Social Sources of Denominationalism*. New York: Meridian Books. (originally published in 1929).
- Ng, David (ed). 1996. *People on the Way: Asian North American Discovering Christ, Culture and Community*. Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press.
- Ng, T.K. 1997. Interview. Ottawa.
- Ng, Winson K. 1997. Interview. Ottawa.
- O'Dea, Thomas F. 1966. *Sociology of Religion*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- Orr, Winson. 1987. "Period of Change," in *Ottawa Chinese United Church: The 25th Anniversary Commemorative Issue*. pp. 63-65.
- Orr, Winson. 1997. Interview. Ottawa.
- Osterhout, S.S. 1929. *Orientalism in Canada: The Story of the Work of the United Church of Canada with Asiatics in Canada*. United Church of Canada.
- Palmer, Howard (ed). 1975. *Immigration and The Rise of Multiculturalism*. Toronto: Copp Clark.

Palmer, Howard. 1972. *Land of the Second Chance: A History of Ethnic Groups in Southern Alberta*. Lethbridge, Alberta: Lethbridge Herald.

----- . 1976. "Mosaic versus Melting Pot? Immigration and Ethnicity in Canada and the United States." *International Journal*. Vol.31, No. 3, 1976.

Pan, Lynn. 1994. *Sons of the Yellow Emperor: A History of the Chinese Diaspora*. New York: Kodansha International.

Park, Robert. 1950. *Race and Culture*. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press.

Parsons, Stow. 1987. *Ethnic Studies at Chicago, 1905-1945*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Parsons, Talcott. 1963. "Christianity and Modern Industrial Society," in Edward Tiryakian (ed.). *Sociological Theory, Values, and Sociocultural Change*. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press.

Porter, John. 1965. *The Vertical Mosaic*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Rambo, L.R. 1993. *Understanding Religious Conversion*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Reitz, Jefferey. 1980. *The Survival of Ethnic Groups*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited.

Rex, John and David Mason (eds). 1987. *Theories of Race and Ethnic Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Riggs, Fred W. 1985. *Ethnicity*. Paris: International Social Sciences Council.

Roof, Wade Clark and William McKinney. 1987. *American Mainline Protestantism: Its Changing Shape and Future*. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.

Rose, A. 1956. *Sociology, The Study of Human Relations*. New York: Knopf.

Rutledge, Paul. 1985. *The Role of Religion in Ethnic Self-Identity: A Vietnamese Community*. New York: University Press of America.

Scane, J. 1988. *Immigrant Women*. Toronto: OISE Press.

- Schermerhorn, R.A. 1970. *Comparative Ethnic Relations: A Framework of Theory and Research*. New York: Random House.
- Schiller, Nina Glich, Linda Basch and Christina Blanc-Szanton. 1992. *Toward a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, and Nationalism Reconsidered*. New York: New York Academy of Sciences.
- Schwartz, Benjamin. 1959. "Some Polarities in Confucian Thought," in *Confucianism in Action*, David S. Nivison and Arthur Wright. (eds). pp. 50-63. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Sedgwick, C.P. and W.E. Willmott. 1974. "External Influence and Emerging Identity: the Revolution of Community Structure among Chinese Canadians," *Canadian Forum*. (54):8-12.
- Shibutani, T. and K. M. Kwan. 1965. *Ethnic Stratification: A Comparative Approach*. New York: Macmillan.
- Siegfried, André. 1906. *Le Canada, Les Deux Races: Problèmes Politiques Contemporains*. Paris: Riviere.
- Simpson, George Eaton and John Milton Yinger. 1985. *Racial and Cultural Minorities: Analysis of Prejudice and Discrimination*. London: Plenum.
- Skeldon, Ronald (ed). 1994. *Reluctant Exiles: Migration from Hong Kong and the New Overseas Chinese*. New York: M. E. Sharpe.
- Smith, Anthony D. 1986. *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Smith, Timothy. 1978. "Religion and Ethnicity in America," *American Historical Review* 83 (December 1978), 1155-1185.
- Stalin, Joseph. 1914. *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*. New York: International Publishers (reprinted in 1934).
- Steinberg, Stephen. 1981. *Ethnic Myth: Race, Ethnicity and Class in America*. New York: Atheneum.
- Taylor, K.W. 1991. "Racism in Canadian Immigration Policy," *Canadian Ethnic Studies*. XXIII (1)1-20.
- Tam, Francis. 1998. Interview. Ottawa.
- Tan, Jin-Yan. 1985. *The Chinese in Canada*. Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association.

