

EXCERPTS FROM

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4 THE CHINESE POPULATION IN CANADA

4.1 Background

The history of early Chinese immigration to Canada was influenced by two major events in North America—the California gold rush (1848 to 1850) and the building of the Canadian Pacific Railroad (1881 to 1885)—and 3 factors in China—a boom that saw the population of China increase from about 295 million people in 1801 to approximately 440 million in 1851 (Li, 1998: 17-20), the Taiping Rebellion of 1850 and severe drought in many Chinese provinces. The combination of economic hardships brought on by the natural disasters, the political instability caused by the rebellion and the rapid growth in the population resulted in increased competition for scarce economic resources. Chinese men found that they were no longer able to fulfil their roles as the supporters of the family. Therefore they sought off-shore economic opportunities such as the apparent economic boom that accompanied the gold rush (Wickberg, 1997). Generally their goal was to earn enough money to be able to return to their families in China with a certain degree of economic freedom. They worked as miners, as shop keepers serving the local Chinese community and in the hand laundry industry.

In the late 1850s conditions for the Chinese in the western United States became extremely difficult. They faced political and social persecution. Their earnings were taxed at a disproportionate rate. Furthermore, the gold fields were no longer productive. Therefore, the Chinese began to migrate from California to Canada in the hopes of finding new opportunities as gold prospectors in the Fraser Valley¹ (Wickberg, 1997). The 1870 Census reports that the Chinese population of British Columbia was 1,495 men and 53 women (Government of Canada, 1876:376). The proportion of men to women clearly supports the assertion made earlier with respect to most of the migrants being male. By 1874 the Chinese population of British Columbia was estimated to be 3000 (Government of Canada, 1976:377).

The migrants arriving from the United States were joined by their countrymen in increasing numbers. They sought employment as domestic servants, as labourers in the coal mines and as seasonal workers in the fishing and lumber industries. The Chinese men were considered a good source of labour because they were reliable and they worked for relatively small wages (Tan and Roy, 1985:3-6). Therefore, it was natural for the developers of the Canadian Pacific Railroad to employ Chinese labourers for the menial and more dangerous tasks. In fact, many young Chinese men were brought to Canada in the 1870s and 1880s (specifically to work on the construction of the railway). This relatively rapid influx of Chinese immigrants resulted in a surge of anti-Chinese and anti-Asian sentiment. The Canadian government passed the Chinese Immigration Act (1885) with a view to stem the flow of immigrants. The act included a provision that "... every person of Chinese origin shall pay into the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada, ..., the sum of fifty dollars, .." (Government of Canada, 1885). Members of the diplomatic community, their servants, Chinese government officials and tourists were exempted, as were "merchants, men of science and students". The entry fee was increased to \$100 in 1900 and to \$500 in 1903 following a report from a Royal Commission on Chinese and Japanese Immigration (Li, 1998: 31-34). On July 1, 1923 the Chinese Immigration Act

was replaced by stronger legislation that essentially halted the flow of migrants, thereby ending the first period of Chinese immigration to Canada.

The restrictions on Chinese immigration and on the Chinese immigrants living in Canada were instrumental in shaping the evolution of this ethnic group. They were limited in the types of employment that they could seek, partly because of a lack of education and partly due to discriminatory practices by some elements of Canadian society. These problems notwithstanding, the Chinese established their economic niche—the services sector, specifically small retail establishments to serve their own community, restaurants and laundry services. The restrictions along with linguistic and cultural factors that tended to isolate them from the general society were most certainly instrumental in “forcing” the early Chinese immigrants to establish strong local communities with the associated infrastructure (commerce, services, schools, community centres, etc.). Their early settlement pattern was intricately linked to development of the railroad. However, a substantial number of these early immigrants eventually settled in three major Canadian cities; Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal. Once the immigration restrictions were relaxed in 1947 and fully removed in the 1960s, first with the passage of the Chinese Adjustments Statement Program and second with the major revisions to the immigration act in 1967, these communities became the nucleus of activity for future immigrants (Li, 1998).

4.2 A profile of Chinese immigrants

According to the data from the 1996 Census 921 585 people reported Chinese origins (see Table B-1 in Appendix B). With 3,2% of the total population, they rank as one of the major ethnic groups in Canada. In fact, the Chinese are the largest non-Caucasian group in Canada. The Chinese in Canada are also predominately an immigrant population. About 73% of all people of Chinese origins living in Canada at the time of the 1996 Census were foreign born (669 875 out of a total population of 921 585)ⁱⁱ. In fact, the data show that Chinese immigration to Canada on a large scale is a relatively recent phenomenon. It began slowly in the late 1960s and increased throughout the 1970s and 1980s as political and economic changes began to take hold in the Far East (see Figure B-1 in Appendix B). The increasing trend in the flow of Chinese immigrants to Canada, based on the last country of permanent residenceⁱⁱⁱ, appears to be continuing beyond the bounds of the Figure B-1. This suggests that the Chinese group in Canada is a population in transition.

The following table shows the distribution by period of immigration of the Chinese immigrants living in Canada at the time of the 1996 Census.

Table 4-1 : Chinese immigrants by period of immigration

Period of Immigration	Count	Percent
Before 1961	18,280	2.7
1961-1970	41,290	6.2
1971-1980	138,955	20.7
1981-1990	214,630	32.0
1991-1996	256,730	38.3
Total	669,885	100.0

SOURCE: 1996 Census.

It can be seen from these data that in 1996 less than 3% of the immigrants of Chinese origin arrived in Canada before 1961. The proportion increases dramatically over the next 30 years. Almost 40% of the immigrants arrived in the period between the 1991 and 1996 Census. When the Chinese are compared with the other groups in the study population, it can be seen that the distribution by period of immigration parallels that of the South Asian, another ethnic group that has a relatively high proportion of immigrants (see Table B-2 in Appendix B).

There is strong empirical evidence to support the observations made in the previous section concerning the residential patterns of the Chinese immigrants to Canada. The data in the following table show that according to the 1996 Census the majority of immigrants of Chinese origin settled in Ontario and British Columbia (47% and 35% respectively) with other concentrations in Prairie Provinces^{iv} and Québec (12% and 6%). A more detailed examination of these distributions shows that virtually all Chinese immigrants tend to settle in census metropolitan areas (about 99% at the Canada level). The comparable distributions for the other ethnic groups in the study population in Table B-3, Appendix B, show that the Chinese immigrants rank highest in the proportion living in CMAs. For the two most populous provinces, the data show that 87% of the Chinese immigrants in Ontario live in Toronto and 95% of those in British Columbia live in Vancouver. The importance of this observation will be discussed in the following section of the chapter.

Table 4-2 : Immigrants by place of residence showing proportion living in CMAs, Chinese and Total Canada, 1996

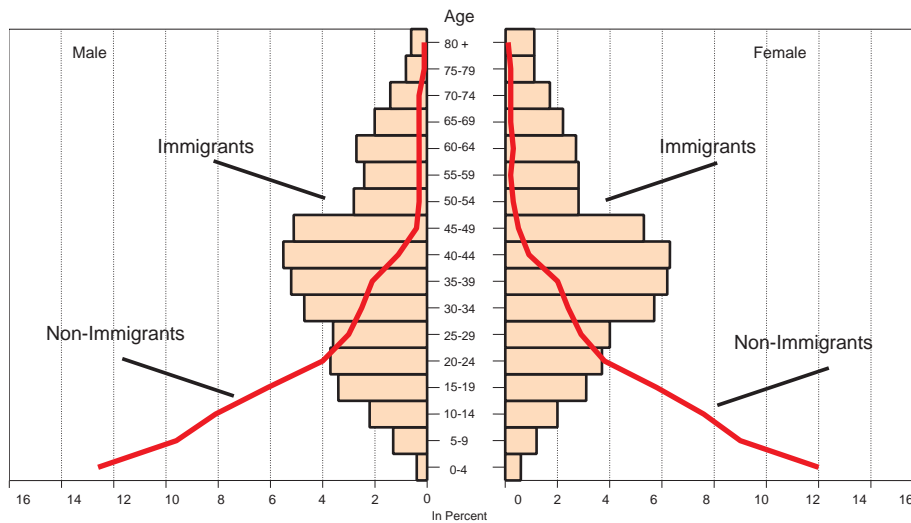
	Chinese			All Immigrants		
	Count	Percent	% CMA	Count	Percent	% CMA
Canada	669,880	100.0	98.9	4,971,070	100.0	88.7
Atlantic	3,670	0.5	60.6	79,225	1.6	42.4
Québec	40,000	6.0	97.2	664,495	13.4	94.4
Ontario	315,090	47.0	97.7	2,724,485	54.8	88.9
Prairies	79,550	11.9	93.3	593,395	11.9	79.6
British Columbia	231,230	34.5	97.4	903,195	18.2	76.6

SOURCE: 1996 Census.

The longer term demographic impact of the restrictive measures described earlier on the population of Chinese origin in Canada becomes evident once we examine the relative proportions and age structure of people of Chinese origin in Canada. The following figure shows the distribution by age and sex for 1996 of people of Chinese

origins who are born in Canada (labelled the non-immigrants) and those who are immigrants.

Figure 4-1 : Age-sex distribution, Chinese ethnic origin, 1996 Census



This chart highlights a number of interesting features of the population of Chinese origins in Canada. It can be seen that the Canadian-born population is substantially younger than the immigrants. The respective mean ages of the Canadian-born and immigrant Chinese was 15.1 and 39.8 years respectively in 1996. (See Table B-1, Appendix B, for the comparative mean ages for all the groups in the study population.) The relative age differences are the result of two factors. First, many of the Canadian-born Chinese are the children of immigrants. Second, Chinese immigration to Canada on a large scale is a relatively recent phenomenon. Approximately 70% of the immigrants arrived since 1981.

The chart also shows that a substantial proportion of the immigrants of Chinese origins are between the ages of 30 and 49. These are considered the prime ages for family formation and for labour force participation. Also, the fact that fewer than 1% of the immigrants are in the 80 year and over age cohort confirms that few if any of the immigrants who arrived before the start of World War I are still alive. If someone arrived in Canada at the age of 15 in 1911 he or she would be 100 in 1996. Similarly if the individual arrived when he or she was 20, a more likely prospect, he or she would be 105 in 1996. Neither condition is absolutely impossible—just improbable.

The age at which immigrants arrive is also an important dimension of their profile since it indicates the stage in their life-course in which they are making the transition. The census data on age at immigration show that almost 70% of the immigrants of Chinese origin were 20 years or older when they arrived and almost 25% were 40 years or older. This will undoubtedly have some bearing on the outcome of acculturation since these people will not have been exposed to the Canadian school system (as students). Hence the socialisation aspect of the acculturation process would occur either through the labour market or through exposure to Canadian society in general. Once again, the parallel with the South Asian group is striking. The distributions in Table B-4, Appendix

B, show strong similarities in the distribution of immigrants for both ethnic groups by the age at which they came to Canada.

Not surprisingly, most Chinese immigrants are born in Eastern and South East Asia (over 90% according to the 1996 Census). It is likely, although not fully certain, that most of these immigrants arrived directly from that region of the World, given their relatively young mean age. In all probability very few of them experienced life in a diaspora before coming to Canada, suggesting that their memories of ethnic and cultural life in their respective homelands are quite recent and probably quite strong. Therefore, it is expected that their respective outcomes of acculturation will be influenced by these memories and experiences. It will be possible to explore the impact place of birth on the outcome of acculturation by including it as an independent variable in subsequent multivariate analyses.

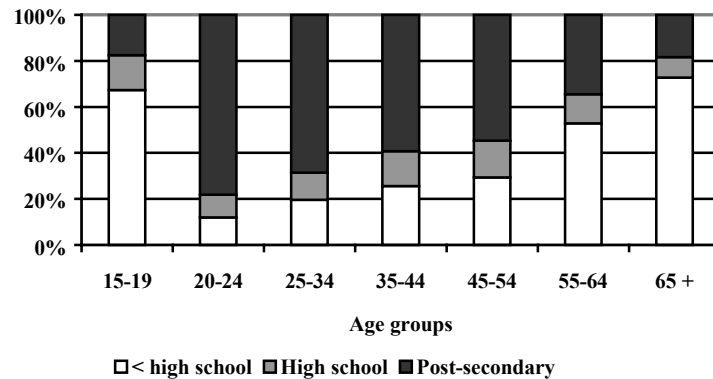
Two comparisons are meaningful when examining the income characteristics of the Chinese immigrant population living in Canada. The first focuses on the differences between the Chinese immigrants and their born-in-Canada counterparts. The data from the 1996 Census (see Table B-5 in Appendix B) show that the median annual employment income (including income from self-employment) of the immigrants of Chinese origin lag behind the income of those who were born in Canada, regardless of age. The differences are quite dramatic for those between the ages of 35 and 64. In particular, if we focus on the prime earning years, between the ages of 35 and 54, we see that immigrants aged 35 to 44 earned over \$13 000 less per year than their born-in-Canada homologues. The difference narrows somewhat to just over \$8 000 for the 45 to 54 year age group. These results indicate that the population of Chinese origins born in Canada enjoy greater returns to their human capital than their immigrant counterparts. This may be due to differences in educational qualifications or it may be the result of fewer barriers for the non-immigrant segment of the Chinese population. The differences in mean incomes are also shown in Table B-5, although they are not discussed in this section.

