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The Determinants of Acculturation: How immigrants adapt

by

Gustave J. Goldman, B.Sc./M.A.

**A thesis submitted to
the faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of**

**Doctor of Philosophy
Department of Sociology and Anthropology**

**Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario
March 31, 2000
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acceptance of the thesis

The Determinants of Acculturation: How immigrants adapt

submitted by Gustave J. Goldmann, B.Sc., M.A.

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

Canadian society has evolved largely through immigration. Immigrants represent approximately 17% of the population of Canada according to the 1996 Census. Therefore, immigration is still an important component of population growth in Canada. The incorporation of immigrants into a receiving society is a complex process that involves social, demographic and economic factors. How immigrants adapt is influenced by their socio-demographic and cultural characteristics as well as their ability to locate themselves socially and economically in the receiving society. The adaptation experience of immigrants may be characterised by a continuum of outcomes of acculturation that includes integration, assimilation, separation and marginalisation. This study presents an analysis of the acculturation experience of the immigrants belonging to seven ethnic groups; Chinese, Dutch, German, Italian, Polish, South Asian and Ukrainian. The results of the analysis show that the acculturation experience of immigrants is influenced by their respective socio-demographic and cultural characteristics. The results also show that the factors that influence the outcome of acculturation vary by ethnic group and, to some extent, within ethnic groups. One of the key by-products of this study is the development of a methodology to derive an indicator of the outcome of acculturation using Canadian census data. This indicator serves as the dependent variable in a series of models that include the determinants of acculturation as the independent variables. An extensive research agenda on the topic of immigrant acculturation is offered in the conclusion to the study.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Classical demographic analyses are concerned with the size and basic composition of a population, otherwise known as the stock, and the factors that contribute directly to changes in the stock, usually referred to as the flow. To further deconstruct the basic demographic model, the flow consists of natural processes such as births and deaths, the physical movement of people, or migration, and the implied movement of people, or ethnic mobility (Beaujot, 1999:93). The physical sciences characterise a flow by its direction and strength, or amplitude. In a demographic context, the direction of the flow is denoted as either immigration (in migration) or emigration (out migration) and its strength is the number of people migrating. In this project I am concerned primarily with the flow. This study specifically examines the social-psychological process of acculturation that occurs as a result of immigration.

Although the definition of the term “acculturation” will be dealt with in greater detail in Chapter 2, a brief description is warranted at this point. Acculturation, in the limited sense in which it will be used in this project, is a process that occurs when immigrants from different ethnic or cultural groups are absorbed into a receiving society. The process occurs over time and it results in a range of outcomes such as assimilation and integration. It is affected by the social, economic and political environment in the receiving society and by the attitudes of the migrants.

The importance of immigration as a component of population growth in Canada and its continuing demographic significance are well established facts (Beaujot, 1999).

Immigration has played, and continues to play, a dominant role in the continuing growth and development of Canadian society. According to the 1996 Census, over 17% of Canada's population are immigrants¹. A further examination of the results of the 1996 Census shows that approximately 80% of the respondents reported ethnic origins other than Canadian or Aboriginal². The roots of Canadian multiculturalism may be traced back to the First Nations and to the founding nations (Britain and France) at the time of confederation in 1867 (Pryor, 1995: 201-202). The current mosaic reflects the result of a long history of receiving and absorbing immigrants.

The social and economic behaviour of immigrants when they migrate to a new environment and their impact on the host society have been the source of numerous studies (for examples of these studies see Banton, 1977; Boyd, 1994; De Voretz, 1995; Jasso and Rosenzweig, 1988 and 1990; Kalbach and Richard, 1990; Li, 1998; Richmond, 1974; Richmond and Kalbach, 1980). They have also been the basis of policy formulation and revision in Canada (Hawkins, 1988). Although the social and economic impact of immigration has been and continues to be addressed in the media, in formal publications and in research journals, the question of immigrant adaptation has not been addressed with the same vigour, in part because there are few agreed upon measures to support such an analysis. Social scientists have been debating the relative merits of characteristics such as the acquisition of language skills, economic and labour market performance, spatial concentration and rates of exogamy, to name a few, as meaningful measures of the adaptation of immigrants. Each of these measures is an important component of the adaptation of immigrants. However, it must be emphasised that they

are components of a more complex analytical model. Such a model is proposed in this study.

1.1 Research Question / Issue

This project deals with immigrants and the process by which they are absorbed (or not absorbed) into the receiving society. When immigrants arrive, a transformation of sorts occurs as a result of their efforts to establish themselves in the receiving society. In addition to physical relocation, immigrants must learn how to function and interact in their new environment and how to locate themselves (in a sociological sense) in the receiving society. The nature and the intensity of the transformation, of which acculturation is a key component, are governed by the actions of the migrants and by the reaction of the receiving society to the new arrivals.