- Tang, Aaron. 1998. Interview. Ottawa.
- Taylor, Rodney Leon. 1990. *The Religious Dimension of Confucianism*. Albany: State University of New York.
- Teo, Jonathan. 1997. Interview. Ottawa.
- Teo, Jonathan. 1996. "Ottawa Chinese Mandarin Alliance Church: The First Thirty Months of Growth," in *Communique*. No. 1, 1996. pp.5-6.
- Theodorson, G.A. 1968. *Modern Dictionary of Sociology*. New York: T.Y. Crowell.
- Thompson, Laurence G. 1996. *Chinese Religion*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Thompson, Richard H. 1989. *Toronto's Chinatown: The Changing Social Organisation of An Ethnic Community*. Toronto: CMB Press.
- . 1979. "Ethnicity versus Class: An Analysis of Conflict in North American Chinese Community," *Ethnicity*, (12)306-326.
- Toy, Norman. 1987. "In Memory of Mr. James R, Macgregor," in *Ottawa Chinese United Church: The 25th Anniversary Commemorative Issue (1962-1987)* p. 5.
- . 1987. "The Church in its Infancy, 1962-1972," in *Ottawa Chinese United Church: The 25th Anniversary Commemorative Issue (1962-1987)*. pp. 59-60.
- . 1984. "A Brief History of the Ottawa Chinese United Church," in *The Annual Report of the Ottawa Chinese United Church of 1984*. pp. 22-23.
- Tu, Wei-ming. 1994. (ed). *The Living Tree: The Changing Meaning of Being Chinese Today*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- . 1992. "Etellectural Effervescence in China," *Daedalus*. v121(Spring):251-292.
- . 1991 [1976]. *Centrality and Commonality: The Religious Dimension of Confucianism*. Honolulu, HI: University Press of Hawaii.
- . 1987. "Iconoclasm, holistic Vision, and Patient Watchfulness: A Personal Reflection on the Modern Chinese Intellectual Quest," *Daedalus*. v116(Spring):75-94.

- . 1985. *Confucian Thought: Selfhood as Creative Transformation*. Albany. New York: University of New York Press.
- Tylor, Edward B. 1958. *Primitive Culture*. New York: Harper Torchbooks. (originally published in 1871)
- Ujimoto, K. Victor and Gordon Hirabayashi (eds). 1980. *Visible Minorities and Multiculturalism: Asians in Canada*. Toronto: Butterworths.
- United Church of Canada: Basis of Union and A Brief Historical Statement of Its Formation*. The United Church of Canada. Toronto. 1987.
- Van Amersfoort, H. 1978. "'Minority' as a Sociological Concept." *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, (1-2):218-234.
- Van den Berghe, P.L. 1967. *Race and Racism: A Comparative Perspective*. New York: John Wiley.
- Vandermeersch, Leon. 1986. *Le Nouveau monde sinise*. Paris: Universitaires de France.
- Veevers, Jean E. and Ellen M. Gee. 1988. "Religiously Unaffiliated Canadians: Demographic and Social Correlates of Secularisation," *RSC Update* 5 (Winter):17-20.
- Wang, L Ling-chi. 1991. "Roots and Changing Identity of the Chinese in the United States," *Daedalus*. Spring(120):182-206.
- Wang, Gungwu, 1994. "Among Non-Chinese," in *The Living Tree: The Changing Meaning of Being Chinese Today*. Tu Wei-ming (ed). pp. 127-147. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- . 1992. *Community and Nation: China, Southeast Asia and Australia*. Singapore: Kin Keong Printing Co. Pte Ltd.
- . 1991. *China and the Chinese Overseas*. Singapore: Times Academic Press.
- Wang, Kai. 1996. Interview. Ottawa.
- Ward, W. Peter. 1974. "The Oriental Immigration and Canada's Protestant Clergy, 1858-1925," *BC Studies* (22):40-55.