The second comparison focuses on the differences between the Chinese immigrants and the total immigrant population living in Canada at the time of the 1996 Census. As in the previous comparison, the Chinese immigrants also do not fare well in this comparison. Their median annual income is below that of the total immigrant population in Canada regardless of the age group. The data in Table B-5 show that the differences range from a low of \$426 for the 15 to 19 year age group to a high of \$7 136 for the 55 to 64 year age group in favour of the total immigrant population. A difference of \$770 for the immigrants who are between 20 to 34 years of age is not necessarily dramatic. However, the fact that the Chinese immigrants who are in the 45 to 54 and 55 to 64 year age groups earn between \$5 000 and \$7 000 less than the total immigrant population in Canada in the corresponding age groups may be the result of factors such as education, economic and social barriers and possibly the age at which they migrated. Whatever the cause, this result will undoubtedly have an impact on the outcome of acculturation since economic factors play a key role in the process.

If we examine the educational attainment of the Chinese immigrants living in Canada who are 15 years of age and older we see that about 33% have less than secondary school qualifications, about 12% have a secondary certificate and over 47% have some form of post secondary education^v. At a cursory glance this appears to be a

relatively poorly educated population group. However, when age is taken into account the explanations become clearer.

**Figure 4-2 : Highest level of education for Chinese immigrants
15 years of age and older, 1996 Census**



The data show that it is primarily the young immigrants (15 to 19 years of age) and the older cohorts (55 to 64 and 65 years of age and over) who have less than a high school education. Over 90% of the immigrants in the younger cohort are still in school. Therefore, the overall pattern is likely to change over time at that end of the chart. The results also show that the proportion of immigrants who have some form of post-secondary qualifications peaks for the 20 to 24 year age group and declines gradually for the older cohorts as the proportion with less than secondary school increases.

5 THE DUTCH POPULATION IN CANADA

5.1 Background

The Netherlands has a long and complex history of migration that was shaped in part by its status as a trading nation, as a colonial power and as a country of refuge. It is not my intent in this chapter to provide a full migration history of the Netherlands. However, in the context of this study it is important to consider the factors contributing to emigration that existed in the Netherlands at the time of the various stages of Dutch migration to Canada (from the end of the 19th century onwards). From the mid 1850s Dutch society was characterised by high fertility and low mortality when compared with other European countries. This demographic feature of Dutch society, which continued well into the 1950s, resulted in an increase in the population of the Netherlands of over 250% over this hundred years (Petersen, 1955; Ishwaran, 1977). It was also a highly agrarian society. The advent of industrialisation created economic and social stresses which, when combined with the demographic stress, created an environment that was conducive to emigration.

The process of emigration was taken very seriously by Dutch society. Organisations such as the Netherlands Emigration Society and the Emigratie Centrale Holland were established to facilitate emigration. These two organisations were amalgamated in 1931 to form the Netherlands Emigration Foundation. The post-war era (after 1945) saw a major escalation in the measures that the Netherlands government

employed to deal with the growing population size and its impact on the nation. First the government transformed the Foundation into a full department in 1945. In addition, the following three organisations were established with the objective of promoting commerce between Canada and the Netherlands as well as providing information for prospective migrants: The Netherlands Society, established in the Hague; the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, established in Rotterdam; and the Canada Institute, also established in Rotterdam. Second, it adopted 3 strategies to deal with the population crunch: 1) improving the industrial base; 2) reclaiming land from the sea (Zuider Zee project); and 3) subsidising immigration (Petersen, 1955: 55-172).

Canada exerted some pull factors in addition to the push factors that existed in the Netherlands. First, Dutch immigrants were valued and sought after for their skills as agricultural workers. Second, up to the mid-1930s Canadian immigration policy favoured people of “Nordic race”. The Dutch fell within that classification. Third, some of the religious institutions established by the early Dutch settlers in Canada, such as the Reformed Church of America, the Christian Reformed Church and the Orthodox Calvinist Church, rendered this country a preferred location for many of the emigrants. These organisations eased the disruptive impact of migrating to a new society (Petersen, 1955; Ganzevoort, 1988).

Dutch immigration to Canada occurred in three stages; pre-1914, 1918 to 1939 and post-1945. Each stage was characterised by subtle differences in the characteristics and composition of the migrants as well as strong similarities. The early migrants were either families who settled in the Western provinces or single men, some of whom “... were interested in homesteading and realised the necessity of learning English ...” (Ganzevoort, 1988: 31). As with many in the subsequent stages of migration, they were primarily agricultural workers whose goal was to establish farms in Canada.

The second stage, those who arrived between 1918 and 1939, were primarily families who were drawn to Canada by the promise of employment opportunities and the perception of better economic prospects brought on by factors such as higher wages. The families tended to settle in farming communities in Ontario, drawn there by the religious similarities with the existing society (Protestant) and the availability of jobs in the agricultural sector. It was during this wave that communities such as Holland Marsh were established (see Ishwaran, 1977). One of the major differences in the composition of this wave of migrants, when compared to the first wave, was the presence of a substantial number of women, many of whom were single. They were responding to a shortage of domestic workers in Canada. Those who were unattached tended to settle in urban centres—the principal location of employment. The married women were generally supplementing the income earned by their husbands as agricultural workers (Ganzevoort, 1988: 35-59).

The final stage, those who migrated after World War II, were again mostly families and mostly agricultural workers. These workers were filling a void left by the Canadian soldiers who decided not to return to their farms and farming communities after demobilisation. Many of these immigrant families included young children who were enrolled in Canadian schools upon their arrival. This point will become quite important in the subsequent analysis since the children of the pre-1970 migrants are adults by 1991, the reference date for the data used in this study. They are the ones who have undergone the socialisation process in Canada. It must also be noted that there were also a

substantial number of women who had married Canadian servicemen during and immediately after the War who migrated to Canada as part of this wave of immigrants.

5.2 A profile of Dutch immigrants

With a population of 916 220 in 1996, the Dutch account for just over 3% of the total population in Canada (see Table B-1, Appendix B). Fewer than 1 in 5 people of Dutch origins in Canada are immigrants (160 125 immigrants out of a population of 916 220, or 17,5%). As indicated above, Dutch immigration to Canada is essentially a post World War II phenomenon. It peaked between 1950 and 1955 and it has been declining steadily since 1967 (see Figure B-2, Appendix B). The stock data from the census show that the population of Dutch origins increased from 264 267 in 1951 to 429 679 in 1961—an increase of over 60% (Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1961). The distribution in the following table indicates that, of Dutch immigrants in Canada in 1996, over three quarters arrived before 1970 and that less than 5% arrived between 1991 and 1996. (See Table B-2 for comparative distributions for the remainder of the study population.)

Table 5-1 : Dutch immigrants by period of immigration, 1996 Census

Period of Immigration	Count	Percent
Before 1961	97 580	60,9
1961-1970	23 220	14,5
1971-1980	18 585	11,6
1981-1990	13 515	8,4
1991-1996	7 225	4,5
Total	160 125	100,0

SOURCE: 1996 Census.

Previous studies on the migration patterns of the Dutch who came to Canada state that most of the early immigrants were agricultural workers (see section 5.1). Given that agricultural workers are not likely to be living in metropolitan areas, the proportions in Table 5-2 appear to confirm this assumption in all provinces but Québec. Nationally, fewer than 60% of the Dutch immigrants live in metropolitan areas, well below the proportion for all immigrants and for all other ethnic groups in the study population (see Table B-3). The proportions living in CMAs varies by province from a low of 23% in the Atlantic provinces to a high of 82% in Québec. It must be noted that these variations are due, in part, to the distribution of metropolitan areas by province. Nevertheless, when compared to the total immigrant population the Dutch demonstrate a propensity to live outside of a CMAs. The importance of the geographic distribution in the analysis of acculturation will be discussed in the next section of this chapter.

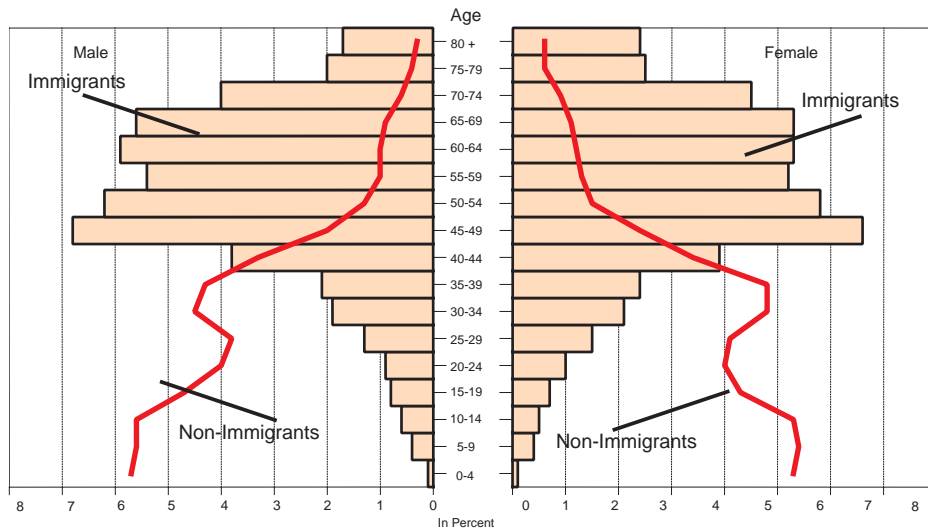
Table 5-2 : Dutch immigrants and all immigrants by place of residence, showing proportion in CMAs, 1996

	Dutch immigrants			All immigrants		
	Count	Percent	% CMA	Count	Percent	% CMA
Canada	160 125	100,0	57,8	4 971 070	100,0	88,7
Atlantic	4 685	2,9	23,2	79 225	1,6	42,4
Québec	4 345	2,7	81,8	664 495	13,4	94,4
Ontario	85 595	53,5	56,5	2 724 485	54,8	88,9
Prairies	29 645	18,5	59,0	593 395	11,9	79,6
British Columbia	35 545	22,2	49,5	903 195	18,2	76,6

SOURCE: 1996 Census.

The age profile in the following figure shows evidence of the impact of the immigration pattern for the people of Dutch origins. The shape of the pyramid for the immigrants is consistent with that of an older population group in which there is very little inflow. With a mean age of 53,7, the Dutch immigrants rank among the oldest of the ethnic groups in the study population (see Table B-1). The pyramid for the non-immigrant population is representative of a well-established population group in which there are the normal demographic flows. (The mean age for the non-immigrants is 26,7 years.) The non-immigrant population consists of the descendants of earlier waves of immigrants as well as the children and grandchildren of the more recent waves of immigrants (since world War II).

Figure 5-1 : Age-sex distribution, Dutch ethnic origin, 1996 Census



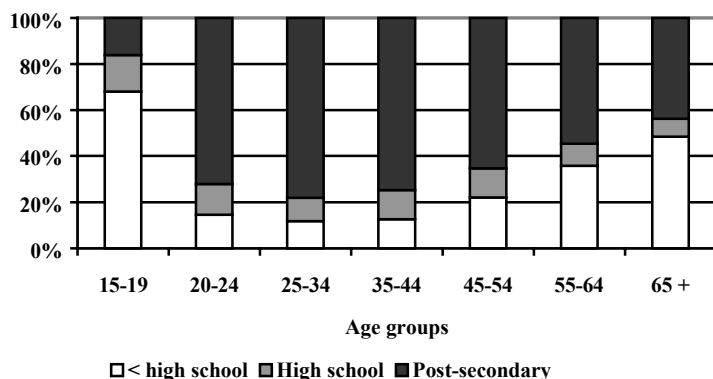
It was suggested earlier that many of the migrants may have been adults, or close to adult age, at the time of arrival in Canada. In fact, the 1996 census data on age at immigration show that about half of the immigrants of Dutch origin were 20 years of age and older when they arrived in Canada. This point notwithstanding, the Dutch immigrants have the lowest proportion of immigrants who arrived at the age of 20 or older when compared to the other groups in the study population (see Table B-4). The age at immigration may influence the outcome of acculturation since these people will

not have been exposed to the Canadian school system (as students). Hence the socialisation aspect of the acculturation process would occur either through the labour market or through exposure to Canadian society in general.