In general, receiving societies such as Canada tend to view immigrants as an homogeneous group with respect to the elaboration and implementation of policies, programs and practices geared towards the absorption and incorporation of the migrants. The focus of the formal (government initiated) and informal (community based) policies and programs as they currently exist in Canada is on the function rather than on the client. It is assumed that some immigrants require language training and that some require exposure to the basic labour market skills that are relevant in Canada (e.g. how to write a resumé, how to present oneself in an interview, etc.). Neither of these assumptions is incorrect. However, the programs and policies do not offer some of the basic life-skills that the immigrant may require in order to acculturate. They also tend to view the outcome of absorption in a binary way—either immigrants adapt or they do not. This approach to immigrant absorption is founded on two fundamental assumptions. First, the socio-cultural characteristics of the immigrants do not influence the outcome of

the acculturation process. Second, the policies and programs do not necessarily need to consider the ethnic differences among immigrants.

The primary research questions I am addressing in this study are: (1) What are the determinants of acculturation? and (2) Do the socio-economic and cultural characteristics of the immigrant affect the outcome of acculturation to the same extent regardless of the individual's ethnic origin? It is my contention that the outcome of acculturation is influenced by selected socio-demographic and economic characteristics and that the significance of the determinants varies according to the ethno-cultural characteristics of the immigrants. For instance, some immigrants arrive in Canada with a knowledge of either English or French (or both). These individuals have the advantage of being able to communicate effectively on arrival in Canada with the various organisms and service providers in the host society. Furthermore, a knowledge of English and/or French also eases the transition into the Canadian labour market. Other characteristics such as the individual's education, his or her occupational skills, the cultural values and attitudes (both of the immigrant and of the receiving society) and the support network that is available to the immigrant during the process of adapting to a new environment are also important factors that will have an impact on the acculturation process. These characteristics vary to some extent with the ethnic origin of the immigrant. I assume that their impact on the acculturation process will also vary.

1.2 The Map

This dissertation begins with a discussion of the theoretical and conceptual context for the study. The full analytical model, including the dependent variable (acculturation) and the independent variables (the immigrant's socio-economic and demographic characteristics), is developed in Chapter 2. Acculturation is dealt with as a

theoretical construct and from a conceptual perspective in that chapter. Building on the theoretical and conceptual foundation, Chapter 3 continues with a discussion on the methodology that is central to the analysis conducted in this study. The method used to derive an indicator of the outcome of acculturation is described in sufficient detail to permit the reader to replicate the measure. The discussion then shifts to the analytical models that are used to explore whether or not the experience is the same for immigrants of all ethnic groups and whether or not any or all of the characteristics are statistically significant determinants of acculturation.

Chapters 4 through 10 form the analytical heart of this study. Each chapter in this series focuses on the acculturation experience of a particular ethnic group. This series of chapters is structured as follows: a brief history of the ethnic group's migration to Canada, a profile of the group based on the 1996 Census data, a comparison between the immigrants and those who were born in Canada and an analysis of the outcome(s) of acculturation for the immigrants belonging to the group. Whereas these chapters concentrate on within group analyses, Chapter 11 explores the patterns across all the groups that are part of the study population. It exposes similarities and differences in the acculturation of the immigrants belonging to each of the groups. It also proposes the genesis of a theoretical framework for the study of the outcome of acculturation. The concluding chapter presents a brief synthesis of the results and it outlines a research agenda for further work on the acculturation of immigrants.

2 THE THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL CONTEXT

The importance of immigration as a component of population growth and development in Canada was established in the introduction to this dissertation. It was noted that current trends in immigration in Canada show a shift of source countries from the “traditional” European origins to the “non-traditional” Asian, African and Latin American origins. Given the shift in sources of immigrants, there will be an introduction of, and an increase in, people with non-European ethnic origins. It is likely that the immigrant’s ethnic origin will play an increasingly important role in the process of acculturating to Canadian society. The objectives of the study presented in this dissertation are: (1) to isolate the characteristics of immigrants that determine the results or outcomes of the post-immigration acculturation process; and (2) to determine whether or not the impact of the relevant characteristics is uniform, regardless of the ethnic origins of the immigrants. The context for this study is Canada; the time frame is the 1990s; and the subjects are immigrants belonging to a specific subset of the ethnic groups that are found in Canadian society.