- Watson, James L. 1993. "Rites or Beliefs? The Construction of a Unified Culture in Late Imperial China," in *China's Quest for National Identity*. Lowell Dittmer and Samuel S. Kim (eds). pp. 80-103. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Watson, James L. and Evelyn S Rawski. 1988. (eds) *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Wearing, Joseph. 1988. *Strained Relations: Canadian Parties and Voters*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- Weber, Max. 1968. *Economy and Society*. Vol. 1. New York: Bedminster Press.
- . 1963. *The Sociology of Religion*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- . 1958. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- . 1951. *The Religion of China*. New York: Free Press.
- Weinfeld, Morton. 1994. "Ethnic Assimilation and the Retention of Ethnic Cultures," in *Ethnicity and Culture in Canada*. John Berry and J.A. Laponce (eds). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Weinfeld, Morton. 1981. *The Canadian Jewish Mosaic*. Toronto: John Wiley.
- Weller, Robert P. 1987. *Unities and Diversities in Chinese Religion*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Wickberg, Edgar. 1994. "Overseas Chinese Adaptive Organisations, Past and Present," in *Reluctant Exiles? Migration from Hong Kong and the New Overseas Chinese*. Ronald Skeldon (ed). pp. 68-84. New York: M.E. Sharpe.
- . (ed). 1982. *From China to Canada: A History of the Chinese Communities in Canada*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart.
- Wiley, Norbert. 1967. "The Ethnic Mobility Trap and Stratification Theory." *Social Problems*. 15:147-159.
- Wilson, Bryan. 1982. *Religion in Sociological Perspective*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- . 1985. "Secularisation: The Inherited Model," in *The Sacred in the Secular Age*. Phillip E. Hammond (ed). Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Wirth, Louis. 1945. "The Problem of Minority Groups," in *The Sciences of Man in the World Crisis*. R. Linton (ed). New York: Columbia University Press.
- Wolf, Arthur P (ed). 1974. *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Wong, Bernard. 1985. "Family, Kinship and Ethnic Identity of the Chinese in New York City, with Comparative Remarks on the Chinese in Lima, Peru, and Manila, Philippines," *Comparative Family Studies*. Summer (16):231-254.
- Wong, Gregory. 1998 and 1997. Interview. Ottawa.
- Wong, Hing. 1998. Interview. Ottawa.
- Wu, David Yen-ho. 1994. "Construction of Chinese and Non-Chinese Identities." In *The Living Tree: The Changing Meaning of Being Chinese Today*. Tu Wei-ming (ed). pp. 148-167. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Wu, Xiwen. 1996. Interview. Ottawa.
- Yang, C.K. 1962. *Religion in Chinese Society: A Study of Contemporary Social Functions of Religion and Some of Their Historical Factors*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Yap, Stacey G. H. 1989. *Gathering Your Strength, Sisters: The Emergency Role of Chinese Women Community Workers*. New York: AMS Press.
- Yetman, D. and G. Steele. 1971. *Majority and Minority: The Dynamics of Racial and Ethnic Relations*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Yu, Lucy. 1983. "Patterns of Filial Belief and Behaviour in the Contemporary Chinese American Family," *The Sociology of Family*. Spring (13):17-36.
- Yue, David. 1997. Interview. Ottawa.
- Yun, Huiyin. 1995. Interview. Ottawa
- Yung, Judy. 1986. *Chinese Women of America: A Political History*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Zhang, Edward. 1997. Interview, Ottawa.

Zhou, Nanjing et al. (eds.). 1993. *Shjie Huaqiao Cidian* (Dictionary of Overseas Chinese). Beijing: Beijing University Publishing House.

Zhou, Shubang. 1997. Interview. Ottawa.

Zhuang, Guotu. 1989. "Huaqiao Yici Mingcheng Kao." (An Inquiry into the Term Huaqiao). in *Huoqiao Huaren Shi Yanjiu Ji* (Collected Works on the History of Overseas Chinese and Ethnic Chinese). Vol. 1. Zheng Min and Liang Chuming (eds), pp. 39-48. Beijing, China: Haiying Publishing House.

The Chinese Presbyterian Church, Victoria, B.C., 1892-1983. 1983. Victoria: Chinese Presbyterian Church 90th Anniversary Celebration Committee.