Other studies have shown that Canadian society evolved primarily out of migration from Northern and Western Europe (see Breton et al, 1990; Herberg, 1989; Olson and Kobayashi, 1993; Reitz and Breton, 1994, among others). Some theorists such as Alba (1990), Glazer and Moynihan (1963) and Gordon (1964) suggested that over time the outcome of acculturation is more likely to be some form of assimilation for immigrants who are moving into a society that has similarities to the one they left. Religious and linguistic similarities rank very high among the characteristics that may influence acculturation. Since there was no question on the religious affiliation of respondents on the 1996 Census it is difficult to draw any comparison between the Dutch immigrants and the general Canadian population. However, it is certain that most Dutch immigrants affiliate with some branch of a Christian religion, bringing them closer to the mainstream religions in Canada. The more important factor in this comparison is the knowledge that the immigrants have of either English or French. According to the data from the 1996 census virtually all of the Dutch immigrants (99%) have some knowledge of one of the two official languages. Therefore, at an aggregate level one would expect the outcome of acculturation to be towards the *assimilated* portion of the OA continuum for most Dutch immigrants. The bivariate and multivariate analyses that follow will shed some light on the impact of these variables since the knowledge of official languages and religion are part of the derivation of the outcome of acculturation and the place of birth will be introduced as an independent variable.

An examination of the median employment incomes^{vi} of the Dutch immigrants and those who were born in Canada shows a population group that is generally above average. The median employment income for Dutch immigrants compared to their born-in-Canada homologues is generally slightly higher. The differences range from a low of \$129 for the 20 to 24 year age group to a high of \$2 585 for the 55 to 64 year age group. Those who were between 25 and 34 are an exception. The immigrants' median employment income is almost \$1 000 lower than that of the Dutch who were born in Canada. A comparison of median employment income between the Dutch immigrants and all immigrants living in Canada paints a similar picture. In general, Dutch immigrants earn more than the total immigrant population (see Table B-5, Appendix B). The comparable figures for mean employment income are also shown in Table B-5, Appendix B.

**Figure 5-2 : Highest level of education for Dutch immigrants
15 years of age and older, 1996 Census**



Slightly over 30% of immigrants of Dutch origin have less than a high school education and almost 60% have some form of post-secondary education. When this distribution is examined by age (see Figure 5-2) we see that those without a high school education are concentrated in the youngest age cohort—the people who are most likely to complete this stage of schooling. The proportion of immigrants with post-secondary qualification is highest for the 20 to 24 year age group and it declines slightly for the older cohorts. Overall, there is nothing remarkable about the educational distribution of the immigrants of Dutch origin. (See Table B-7 for comparable distributions for the remainder of the study population.)

6 THE GERMAN POPULATION IN CANADA

6.1 Background

The Germans were one of the first non-Aboriginal, non-French and non-British ethnic groups to arrive in Canada. The first German migrants to arrive in substantial numbers came to British North America during the second half of the 18th century. Some were mercenaries who were recruited by the British either as forces to protect the settlements in Nova Scotia or as craftsmen in the ship building industry. They settled primarily in Halifax and in Lunenburg county. Other German mercenaries who were forced to leave the United States after having fought for the British during the American War of Independence settled in the counties of Stormont, Dundas and Bay of Quinte in Upper Canada towards the end of the 18th century. Mennonites who were either fleeing religious persecution in Central and Eastern Europe or migrating from the United States in search of arable land also settled in this region of Upper Canada in the early 1800s (Bausenhardt, 1977: 15-24; Lehman, 1986: 14-42; McLaughlin, 1985: 6-8). Although these migrants came from various social, religious and economic backgrounds they had one thing in common. After they arrived in Canada they established communities that could be considered institutionally complete. They had German language schools, German language places of worship, German newspapers and other German-speaking institutions (Bongart, 1977: 25-32; Scheer, 1977: 9-13).

Central Europe experienced severe agricultural problems during the 1830s, triggering another cycle of emigration. Two of the major crops grown in that region,

potatoes and wheat, were severely affected. The crop failures had an impact not only on the farmers but also on the food supply. A number of small farmers and craftsmen left their homeland to settle in South Western Ontario and in the Ottawa Valley (Renfrew County). They continued the practices of their predecessors by establishing German language newspapers (e.g. the Deutsche Post in Renfrew), maintaining German language schools and churches and other community institutions (Lehman, 1986: 17-50; McLaughlin, 1985: 9). The fact that virtually none of these migrants settled in the Atlantic provinces is noteworthy since this signalled the death knell for the German language institutions in places like Halifax and Lunenburg. The absence of new German-speaking migrants meant that these communities were no longer able to replace ageing teachers, clergy and community leaders with people who were fluent and current with the language.

German-speaking migrants from Russia, Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia who arrived during the latter half of the 19th century began the Western settlement process. As with the Dutch, Germans were sought after as settlers because of their agricultural skills and their success as pioneers. The westward movement began in Manitoba and rapidly spread to the other Prairie Provinces. Communities were organised along religious lines rather than ethnic (national) lines. Mennonites from Russia and the United States settled in one area, Lutherans from the Crimea, East Prussia and Vohynia settled in another, and Roman Catholics from Southern Russia settled yet elsewhere in the Prairies. These immigrants had very weak (if any) ties to the German homeland since they were all born and lived in a diaspora. The use of German as the primary language waned and these people began to adopt the host culture as their own. The Mennonites and Hutterites were a notable exception to this pattern. They retained the language and they maintained their distinctiveness and isolation from the host society (Lehman, 1986: 186-198; McLaughlin, 1985: 5-11), a practice that continues today.

The favourable climate that existed in Canada towards German immigration and people of German origins changed during World War I. It was no longer acceptable to be both German and Canadian. Many German-Canadians severed their ties to their ancestral origins. They stopped speaking German. They anglicised their surnames. They no longer identified themselves as having a German ethnic origin (Ryder, 1956; Hurd, 1941). German-language newspapers and German cultural organisations ceased to exist. Even geographic place names were affected. For instance, the town of Berlin in South Western Ontario became Kitchener in 1916 (McLaughlin, 1985: 12-14). The social and political climate in Canada notwithstanding, the post-revolutionary climate in Russia forced many German-speaking Mennonites to immigrate to the Prairie provinces, continuing a pattern set by their predecessors.

The character of German immigration to Canada changed rather dramatically after World War II. These migrants included refugees and people who were displaced by the events of the War. They also included people who were seeking a better life for themselves and their families. Many were between the ages of 25 and 34. They were generally married. They were reasonably well educated and they were urban dwellers. Most settled in either Montreal, Toronto or Vancouver. Group consciousness among these migrants was primarily cultural as opposed to nationalistic.

German immigration is marked by a number of distinct features that have a direct bearing on the theme of this study. First, they came from varied religious backgrounds.

Second, they ranged from mercenaries to farmers to artisans to professionals, depending on the period during which they migrated. Third, many were ethnically German and German-speaking but they did not migrate from the territory that is or was known as Germany. Fourth, they settled in all parts of Canada—from the Atlantic provinces to British Columbia. Fifth, they demonstrated both their capacity to create and to maintain German-language cultural institutions and to become an indistinguishable part of the host society. The impact of these features will become evident in the analysis of the acculturation of German immigrants.

6.2 A profile of German immigrants

Almost 3 million people declared a German ethnic origin in the 1996 Census, either as a single origin or as part of a multiple origin. They rank third among the non-Aboriginal, non-British and non-French ethnic groups in Canada, attesting to their prominent position in Canadian society, and first among the groups in the study population (see Table B-1). As one would expect, given the immigration history described above, only 12% of the total number of people of German origins in Canada (332 970 of 2 415 560, excluding non-permanent residents) were immigrants at the time of the 1996 Census. Of these, about half arrived in Canada before 1961 and another 18% arrived between 1961 and 1970 (see Table 6-1). In fact, the data on the flow of immigrants to Canada shows that the bulk of post-war German immigration to Canada occurred between 1950 and 1960 (see Figure B-3, Appendix B)^{vii}.

Table 6-1 : German immigrants by period of immigration

Period of immigration	Count	Percent
Before 1961	165,590	49.7
1961-1970	58,510	17.6
1971-1980	45,885	13.8
1981-1990	39,755	11.9
1991-1996	23,225	7.0
Total	332,965	100.0

SOURCE: 1996 Census.

Economic and political conditions in the source country are two important factors that drive emigration. The steady decline in immigration since 1961 is no doubt due to the economic growth and relative political stability in Germany, especially after the reunification of the country in 1990^{viii}. (See Table B-2 in Appendix B for the comparable distributions for the full study population.)

It was indicated in the previous section that the early German immigrants to Canada settled primarily in the eastern part of the country (i.e. the Atlantic Provinces, Québec and Ontario). They established communities that, with the exception of those in Nova Scotia, acted as nuclei for further settlement. The distribution of immigrants of German ethnic origin, as reported in the 1996 Census, offers empirical evidence that the early settlement patterns left their mark on this ethnic group. The data in Table 6-2 show that with the exception of Québec many immigrants of German ethnic origin live outside of the metropolitan areas. They also show that almost half of these immigrants are living in Ontario with substantial proportions living in the Prairie Provinces and in British Columbia. At the Canada level, German immigrants rank just behind the Dutch in the

lowest proportion living in a CMA (see Table B-3). Once again, this is consistent with the settlement patterns set by the earlier waves of immigrants.

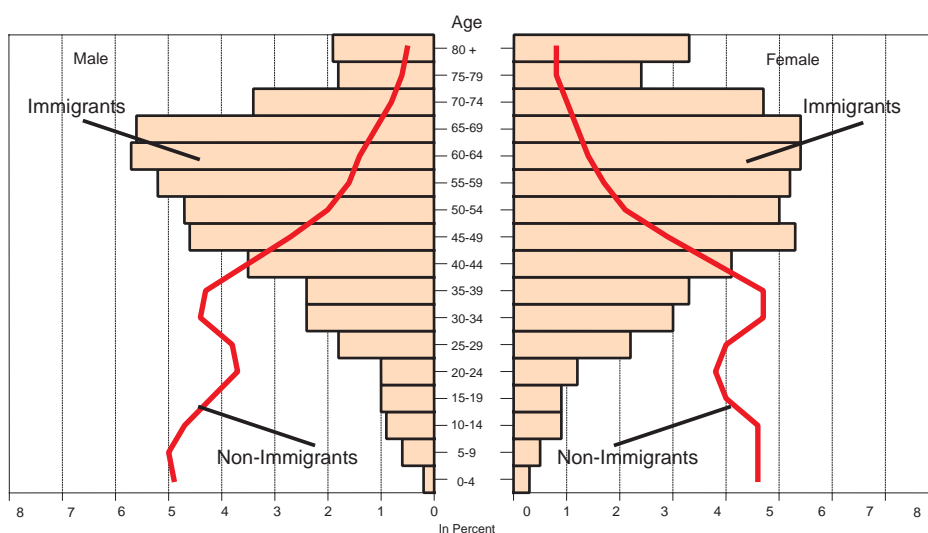
Table 6-2 : German immigrants and all immigrants by place of residence showing proportion living in CMAs, 1996

	German immigrants			All immigrants		
	Count	Percent	% CMA	Count	Percent	% CMA
Canada	332,970	100.0	63.0	4,971,070	100.0	88.7
Atlantic	7,705	2.3	33.8	79,225	1.6	42.4
Québec	18,775	5.6	83.6	664,495	13.4	94.4
Ontario	150,770	45.3	69.5	2,724,485	54.8	88.9
Prairie Provinces	76,450	23.0	62.3	593,395	11.9	79.6
British Columbia	78,330	23.5	49.8	903,195	18.2	76.6

SOURCE: 1996 Census.

It can be seen from the distribution of the Germans by age and sex (Figure 6-1) that the curve for the non-immigrant population follows a reasonably standard shape, as would be expected for a long-standing population group. The waist reflects the “baby bust” that has been written about by a number of prominent Canadian demographers (see Romaniuc, 1984 and Foot, 1996). (Table B-1 in Appendix B provides the comparative mean ages for the full study population.) The distribution for the immigrants of German origin paints a portrait of an older population, the majority of whom (57%) arrived in Canada after the age of 20^{ix}. There also appears to be a relatively even gender balance.

Figure 6-1 : Age-sex distribution, German ethnic origin, 1996 Census

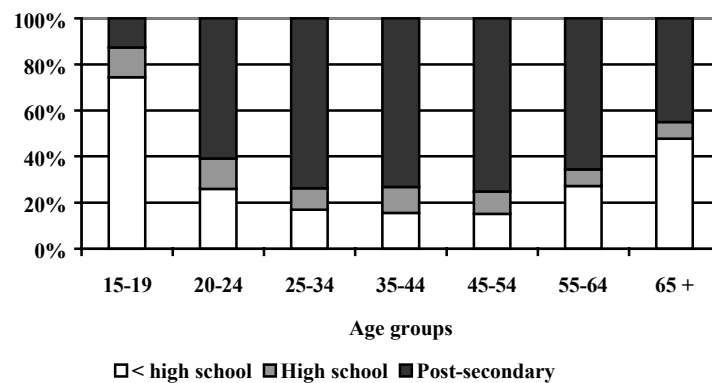


Many of the immigrants belonging to the other ethnic groups that form the study population for this project were born in the country (or countries) usually associated with their origins. The same cannot be said for the immigrants of German origin. They are not necessarily born in Germany. This is due to the effects of the political history of that region of Europe on the geographic definition of Germany and to the migration history of the people of German ethnic origin. According to the results of the 1996 Census (derived from the public use micro data file) only 47% of the immigrants of German origin were born in Germany. Substantial proportions were born in the United States (17%) and in

Central and South America (8%). Another 5% were born in the European portion of the former Soviet Union and 4% were born in Poland. The majority of the remainder (10%) were born in other European countries. This is clear evidence of the fact that most German immigrants experienced acculturation elsewhere, either directly or through their parents, before arriving in Canada.

German immigrants appear to succeed reasonably well economically when compared to all immigrants living in Canada in 1996 (see Table B-5, Appendix B). Their median employment income is up to \$2 897 higher (for the 35 to 44 year age group) in comparison with all immigrants living in Canada. They fall behind in the 65 years and older age cohort, as do most of the other ethnic groups in the study population (other than the Italians). When compared to the Germans who were born in Canada, the employment income of immigrants tends to be lower during the prime earning years (20 to 44). However, it appears to recover for the older cohorts.

**Figure 6-2 : Highest level of education for German immigrants
15 years of age and older, 1996 Census**



In general, German immigrants appear to be well educated. Over 60% of the immigrants between the ages of 20 and 64 held some form of post-secondary qualifications at the time of the 1996 Census. In fact, this proportion increases to over 70% when the focus is narrowed to the immigrants who were between 25 and 44 years old at the time of the 1996 Census. These proportions are similar to those for the Dutch, Polish and Ukrainian immigrants (see Table B-7, Appendix B).

7 THE ITALIAN POPULATION IN CANADA

7.1 Background

Italian immigration to Canada is richly documented in numerous sociological, demographic and historical texts (see Gabori, 1993; Harney, 1994; Iacovetta, 1994; Perin and Sturino, 1990; Potestio and Pucci, 1988; Pozzetta and Ramirez, 1992; Sturino, 1990). Given the objective of this section of the chapter, there is little value in tracing the migration history of Italians to Canada before 1870, the year in which the individual states on the peninsula officially formed the nation that approximates current day Italy. Nevertheless, one exception must be made since it provides an insight into the motivation for the emigration of Italians from their homeland(s). Giovanni Caboto (John Cabot)

adopted the citizenship of another state in order to improve "... the prospect of a better future [-] for himself and his children" (Harney, 1989: 45-46). In essence, Caboto's motivation set the pattern for Italian emigration. It was and continues to be motivated by economic rather than social or political factors. This aspect of the movement should be evident in the outcomes of acculturation experienced by both immigrants and Italians who are born in Canada.

Italian immigrants are far from an homogenous group when they leave their homeland. Yet they adopt a common identity once they settle in their new host society. Those who come from the northern regions are different culturally, by traditional occupation and by level of education from the southern Italians. In spite of these differences, they are bound together into a community in their adopted homeland by language and by religion (Perin, 1989: 17-18). In effect, neither the differences in their respective places of birth nor the "... centrality of family and kin-based relations among Italian immigrants ..." has deterred them from developing "... community institutions aimed at recreating a cultural universe in which they could maintain alive their traditions and sense of identity" (Ramirez, 1989b: 15). These observations hold regardless of the period in history that is the focus of attention.

The general labourers who arrived in Canada between 1880 and 1930 came primarily from the South whereas the tradesmen and construction workers came from the North (Perin, 1989; Ramirez, 1989a). In both instances they were responding to a demand for unskilled urban labour in the Montreal economy. There was a need for workers in the commercial services and utilities sector as well as in the construction of the growing urban infrastructure. The Italian immigrants were employed in the transportation industry (e.g. municipal tramway companies), in the heat and power providing industry and in major construction projects such as the railway tunnel under Mount Royal (Ramirez, 1989a: 120-123).

Italian labourers demonstrated a great deal of entrepreneurial drive. It was not unusual for an immigrant to work as a day labourer with the objective of accumulating sufficient capital to start a small business. A stroll through any Italian neighbourhood in most metropolitan centres where they settled (e.g. Montreal, Toronto, Ottawa, ...) provides ample evidence of the success of this strategy. They branched out into many different parts of the service sector, ranging from food production to food distribution to small construction companies to barber shops to shoe-repair shops, etc. In effect, these neighbourhoods became self-sufficient communities in which the residents were able to work, to shop, to pray, to socialise and to obtain all the necessary services (e.g. medical and legal) from their fellow countrymen in their mother tongue (Ramirez, 1989a: 124). This last point will undoubtedly have a direct impact on the outcome of acculturation.

Italian immigration patterns are best characterised by Macdonald's theory of chain migration (Macdonald, 1992). Italian immigrants came from very specific locations in Italy and migrated to very specific destinations, usually in response to the actions of *padrones*—Italian immigrants who were part of preceding waves of migration and who acted as labour agents and recruiters (Sturino, 1989; Sturino, 1990). Once they established themselves in their new homeland, they developed occupational and industrial niches as well as residential concentrations that served to entice successive waves of Italian immigrants to settle in the same locations, hence the concept of a chain.

What is clear from this brief overview of the history of Italian immigration is that spatial factors such as Italian neighbourhoods, the existence of an Italian community, the willingness of the migrants to undertake any manner of work and their entrepreneurial spirit are important factors in the acculturation of these migrants. These particular characteristics will be examined through variables such as where the immigrants settled, the retention of their mother tongue, the skill levels of the occupations in which they work and the proportions who live with incomes below the LICO.

7.2 A profile of Italian immigrants

The Italians are one of the major ethnic groups in the Canadian population in terms of size. They represented 4.2% of the total population in 1996 (1 207 475 out of a total population of 28 528 125), ranking them just behind the Germans in the groups that form the study population (see Table B-1, Appendix B). Of the total population of Italian origins living in Canada in 1996, only 31% were immigrants. The flow of Italian immigrants to Canada since World War II indicates that many of them arrived between 1950 and 1970 (Figure B-4, Appendix B). As with the other ethnic groups that form the study population, it is important to note that the immigrants represented in the data are those who were still living in Canada at the time of the census (either 1996 or 1991, depending on the reference period). The information presented in this chapter is based on stock data that do not account for the flow of immigrants into or out of the population. Some of the immigrants described in the preceding section may still be part of the population, especially those who arrived towards the end of the inter-war years (1919 to 1939) or immediately after World War II. However, the legacy of those who are no longer part of the immigrant population remains and will undoubtedly be in evidence when we examine the outcomes of acculturation for this population group. In very simplistic terms, the 69% of this ethnic group who are born in Canada are direct descendants of the immigrants. They are some of the residents of the communities in which the immigrants are settling.

Most of the Italian immigrants in Canada at the time of the 1996 Census are long-standing residents. Approximately 80% arrived before 1971 and less than 8% arrived since 1981 (Table 7-1). When the Italians are compared to the other groups in the study population, it can be seen that they rank highest in the proportion of immigrants who have been in Canada more than 20 years (Table B-2, Appendix B). Clearly immigrants who have been in Canada at least 25 years have had ample opportunities to be exposed socially and economically to the host society. In fact, there should be little difference between immigrants who have been living in Canada for that length of time and the people of Italian origin who are born in Canada, other than where they obtained their primary and secondary education. Certainly, based on the immigration history described earlier, it is reasonable to assume that the Italian ethnic communities are well established and that both immigrants and non-immigrants coexist in them.

Table 7-1 : Italian immigrants by period of immigration, 1996

Period of Immigration	Count	Percent
Before 1961	167 665	44,7
1961-1970	135 000	36,0
1971-1980	44 340	11,8
1981-1990	18 275	4,9
1991-1996	9 910	2,6
Total	375 190	100,0

Source: 1996 Census.

The distributions by province of residence (Table 7-2) reflect the settlement pattern described in the first section of this chapter. Most Italian immigrants (87,3%) live in the provinces of Québec and Ontario. This proportion is substantially higher than that of the total immigrant population (68,2%). This is an indicator of the effect of chain migration on the Italian immigrants. The data also show that Italian immigrants have a strong tendency to live in major metropolitan areas—specifically the CMAs of Montreal and Toronto (64% of the total Italian immigrant population in Canada). The tendency for the Italian immigrants to settle in metropolitan areas is somewhat greater than for the total immigrant population in most provinces other than in British Columbia, and it ranks among the highest within the study population (see Table B-3, Appendix B). This may be due, in part, to the nature of the Italian immigrant labour force. The history described earlier paints a profile of a relatively unskilled labour force. It may be that in British Columbia the employment opportunities for labourers and journeymen workers are outside of the two CMAs of Vancouver and Victoria. The importance of the residential patterns in the analysis will be discussed in detail in Section **Error! Reference source not found.**

Table 7-2 : Immigrants by place of residence showing proportion living in CMAs, Italian and Total Canada, 1996

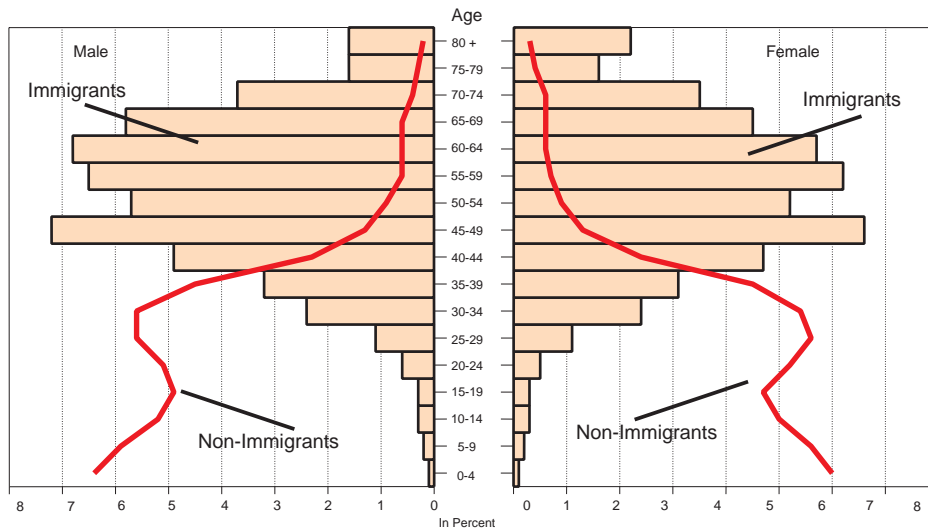
	Italian			Total Canada		
	Count	Percent	% CMA	Count	Percent	% CMA
Canada	375 195	100,0	91,1	4 971 070	100,0	85,4
Atlantic	1 900	0,5	52,9	79 225	1,6	42,4
Québec	84 210	22,4	95,4	664 495	13,4	94,4
Ontario	243 675	64,9	91,7	2 724 485	54,8	88,9
Prairies	17 935	4,8	90,0	593 395	11,9	79,6
British Columbia	27 325	7,3	69,9	903 195	18,2	76,6

Source: 1996 Census

Two very clear patterns emerge from an analysis of the distribution of the population of Italian origin by age and sex. First, the shape of the pyramid for the non-immigrant population (those who were born in Canada) is essentially the same as that of the total population of Canada. This is not surprising since the Italian population has a relatively long history in Canada and they are an integral part of the Canadian ethnic mosaic. The second deals specifically with the immigrant population. The effect of few newcomers on a population group is very evident in the pyramid for the Italian

immigrants. In general the population tends to be older with very few individuals in the younger cohorts. In fact, the mean age of the Italian immigrants is second only to the Ukrainians (see Table B-1, Appendix B). Furthermore, the shape of the two sides of the pyramid indicates that the distribution by age between men and women is not perfectly symmetrical. There are relatively more males between the ages of 45 and 69 and more females in the 80 year old and over group. As a consequence, it is possible that sex will be an important factor in the analysis of this population group since the age-sex distribution is not symmetrical.

Figure 7-1 : Age-sex distribution, Italian ethnic origin, 1996 Census



Of the immigrants who were still living in Canada in 1996, approximately 47% arrived when they were between the ages of 20 and 39. This pattern is similar to the Dutch, German and Ukrainian migration to Canada (see Table B-4, Appendix B). In general, it can be expected that individuals who migrate at this stage in their lives enter the labour force once they arrive in their new home land. It is also possible, if not probable, that they are the adult partners in a family unit (with or without children). Given the migration history of the Italians, it is likely that they came to Canada to improve their economic prospects. It has been shown in some of the other texts referred to in the previous section that Italian immigrants were ready to undertake any type of work in order to achieve their economic goals. However, it is not entirely clear whether this applied equally to men and to women. Once again, the sex of the individual may be an important variable to consider in the subsequent analysis.

A substantial proportion of the Italian immigrants (34%) arrived in Canada between the ages of 5 and 19, presumably as the children in immigrant families^x. As with the children of the other immigrant groups, Italian youth had (and have) the opportunity to attend school in Canada and, for the younger portion of this age group, to undergo a substantial part of the socialisation process in this country. The reader will recall from the discussion in Chapter 2 that school attendance and the socialisation process have an important impact on acculturation.

The data from the 1996 Census show unambiguously that very few Italians migrate from a diaspora. More than 87% of the Italian immigrants were born in Italy. About 3% of the remainder were born in the United States and less than 3% were born in

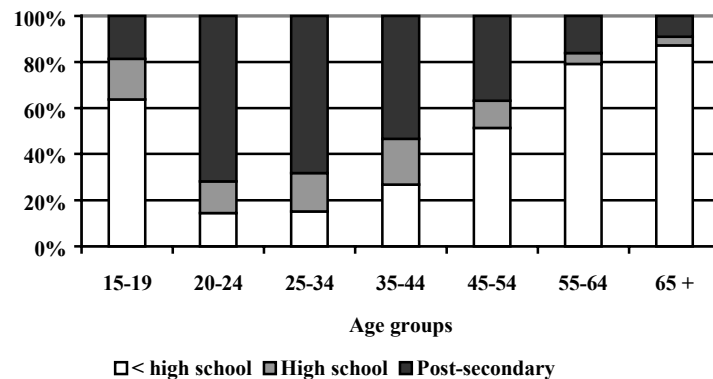
other Northern and Western European countries. Once again, this result is not surprising given the migration history of the people belonging to the Italian ethnic group. Italians tend to migrate directly from Italy with the intention of improving their economic prospects. They have shown in the past that they are prepared to work hard and to take the time necessary to achieve their goals. In fact, at least half the Italian immigrants have been living in Canada between 26 and 30 years. They also have a history of establishing vibrant, institutionally complete and lasting communities. These are achievements that require a devoted and stable population.

Italian immigrants generally do not fare as well as their born-in-Canada homologues with respect to median employment income (see Table B-5, Appendix B). Immigrants in the 35 to 44 year age group earn \$3 127 less than those who were born in Canada. Those in the 45 to 54 year age group earn \$5 868 less than the non-immigrants and the oldest working group, those between the ages of 55 and 64, lag behind by \$2 962. Much of this difference in income may be attributed to the fact that the older immigrants have substantially lower levels of education (see Figure 7-2).

The comparison between Italian immigrants and all immigrants in Canada shows a very different pattern. Italian immigrants tend to earn more than all the other immigrant groups in Canada. The differences in median employment incomes are substantial for the 25 to 34 and the 35 to 44 year age groups (approximately \$5 000 higher in each case). Although the reasons for these differences are not specifically part of the analysis in this study, it is reasonable to assume that the attitude of the Italian immigrants towards achieving economic success described in the first section of this chapter and the support of the community for new immigrants play an important role in this result.

Overall the Italian immigrants are a relatively poorly educated population (see Figure 7-2). The proportion of immigrants who did not complete secondary school ranges from over 50% for the 45 to 54 year age group to almost 90% for those who were 65 and older in 1996. The proportion of immigrants with post-secondary education is highest for the two younger age groups—20 to 24 and 25 to 34—and it declines steadily for the older cohorts. One point with respect to the youngest age group needs to be highlighted. Although over 60% had not completed high school at the time of the 1996 Census, approximately 85% of them were still attending school at the time. Therefore, it is likely that this part of the profile will change.

Figure 7-2 : Highest level of education for Italian immigrants 25 years of age and older, 1996 Census



8 THE POLISH POPULATION IN CANADA

8.1 Background

The history of Poland as a state has been varied and turbulent. Over the centuries it has been a sovereign state, a conquering state and a conquered state. As tempting as it may be to enter into a discourse on the political, economic and social history of Poland, it is well beyond the scope of this study. However, it is important for the reader to understand that Polish immigration to Canada was generally the result of events in Poland that acted as push factors forcing people to leave the country. There were no complementary pull factors, as was the case for the Dutch immigrants (see Chapter 5).

Although small numbers of Polish citizens settled in Canada from the mid 18th century onwards, immigration on a larger scale began in earnest towards the end of the 19th century. The first phase of immigration occurred between the late 1890s and the start of World War I. The Polish state did not exist as an autonomous entity at this point in history. Its territory was subdivided among three of the prominent powers of the day—Prussia, Austria and Russia—resulting in the following conditions that triggered the first wave of migration:

- There was a shortage of arable land. This was a major problem given that a large proportion of the Polish population relied on farming for sustenance and income.
- The occupying armies sought to conscript the Poles into service.
- Bismarck instituted a program to Germanise (Kulturkampf) the Polish population living in the territories under Prussian control. He took measures such as attempting to eradicate Polish as a language of the people. The Poles living in the province of Galicia which was under Austrian control faced similar measures.
- The Russians instituted oppressive social and cultural measures in the sector that they occupied.

These conditions forced many of the “... poor farmers, landless peasants, or farm workers ...” to emigrate (Radecki, 1979: 26-27). Most of these immigrants settled in the Prairie Provinces. A substantial proportion of the migrants were adult males who came to Canada to set up an economic base for their families who would join them once

conditions were suitable. This is referred to as “chain migration” in demographic literature (McDonald, 1992).

Poland became a sovereign state once again in 1918. Although it gained political independence, economic conditions in Poland were still very poor. Hence the birth of the second wave—1918 to 1939. The state encouraged emigration as a means of easing the burden (Avery et al, 1982: 10-11). In fact, Canada was described as a desirable destination by the Research Institute for Emigration in Warsaw because of the agricultural and industrial opportunities that were present. As with the previous migrants, this wave consisted largely of agricultural workers and simple artisans. However, three features of this wave of migrants is noteworthy. First, most came from villages and small towns and they chose to settle in major urban centres in Québec and Ontario, thereby shifting the concentration of the Polish in Canada from the Prairie communities to the industrial heartland of Canada (Avery et al, 1982: 11). Second, they were generally better educated than the first wave. Third, some were immigrating to Canada for the second time. They were part of the first wave who chose to return to Poland but came to realise that conditions were better in Canada (Avery et al, 1982; Radecki, 1979).

The first part of the third wave of Polish immigrants (1945 to 1956) was completely different from preceding migrants. It consisted of people who were well educated. Many were professionals, workers in specialised trades and occupations and professional military officers. Their motivation for migrating was essentially political. They remained attached to the homeland. Therefore, they were less prone than previous Polish immigrants to adopt Canadian society as their own. Political conditions in Poland between 1956 and the late 1970s reduced the number of immigrants to a trickle (see Figure B-5, Appendix B). However, the rate of immigration from Poland increased again in the 1970s and 1980s as a result of the poor economic conditions in the state and the political conditions under which the people were living (Avery et al, 1982; Radecki, 1979).

The differences between the successive waves of Polish immigrants are noteworthy. They have an impact on the socio-cultural and economic characteristics of the Polish ethnic group in Canada. There are some substantial educational disparities between the early migrants and the final wave. These should result in a certain degree of stratification with respect to occupational skill level. Also, the early migrants tried to establish closer ties to Canada than to Poland. The exact opposite is true of the last wave of immigrants. It is suggested that the children of the first and second waves of Polish immigrants are highly likely to marry someone who is not of Polish origin. According to Avery et al (1982), by 1961 approximately two-thirds of Polish males who were born in Canada chose non-Polish females as their marriage partners. These differences should manifest themselves in specific patterns of outcome of acculturation by selected characteristics and in the intensity of the effect of the characteristics that determine the outcome of acculturation.

8.2 A profile of Polish immigrants

With a total population of 786 735, the Poles in Canada are the second smallest of the seven ethnic groups that form the study population. (The South Asian group is the smallest—see Table B-1, Appendix B.) Almost 3 of every 4 persons who declared Polish origins in the 1996 Census was born in Canada (584 105 out of the total population of

Polish origin living in Canada). The history of Polish immigration to Canada described in the previous section serves to explain the relatively high proportion of people of Polish origin who are born in Canada. Virtually none of the earlier waves of migrants are included in these counts due to a simple demographic factor—survival. Furthermore, immigration from Poland to Canada was severely limited in the post-WW II period (see Table 8-1) until its resurgence in the 1981 to 1990 period following the rise of the Solidarity movement (see Figure B-5).

Table 8-1 : Polish immigrants by period of immigration

Period of Immigration	Count	Percent
Before 1961	50 950	25,1
1961-1970	18 160	9,0
1971-1980	16 750	8,3
1981-1990	76 810	37,9
1991-1996	39 955	19,7
Total	202 625	100,0

Source: 1996 Census.

Nevertheless, the data show quite clearly the resurgence of Polish immigration referred to by Radecki (1979) and by Avery et al (1982). We see that almost 60% of the immigrants of Polish origin living in Canada at the time of the 1996 Census arrived between 1981 and 1996. More Poles came to Canada during this period when compared to the other groups in the study population (see TableB-2, Appendix B). The analysis presented in the following sections is based on data from the 1991 Census (for reasons that are explained elsewhere in this study). Therefore, it will be important to determine the impact of the migrants who arrived between 1991 and 1996 on the general characteristics of this immigrant group in order to establish whether or not the profile drawn in this section is applicable as a frame of reference in the subsequent sections. This will done at the start of Section **Error! Reference source not found.**

According to the migration history of the Polish immigrants described in Section 8.1, the early waves consisted primarily of agricultural workers. It was also noted that many of the second wave of immigrants—those who arrived between 1918 and 1939—chose to settle in Ontario and Québec. The data in Table 8-2 showing the distribution by province of residence and the proportion living in CMAs in each province confirm the effect of this settlement pattern. Over 70% of the Polish immigrants live in Québec and Ontario^{xi}. Furthermore, almost 90% of the Polish immigrants in Québec, Ontario and Manitoba live in CMAs.

Table 8-2 : Immigrants by place of residence showing proportion living in CMAs, Polish and Total Canada, 1996

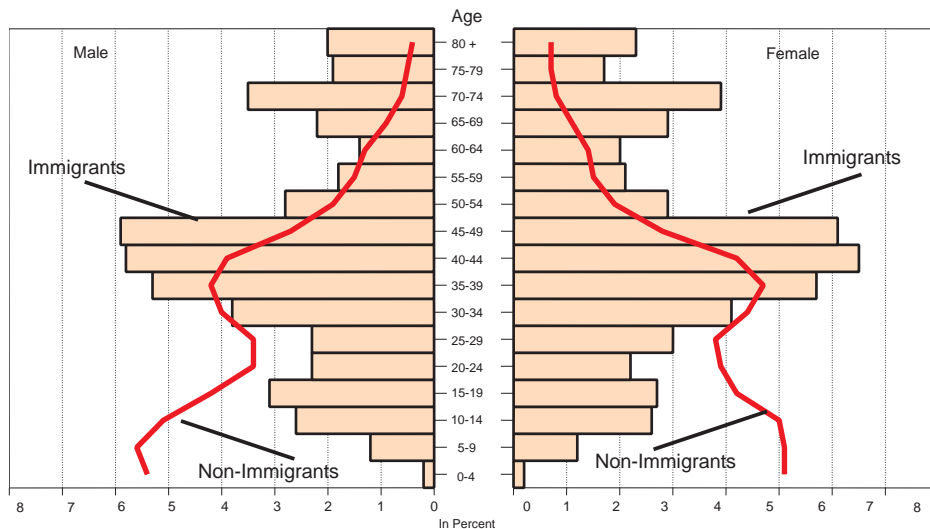
	Polish			All immigrants		
	Count	Percent	% CMA	Count	Percent	% CMA
Canada	202 625	100,0	87,3	4 971 070	100,0	88,7
Atlantic	1 645	0,8	60,5	79 225	1,6	42,4
Québec	18 250	9,0	92,6	664 495	13,4	94,4
Ontario	130 215	64,3	89,6	2 724 485	54,8	88,9
Prairies	31 890	15,7	83,6	593 395	11,9	79,6
British Columbia	20 515	10,1	76,7	903 195	18,2	76,6

Source: 1996 Census.

When compared to all other immigrants living in Canada, it can be seen that those of Polish origin are more likely to be living in Ontario. This is not surprising given the settlement patterns described earlier. Communities such as Wilno and Warsaw attest to the Polish heritage in rural Ontario. Current statistics show that Toronto ranks first among the CMAs in Canada as a preferred destination for immigrants. According to the data from the 1996 Census, 44% of the Polish immigrants who arrived since 1981 are living in Toronto. The next most popular destinations are Vancouver and Montreal with 9% each. When compared to the other groups in the study population, the Polish immigrants rank among those who tend to live in CMAs (see Table B-3, Appendix B). The importance of residential patterns as a contributing factor to the acculturation of Polish immigrants will be explored in subsequent sections of this chapter.

The effect of the pattern of immigration on the age-sex distribution of the Polish population living in Canada is clearly evident in Figure 8-1. The surviving members of the first and second waves of immigration appear as the bulge at the top of the pyramid. The first part of the third wave is the large bulge in the middle of the the pyramid and the second part of the third wave is the smaller bulge towards the bottom. The upper portion of the pyramid for the non-immigrants represents those who are the children of the first wave of immigrants. The central bulge in this pyramid are the children of the second wave and the lower portion are the children of the third wave.

Figure 8-1 : Age-sex distributions, Polish ethnic origin, 1996 Census



The immigration history of the people of Polish ethnic origin in Canada suggests that many migrated during the early stages of adult life. In fact, the data from the 1996 Census substantiate this assumption. Approximately 52% of the Polish immigrants living in Canada in 1996 arrived between the ages of 20 and 39, ranking them highest among the groups in the study population (see Table B-4, Appendix B). Another 11% arrived at 40 years of age and older. Overall, the mean age of the Polish immigrants is 44,4 years, making them the youngest of the other European groups in the study population (see Table B-1, Appendix B). A word of caution concerning these figures is warranted. The reader must bear in mind the earlier observations concerning the population included in the 1996 Census counts when examining these proportions. A substantial proportion of

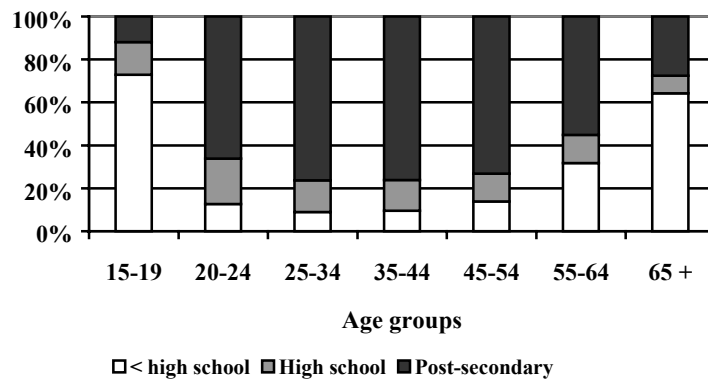
the migrants who arrived during the first wave of Polish immigration are no longer in the population that was enumerated in the 1996 Census. Therefore, the age distribution of the immigrants reflects the post World War II wave of immigration.

Over 90% of the immigrants of Polish ethnic origin living in Canada at the time of the 1996 Census were born in Europe, with slightly over 80% born in Poland and almost 13% born in other European countries—primarily Germany (4.5%), the United Kingdom (3%), the European portion of the former USSR (1.6%) and France (1.2%). Another 5% were born in the United States. Although there is a substantial core of Polish immigrants who were born in Poland, almost 20% were born in a diaspora community. The strength of attachment to their Polish origins may have been affected by the fact that they grew up in a context in which the family and local community organisations were the only source of regular contact with their Polish ancestry. It was shown in the analysis of some of the other ethnic groups of European origins in the study population that the outcome of acculturation for those who were born in a diaspora is more likely to be in the *assimilated* portion of the continuum. If this holds true for the Polish immigrants, it may be expected that *assimilated* will be an important outcome of acculturation for those born outside Poland.

Polish immigrants earn somewhat less than their born-in-Canada counterparts (see Table B-5, Appendix B). The median employment income for Polish immigrants who are in the peak of their earning years, 25 to 44, is between \$5 500 (25 to 34 years old) and \$6 700 (35 to 44 years old) lower than for the equivalent age groups among those who were born in Canada. When the comparison is shifted to all immigrants living in Canada, the results indicate that the employment earnings of Polish immigrants are much closer to the age group medians. The difference is most extreme for the 55 to 64 year group (Polish immigrants earn about \$1 000 less).

The difference in employment income between Polish immigrants and those who were born in Canada is difficult to explain. Certainly education does not appear to be a factor since the Polish immigrants appear to have relatively high qualifications (see Figure 1-3). The data show that over 60% of the immigrants between the ages of 25 and 44 have some form of post-secondary qualifications. This proportion is maintained when the age range is expanded to include the population between the ages of 20 and 24 and those between 45 and 54. When compared to all immigrants we see that the Poles tend to be better educated (see Table B-7). If we consider that the Polish immigrants generally earn less than all immigrants in Canada, this suggests that the returns to education may not be quite as high for this ethnic group.

Figure 8-2 : Highest level of education for Polish immigrants 15 years of age and older, 1996



9 THE SOUTH ASIAN POPULATION IN CANADA

9.1 Background

South Asian immigration to Canada began in the early twentieth century with the arrival in British Columbia of a small number of Sikh men from the province of Punjab. Their goal was to explore economic opportunities with the ultimate objective of returning to their home land with some accumulated wealth. In many instances they found employment in unskilled trades, in part the result of the restrictions imposed by the government of the day on the Chinese and Japanese immigrants. Employers were unable to satisfy the demand for workers to fill these positions since the flow of East Asian immigrants was stemmed as a result of measures such as a head tax (see Chapter 4). The arrival of new immigrants from South Asia provided the employers with a new source of people to fill these jobs (Buchignani et al, 1985: 6-9).

Public reaction and government response to this new flow of immigrants from Asia was similar to what occurred when Chinese immigrants began to arrive in Canada (see Chapter 4). A series of restrictive measures were introduced with the objective of stemming the flow of these immigrants. A substantial head tax of \$200 was introduced in 1907 as an attempt to curtail immigration from South Asia. When this measure failed, an order-in-council was passed in 1908 requiring that immigrants arrive in Canada on a continuous journey from the country of their birth or of their last citizenship. They were obliged to purchase one ticket that covered the entire journey and the point of origin had to be either their country of birth or country of citizenship. Since there were no ticket agents in India selling direct passage to Canada this measure effectively stopped the flow for a number of years (Buchignani et al, 1985: 23-27). In 1914 an enterprising merchant from the Punjab chartered a vessel named the Komagata Maru to transport immigrants directly from Calcutta to Canada, respecting the continuous journey provisions of the order-in-council. This event is described in detail in a number of books and articles dealing with South Asian immigration (see Basran, 1993; Buchignani et al., 1985; Mangalam, 1986). The attempt failed, effectively halting any substantive South Asian immigration to Canada until the period after World War II.

Up to 1941 there were about 4 300 South Asians living in Canada^{xiii}, half of whom were living in British Columbia (1941 Census of Canada). Immigration of South Asians

increased gradually through the period of the 1950s and 1960s mostly as a result of chain migration in which families were reunited (Buchignani et al, 1985:102–120). However, a major transition occurred towards the end of this period. Many of the South Asian immigrants who arrived in Canada in the late 1960s and early 1970s were well-educated professionals—teachers, doctors, scientists and engineers— as compared to the lesser educated people who arrived earlier. These migrants also introduced ethnic, religious and linguistic diversity to the South Asian population living in Canada. They were from different ethnic and religious groups such as Hindu, Muslim and to a lesser extent Buddhist. They spoke over a dozen languages (Buchignani et al, 1985:102–120). Their countries of origin extended beyond the countries that form South Asia (i.e. India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka). Many came from parts of East and South Africa (Kurian, 1991: 422). In effect, the South Asian population living in Canada was transformed into a heterogeneous aggregate grouping of people whose ethnic roots can be traced to South Asia.

The heterogeneity of the group begs the question “how can they be considered an appropriate ethnic grouping for the analysis conducted in this study?”. The answer lies in three important factors: (1) how the group is perceived by the other members of Canadian society; (2) how the members of the group perceive themselves in Canada; and (3) the characteristics they have in common. There is evidence that Canadian society views the people of South Asian origins as an ethnic group. As Buchignani and his colleagues observed (1985: 122)

“Popular stereotypes and widespread ignorance of South Asia have created a certain degree of commonality in the lives of all South Asian Canadians. One result has been a made-in-Canada consciousness of being South Asian among people who might not have thought much about it before. In this sense, South Asians *are* those whom others call South Asian.”

The perception is somewhat different from the perspective of the members of the South Asian communities. They tend to view themselves in a manner that is analogous to Europeans. They tend to identify with a particular group on the basis of ethnic origin, language, religion, family and kinship ties and points of origin (e.g. village or town). However, South Asians will take on an aggregate South Asian identity when interacting with non-South Asians (Buchignani et al, 1985: 122-124). Therefore, those who live in Canada tend to take on a South Asian identity when interacting with the members of Canadian society, regardless of their true ethnic origins.

In spite of the differences among the members of the aggregate group that we label as South Asian, there are also some common characteristics. They come from a region of the world that was isolated from its neighbours by extensive mountain ranges. They lived in relative isolation for a substantial part of ancient history. The people living in this region “... participated in a complex, village-based agriculture that has made its mark on belief and behaviour across the region.” (Buchignani et al, 1985: 127). The context in which these societies evolved resulted in the household becoming the most important social unit, including the members of the extended family. Kinship links became the bond that brought and held them together. Also, although not all people living in the region are Hindu, the secular culture that accompanies the Hindu religion

has permeated through all the various ethnic groups that form the collective. The effects of the secular culture “... transcend regional, linguistic, and even religious boundaries” (Buchignani et al, 1985: 127) by providing the basis for a common folk philosophy that is distinctly South Asian.

9.2 A profile of South Asian immigrants

Three important features characterise the South Asian immigrants in Canada. First, they are the majority of the people of South Asian origin living in Canada. Almost 70% of the South Asians living in Canada are immigrants (461 575 out of a population of 683 160 – see Table B-1, Appendix B). Second, they are the smallest of the ethnic groups in the study population in terms of total numbers, yet they rank second (behind the Chinese) in terms of numbers of immigrants (see Table B-1, Appendix B). Third, over 90% of the South Asian immigrant population living in Canada at the time of the 1996 Census arrived between 1971 and 1996, over 60% arrived between 1981 and 1996 and over 30% arrived in the 5 year period between 1991 and 1996 (see Figure B-6, Appendix B). Therefore, the South Asian population living in Canada is similar in these two respects to the Chinese. They are primarily immigrants and, by virtue of the fact that most arrived between 1981 and 1996, they may be classified as relatively recent arrivals to Canada (see Table B-2, Appendix B). Furthermore, both population groups have a history of immigration to Canada that dates back to the same epoch—the turn of the 20th century. Other parallels between the two population groups will be highlighted as the analysis progresses.

Table 9-1 : South Asian immigrants by period of immigration, 1996

Period of immigration	Count	Percent
Before 1961	3 380	0,7
1961-1970	40 195	8,2
1971-1980	141 855	28,9
1981-1990	144 380	29,4
1991-1996	160 700	32,8
Total	490 510	100,0

Source: 1996 Census.

As noted in the preceding section of this chapter, South Asian is actually an aggregate classification for people whose origins may be traced to India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. However, 75% of the South Asian immigrant population living in Canada at the time of the 1996 Census are of Indian origins (366 585 out of 490 510). This factor, combined with the comments made earlier concerning how South Asians perceive themselves when interacting with the host society, supports using the aggregate classification as the level of analysis.

The history of South Asian immigration to Canada indicates that chain migration and kinship links may be important factors to consider in this analysis. If distinct spatial concentrations can be considered evidence of these two factors, the distribution of the South Asian immigrant population by the province of residence (see Table 9-2) supports the observation. Additional evidence will be offered in the following section.

South Asian immigration began in British Columbia in the early 1900s and it appears that this province (with over 20% of the total South Asian immigrant population) is still an important destination for many of the individuals belonging to this ethnic group, although it is not the primary destination. Ontario enjoys that distinction with over 60% of the immigrants of South Asian origins living in that province. Of the 10% of this population group living in the Prairie Provinces, most live in Alberta. The remainder live primarily in Québec. The South Asians are similar to the Italians in national distribution. Approximately 80% live in two provinces—Ontario and British Columbia for the South Asians and Ontario and Québec for the Italians (see Table B-3, Appendix B).

Table 9-2 : Immigrants by place of residence showing proportion living in CMAs, South Asian and Total Canada, 1996

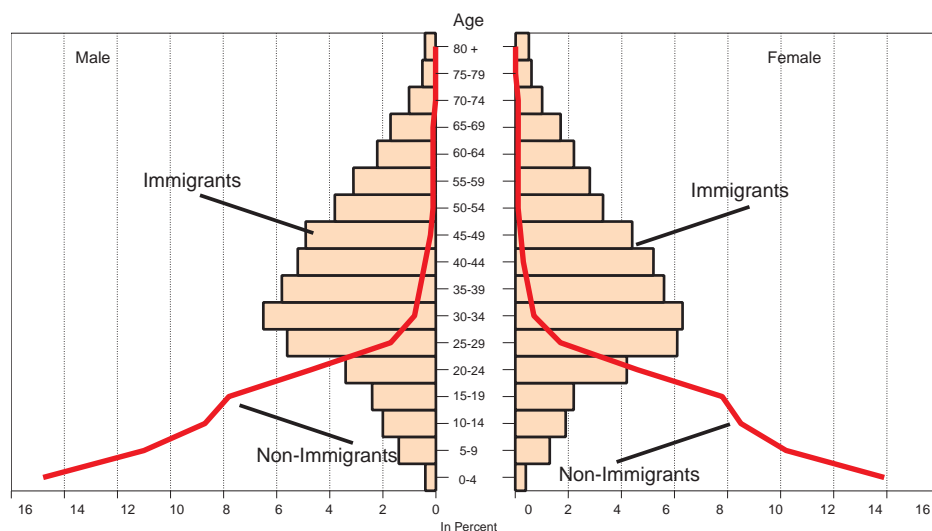
	South Asian			Total Canada		
	n	%	% CMA	n	%	% CMA
Canada	490 510	100,0	93,1	4 971 070	100,0	88,7
Atlantic	3 870	0,8	62,4	79 225	1,6	42,4
Québec	32 825	6,7	99,1	664 495	13,4	94,4
Ontario	301 895	61,5	97,3	2 724 485	54,8	88,9
Prairies	47 665	9,7	93,7	593 395	11,9	79,6
British Columbia	103 960	21,2	80,2	903 195	18,2	76,6

Source: 1996 Census.

The proportion of the South Asian immigrants living in CMAs point to a population group that is highly urban in nature. It also points to the possible existence of ethnic enclaves (to be explored in the next section of this chapter). For instance, 90% of these individuals who are in Ontario live in Toronto (85,7%) and Ottawa (4,1%). Similarly, virtually all of these immigrants in Québec live in Montreal (97,3%). The same holds true for those living in Alberta (94,2% live in Calgary and Edmonton). The pattern for those living in British Columbia is slightly different. Although most live in Vancouver (78%), a substantial proportion live outside the two CMAs in that province. The reader will recall from the first section of this chapter that there is a history of South Asians immigrants living and working in rural communities. They are involved in agriculture and in other primary industries such as forestry and mining. Also, a number of members of this ethnic group have settled in places such as Abbotsford and New Westminster which serve as distant bedroom communities to the greater Vancouver area. Overall, the South Asians and the Chinese display very similar patterns with respect to their predilection for settling in CMAs (Table B-3, Appendix B).

As one would expect for a population that consists of relatively recent immigrants, the distribution by age and sex describes a population that is quite young. The mean age of the South Asian immigrants in Canada is 11,2 years, the youngest of all the ethnic groups in the study population (see Table B-1, Appendix B). This pattern is very similar to the distribution observed for the Chinese population (see Chapter 4). The widest points in the pyramids for both males and females occurs between the ages of 25 and 39—the period in the normal life course when labour force participation is at its peak and during which most of the family formation activity occurs. This will undoubtedly have an impact on the outcome of acculturation for this population group since, as was shown in the previous section, the family plays an important role in maintaining the South Asian identity.

Figure 9-1 : Distribution of the South Asian population by age and sex, 1996



The distribution for the non-immigrant population of South Asian origins in Figure 9-1 also parallels the pattern that was observed for the Chinese population. The non-immigrant population is also the youngest of all the ethnic groups in the study population (mean age = 11,2). This result is to be expected given that many of those who were born in Canada are the children of parents who are immigrants.

Of the immigrants who were still living in Canada in 1996, half arrived when they were between the ages of 20 and 39. It can be assumed that many arrived in Canada with their partners and, for the older portion of this cohort, with children. It can also be assumed that they either entered the labour force or that they pursued advanced post-secondary education upon their arrival in Canada, both of which will probably have an impact on the outcome of acculturation. Another 18% of the South Asian population arrived in Canada when they were 40 years of age and older. Given what is known about the importance of the extended family in South Asian culture, it may be assumed that most of the immigrants in this age cohort are the parents of South Asian adults already living in Canada and that they arrived under the family reunification provisions of the Immigration Act. If this proves to be the case, *separated* is likely to be one of the significant outcomes of acculturation for this population group. The parallels between the South Asians and the Chinese immigrants also apply to the age at which they migrated to Canada (see Table B-4, Appendix B)

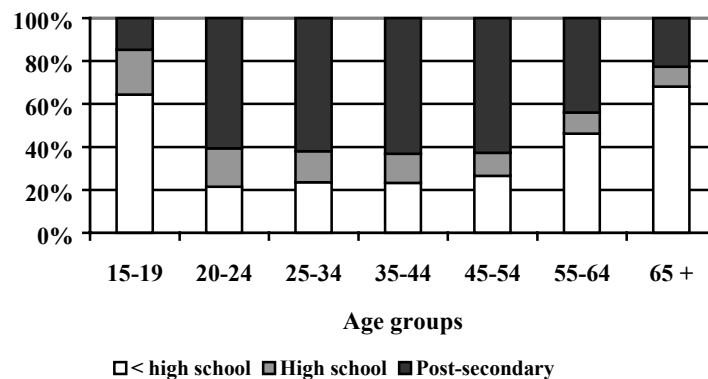
Five places of birth dominate as source regions (or countries) for the immigrants of South Asian origin: Southern Asia (70%), Africa (8,5%), Central and South America (8%), the Caribbean and Bermuda (5%) and the United Kingdom (2%). The history of global South Asian migration shows that diasporic communities were established in East African countries such as Tanzania and Kenya, in South Africa, in Trinidad and Tobago, in Guyana and in England. This is one instance where the aggregated grouping may not be an appropriate level of analysis since most of the people of South Asian origins other than the Indians were born in Southern Asia whereas almost 40% of the East Indians were born outside of India. However, the analysis is constrained by the lack of detailed

data on the people of other origins that make up this aggregate group due to small populations. Therefore, the significance of place of birth in the analysis of the outcome of acculturation for the South Asians will be influenced greatly by the characteristics and behaviour of the Indians. Given the similarities referred to earlier that bind this group together, the effect of this bias should be negligible.

South Asian immigrants generally have lower median incomes than those who were born in Canada when controlling for age. The differences are substantial, although not as dramatic as for the Chinese (see Table B-5, Appendix B). If we limit our comparison to the prime working age population, the differences range from -\$6 135 for the 35 to 44 age group to -\$2 645 for the 45 to 54 age group. The data show that South Asian immigrants in the same age cohorts also lag behind all immigrants living in Canada in median employment income, although not to the same degree. The explanations for these differences range from lack of recognition of educational qualifications obtained in developing countries to possible discriminatory employment practices. The analysis of these differences is very complex and it beyond the scope of the current study. (See Basaravajappa and Jones, 1999, for an example of an analysis of the determinants of income.)

The educational profile of the South Asian immigrants describes a group that is reasonably well educated (see Figure 9-2). Over 60% of the South Asian immigrants between the ages of 20 and 54 have some post-secondary qualifications. Over 40% of those between the ages of 50 and 64 also have some post-secondary qualifications (see Table B-7, Appendix B).

Figure 9-2 : Highest level of education for South Asian immigrants 15 years of age and older, 1996



10 THE UKRAINIAN POPULATION IN CANADA

10.1 Background

Ukrainians are one of the larger and older ethnic groups in Canada. They began to immigrate to Canada towards the end of the 19th century when agricultural workers sought to improve their economic prospects by establishing homesteads in Alberta. The early migrants came from the western regions of the Ukraine—Galicia and Bukovyna—that were under the control of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (Gerus and Rea, 1985: 3-7;

Lehr, 1994: 187-190). In some respects, this is similar to the migration history of the people of Polish origins who came to Canada in the late 1800s (See Chapter 8). The Ukrainians were also primarily agricultural workers seeking to improve on their economic future and they also came to Canada from territories that had been under foreign domination.

Two people played an important role in the early stages of Ukrainian immigration to Canada. The first, Joseph Oleskiw, a professor of agriculture in Lviv, published two popular pamphlets extolling the virtues of migrating to Canada. The pamphlets described Canada as an ideal destination for Ukrainian migrants because of the availability of vast tracts of inexpensive land that was suitable for agricultural settlements (Lehr, 1994: 181-182). Professor Oleskiw encouraged *bloc settlement*. He suggested that the immigrants would benefit by forming Ukrainian agricultural communities in Canada. These communities would offer a degree of protection and would provide the migrants with material and psychological support (Gerus and Rea, 1985: 9). In effect, this a variant on the concept of chain migration described earlier in this study.

The second person to play a major role in Ukrainian immigration was Clifford Sifton, the Minister of the Interior in the Liberal Government of Wilfrid Laurier. Mr. Sifton described the Ukrainians as desirable settlers and immigrants to populate the Prairie Provinces (Gerus and Rea, 1985: 7). It was suggested in some of the historical texts cited in earlier chapters that he saw Eastern European immigration as a more desirable choice when compared to Asian immigration (Buchignani et al, 1985). In fact, he was very adamant in declaring that the Ukrainians possessed the characteristics required for successful pioneer settlement in the Prairies (Lehr, 1994: 185). The influence of these two people resulted in the roots of Ukrainian immigration to Canada to be established in the Prairie Provinces, beginning in Alberta but eventually spreading to Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

The early migrants typically were young Galicians with "... rudimentary education, some political experience in the constitutional system of Austro-Hungary ..." and a knowledge of Polish and German (Gerus and Rea, 1985: 8). They formed settlements in which they were able to preserve their language and in which they were able to maintain their culture, religion and traditions. It can be said that early Ukrainian immigration was community and family based (Lehr, 1994: 192-193). This changed at the start of World War I. Ukrainian immigration to Canada slowed to a trickle due to the events in Europe and in the Ukraine and to anti-immigration sentiment in Canada. The Russian revolution changed the political map of Eastern Europe. It also resulted in the rise of a number of totalitarian states from which emigration was not easily achieved. The Ukraine fell under one of these régimes. Furthermore, the combined effect of soldiers returning from overseas service seeking employment and a downturn in the Canadian economy increased competition for scarce jobs. As usually happens under such circumstances, immigrants were viewed as an economic threat.

Ukrainian immigration to Canada rebounded very briefly in the period following World War II. A substantial number of Ukrainians were among the refugees who found themselves homeless and away from their homelands after the War. Many did not want to return to the Ukraine since it had fallen under Soviet control. Although these displaced persons were supposed to be repatriated to their homeland under the terms of the Yalta Agreement signed by the Allies, the actions of organisations such as the Ukrainian

Canadian Committee and several Ukrainian-born members of Parliament resulted in a number of Ukrainians being granted entry to Canada. Most of these immigrants were not agricultural workers, unlike their predecessors, and they chose to settle in the industrial heartland of Ontario. In fact, Toronto was labelled the “capital of the third wave” (Gerus and Rea, 1985: 16-19). Ukrainian immigration to Canada effectively ended after this wave until the fall of the Soviet Union. The figures in the following section will show that there has been a slight resurgence of Ukrainian immigration to Canada in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

Over the course of their history Ukrainians have lived under the rule of a number of foreign powers; notably the Russians, the Polish and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Living under foreign domination for a substantial part of their history has left its mark. In effect, the Ukrainians have lived a diasporic existence, although they did not physically migrate. Each foreign state that controlled part of the Ukraine imposed its laws, its language, its culture and its authority over the social and economic life of the Ukrainians. The results of this history should become evident in the outcomes of acculturation of the Ukrainians who immigrated to Canada.

10.2 A profile of Ukrainian immigrants

Over 1 million people of Ukrainian origin lived in Canada at the time of the 1996 Census, ranking them with the Germans, Italians, Dutch and Chinese as major ethnic groups in the Canadian mosaic (see Table B-1, Appendix B). Of the total population of Ukrainian origin living in Canada in 1996, approximately 6% (64 330) are immigrants—a relatively small proportion when compared to the Chinese or the South Asians. It is clear from the history described in the previous section that most of the Ukrainian immigrants recorded in the 1996 Census were part of the wave that arrived immediately after World War II since those who came in the preceding wave would be in their late 90s at the youngest. In fact, based on the data in Table 10-1 it can be assumed that more than half of the Ukrainian immigrants (57%) arrived between 1945 and 1961. The data in this table also show what may be a resurgence of immigration from the Ukraine to Canada. Approximately 11% arrived in the decade from 1981 to 1990 and almost 16% arrived in the five year interval between 1991 and 1996. In the context of the study population, the pattern of Ukrainian immigration appears to parallel that of the Poles (see Table B-2, Appendix B).

Table 10-1 : Ukrainian immigrants by period of immigration, 1996

Period of Immigration	n	%
Before 1961	36 975	57,5
1961-1970	5 285	8,2
1971-1980	4 950	7,7
1981-1990	6 960	10,8
1991-1996	10 160	15,8
Total	64 330	100,0

Source: 1996 Census.

The data described in the preceding paragraph provide a measure of the stock of Ukrainian immigrants living in Canada at the time of the 1996 Census. They do not give an indication of the flow of Ukrainian immigrants to Canada. Unfortunately, the data

available from Citizenship and Immigration Canada on the numbers of entrants into Canada do not list Ukraine as either a place of birth or a place of last permanent residence. Most Ukrainian immigrants who come from Ukraine are shown as originating in the USSR. Therefore, it is not possible to show the flow of Ukrainian immigrants to Canada, as was done for the other ethnic groups in the study population.

As indicated in the previous section, the early Ukrainian immigrants to Canada were encouraged to settle in the Prairie Provinces. They were primarily farmers seeking to establish homesteads, initially in Alberta and eventually in Manitoba and Saskatchewan (Lehr, 1994). This settlement pattern changed after World War II. The immigrants coming from the refugee camps in Europe were essentially urban-oriented. They sought to benefit from the economic opportunities that existed in the industrial heartland of Ontario (Toronto and surrounding municipalities). In fact, as farming income declined a substantial number of their ethnic homologues who originally settled in the Prairie Provinces also migrated to the Toronto metropolitan area and environs (Gerus and Rea, 1985).

Table 10-2 : Immigrants by place of residence showing proportion living in CMAs, Ukrainian and all immigrants, 1996

	Ukrainian			All immigrants		
	n	%	% CMA	n	%	% CMA
Canada	64 330	100,0	81,3	4 971 070	100,0	88,7
Atlantic	415	0,6	43,4	79 225	1,6	42,4
Québec	5 065	7,9	94,7	664 495	13,4	94,4
Ontario	35 580	55,3	89,1	2 724 485	54,8	88,9
Prairies	16 730	26,0	70,2	593 395	11,9	79,6
British Columbia	6 495	10,1	59,5	903 195	18,2	76,6

Source: 1996 Census.

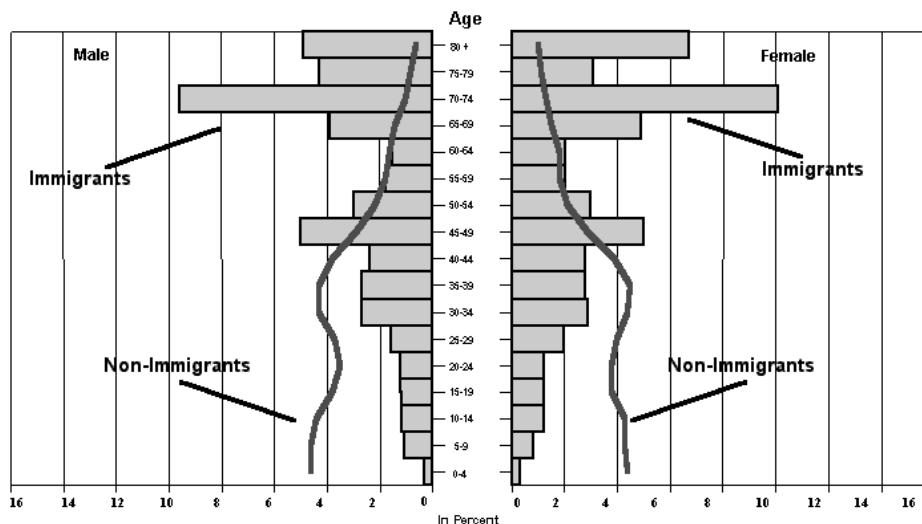
Evidence of both migration patterns exists in the current distribution of immigrants of Ukrainian origin living in Canada at the time of the 1996 Census (Table 10-2). A substantial proportion of the immigrants (26%) still live in the Prairie Provinces and 30% of them live outside the five Census Metropolitan Areas of Winnipeg, Regina, Saskatoon, Calgary and Edmonton, attesting to the rural legacy of the early settlers. However, over half of the Ukrainian immigrants lived in Ontario at the time of the 1996 Census with almost 90% living in metropolitan areas. In fact, about 70% of the Ukrainian immigrants in Ontario lived in the Toronto, Hamilton and St. Catharines-Niagara area. These distributions provide an empirical foundation for the settlement patterns described earlier.

A word of caution concerning the importance of the province of residence in the current analysis is called for. In their study on ethnic concentrations in major CMAs in Canada, Balakrishnan and Hou show that Ukrainians do not tend to settle in the same or adjacent neighbourhoods, other than in Montréal (Balakrishnan and Hou, 1999: 130-131). Therefore, geographic proximity may not be a meaningful in acculturation for the Ukrainian immigrants living in major urban centres. The multivariate analysis that follows will clarify this point.

It is clear from the age-sex profile in the following figure that the Ukrainian immigrant population is relatively old. With a mean age of 56,4, they rank among the oldest of the groups in the study population (see Table B-1, Appendix B). Given that

there has been little recent immigration of Ukrainians to Canada and that most of the immigrants living in Canada arrived when they were under the age of 40, the population described by this profile suggests that it is composed of long standing residents. The profile of the people of Ukrainian origin who were born in Canada is very similar to that of the general Canadian population, again attesting to the fact that the Ukrainians in Canada are well established demographically and are an integral part of the Canadian mosaic.

Figure 10-1 : Distribution of the Ukrainian population by age and sex, 1996



Of the immigrants who were still living in Canada in 1996, almost half (46%) arrived when they were between the ages of 20 and 39. Given the age cohort, it can be assumed that many arrived in Canada with their partners or that they married not long after arriving in Canada. It is also reasonable to assume that the older portion of this cohort arrived in Canada as members of family units with children. The fact that about 15% of the Ukrainian immigrants arrived when they were under the age of 5 and almost 30% arrived when they were between the ages of 5 and 19 supports the notion that these individuals are the children in the aforementioned family units. Knowing the history of the Ukrainian immigrants, we may be reasonably certain that they either entered the urban labour market or began working in the agricultural sector once they established themselves and their families in Canada.

It is noteworthy that approximately 10% of the Ukrainian immigrants were 40 years of age and older. Although the data are not explicit about the age breakdown of this older immigrant population, the immigration history of the Ukrainians suggests that many, if not most, of the individuals who arrived at a later stage in their lives did so while they were still able to participate in the labour force. Whether or not this has an impact on the outcome of acculturation is examined in greater detail in sections **Error! Reference source not found.** and **Error! Reference source not found.** It should manifest itself in a lower incidence of an outcome of *separated*.

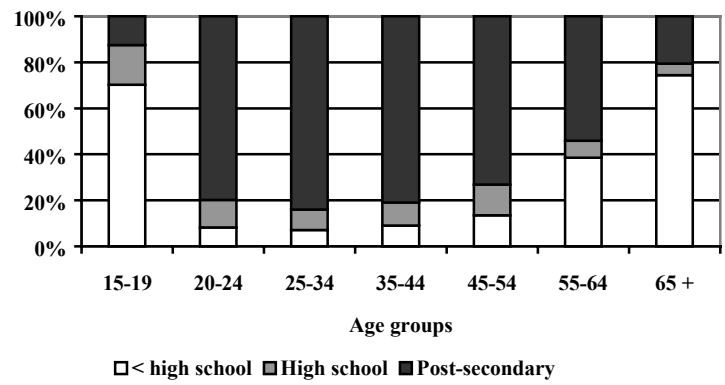
Two reasons make it somewhat difficult to determine exactly what proportion of the immigrants were born in the Ukraine. First, the boundaries of the Ukraine have changed periodically during this century thereby affecting the designation of the place of birth. For example, individuals who were born in Galicia may declare their place of birth as Austria or as Poland rather than as the Ukraine. The second reason is an artefact of the

data used in this analysis. The Ukraine is not listed separately as one of the places of birth in the 1996 Census data or in the 1991 Public Use Microdata File used in this study. An assumption was made that people of Ukrainian origin whose place of birth was classified as Eastern Europe were, in effect, born in the Ukraine. Based on these criteria, 74% of the immigrant population of Ukrainian origin were actually born in the Ukraine. Another 12% were born in Northern and Western Europe excluding the United Kingdom and 5% were born in the United States. The only immigrants for whom it may be said that they were definitely born in a diaspora are those who were born in the United States and in other countries not listed above.

How Ukrainian immigrants fare with respect to median employment income when compared to either those who were born in Canada or all immigrants in Canada varies substantially with age. The Ukrainian immigrants between the ages of 25 and 44 lag behind their born-in-Canada homologues by approximately \$6 000 whereas those who are between the ages of 45 and 64 earn over \$2 000 more (see Table B-5, Appendix B). When these immigrants came to Canada may be a contributing factor to these differences in median employment income. The older cohorts may have been in Canada longer, giving them more time to establish themselves economically. When compared to all immigrants living in Canada, the Ukrainians earn between \$2 000 less (for the 25 to 44 year age group) to \$5 000 more (for the 45 to 54 year age group). The variations are a strong indicator that other variables have a bearing on the relative incomes.

Ukrainian immigrants tend to be better educated than most of the other groups in the study population (see Figure 10-2). About 80% of the immigrants between the ages of 20 and 44 possess some form of post-secondary qualifications. The proportions remain relatively high for those between the ages of 45 and 64. The profile presented in Figure 10-2 is consistent with the shift in the nature of the migrants that was alluded to in the previous section of this chapter. Lehr (1994: 180) portrayed the Ukrainian immigrants who settled in the Prairie Provinces as having little education, possessing no skills in the trades and having no experience living in an urban environment. The immigrants referred to by Lehr are among the older cohorts in the following figure. We can see that the proportion who have less than post-secondary qualifications increases with age. The higher proportions of immigrants with post-secondary qualifications among the younger cohorts in this figure is consistent reflect the gradual influx of more highly skilled individuals.

Figure 10-2 : Highest level of education for Ukrainian immigrants 15 years of age and older, 1996 Census



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1941 Census of Canada, Volume IV, Table 18

ⁱ Although a small number of migrants (estimated at 50) arrived from China in the late 18th century to help develop fur trade between Canton and Canada, the major wave of migrants arrived from California in the mid-19th century.

ⁱⁱ See Table B-1 in Appendix B for a comparison with the other groups in the study population.

ⁱⁱⁱ Immigrants of Chinese origin who migrate from a diaspora are excluded from this chart. Furthermore, the data in the chart include non-ethnic Chinese who migrate from countries usually associated with people of Chinese ethnic origin.

^{iv} Most of the Chinese immigrants (82%) living in the Prairie Provinces are in Alberta. Approximately 10% live in Manitoba and 7% live in Saskatchewan.

^v The remaining 8% is the proportion of the Chinese immigrant population who is younger than 15 years of age.

^{vi} The employment income includes wages and salaries and self-employment income. It does not include pension income or income from other non-employment related sources.

^{vii} These data are based on the flow of immigrants from the last country of permanent residence. As such, they exclude ethnic Germans who lived in a diaspora and they include non-Germans who migrated from Germany.

^{viii} The Berlin Wall was demolished on November 9, 1989 and the German Democratic Republic and the Federal German Republic were officially merged into the reunified state of Germany on October 3, 1990.

^{ix} Comparable figures for the other ethnic groups that form the study population show a bipolar distribution. The first group, with between 50% and 57% of the immigrants arriving after the age of 20 includes the Dutch, the Germans, the Italians and the Ukrainians. The equivalent proportions for the second group,

consisting of the Chinese, the Polish and the South Asians, range from 63% to 68%. (See Table B-4 in Appendix B)

^x It may be argued that the immigrants who arrived when they were at the older extreme of this cohort, 18 or 19 years of age, may have migrated on their own, or they may have migrated to join relatives already living in Canada. In that case these immigrants would share the same characteristics as the members of the next older cohort.

^{xi} There are a number of small towns in Ontario, such as Wilno and Warsaw, that still bear the names of the Polish locations from which the original immigrants came. Furthermore, there is evidence that many of the Polish settlers belonging to the second wave also settled in communities in South Western Ontario such as Kitchener.

^{xii} The geographic definition of Canada did not include the Province of Newfoundland. However, this should not affect comparisons since Newfoundland was not and is not one of the destinations of choice for the people of South Asian origins.