One major conceptual issue needs to be resolved at this point in the study. The term “ethnic group” will be used throughout the text of this study as a classification of an aggregate grouping of individuals who declare the same ethnic origins. The use of this expression for this purpose originates with Max Weber. He defines “ethnic groups” to be “... those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration” (Weber, 1978: 389). The data on which the empirical analysis in this study are based, the 1991 and 1996 Canadian Censuses of population, do not specifically provide information that allow the analyst to determine whether or not a

group exists in the formal sense (i.e. having a defined structure and rules of membership). However, the data provide information on the respondent's perception of the ethnic group to which he or she belongs or with which he or she wishes to be identified. This may be equated to Weber's notion of "subjective beliefs". Hence the collective identification of people on the basis of ethnic origin will be referred to as an "ethnic group" in this study.

Seven ethnic groups were selected to form the population for this study—the Chinese, the Dutch, the Germans, the Italians, the Polish, the South Asians and the Ukrainians. The rationale for selecting these groups is described in the following chapter. However, it is worth noting at this stage that five of the seven groups are of European origin, reflecting the historical immigration pattern in Canada (the "traditional" source countries), and two groups are Asian (in the broadest sense of the term), reflecting the current immigration pattern (the "non-traditional" source countries). It is also worth noting that the size criterion for selecting the subjects to include in the study population excludes some of the more recent and more visibly different immigrants such as the Vietnamese, the Somali and the Ethiopians. Therefore, the conclusions that can be drawn from this study with respect to the impact of the immigrant's physical characteristics, as perceived by the members of the host society, on the outcome of acculturation will be limited to the experiences of the Chinese and the South Asians.

Immigration is a demographic flow that results in an immediate decrease in the stock of the society of origin and a corresponding increase in the stock of the host society. The longer term demographic effects are far more pervasive. They include: changes in the age structures and sex distributions of the respective societies; changes in the short and longer term fertility patterns, both as a result of the attitudes and values of

the migrants as well as the introduction of potential marriage partners; changes in the ethnic composition of the receiving society; and changes in the language composition of the receiving society (Beaujot, 1999: 95-109). It also results in changes in the residential patterns in many of the major metropolitan centres in which immigrants settle (Balakrishnan and Hou, 1999; Breton et al, 1990; Olson and Kobayashi, 1993: 138-149).

Economically, immigration affects the supply of labour and capital. There will certainly be an infusion of human capital that introduces new sources of labour and investment in the receiving society. Immigrants also add to the pool of consumers of goods and services (DeVoretz, 1995).

As the brief introduction to this chapter highlights, the analysis of the acculturation of immigrants must take into account demographic, socio-economic and spatial variables. The theoretical and conceptual underpinnings for the dependent and independent variables in this analysis (the outcome of acculturation and the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the immigrant, respectively) are presented in the following sections.

2.1 Acculturation – The Theoretical Perspective

Acculturation, as it is applied in this study, is a process which all immigrants arriving in receiving society must undergo. This conception of acculturation differs somewhat from earlier theoretical developments in two important aspects. First, it is viewed as a process rather than a result (for a more detailed discussion see Goldmann, 1998b). Second, it has an economic dimension rather than the narrower socio-cultural view adopted by previous researchers (see Alba, 1990; Glazer and Moynihan, 1963; Gordon, 1978; Jasso and Rosenzweig, 1990; Lieberman and Waters, 1988; Park and Burgess, 1921; Redfield et al, 1936; Schermerhorn, 1970). As a process, acculturation

includes the mechanisms by which immigrants and their descendants become part of the social and economic life in the country of settlement. This implies that the policies and practices of the host (receiving) society towards immigration and absorption of immigrants play an important role in influencing the process. The results of acculturation focus on the effects of the process on individuals. In this sense, the outcome of acculturation may be characterised as a polytomous variable that reflects the range of experiences (or results) that includes integration, assimilation, marginalization and separation.

It is important to note that all members of a society undergo a process of acculturation at many points in their lives. As children, we are exposed to an acculturation process in our homes, in our schools and in the playgrounds (Guppy and Davies, 1998). As adults, we are exposed to an acculturation process when we enter the labour market. In fact, I suggest that the process of acculturation is ongoing as we are exposed to different social, economic, demographic and political situations and conditions. As immigrants, we are exposed to a process of acculturation as we adapt and insert ourselves into the social, economic and political life of the receiving society. In addition to physical relocation, immigrants must learn how to function and interact in their new environment and how to locate themselves (in a sociological sense) in the receiving society. A variety of processes come to bear during the transformation, ranging from state-sponsored programs geared at easing the adaptation of the immigrants admitted as refugees into the receiving society (e.g. language training programs, labour market orientation programs, housing and settlement assistance, etc.) to community-based programs such as cultural and social activities, private schools and community

media. The nature and the intensity of the transformation are governed by the actions of the migrants and by the reaction of the receiving society to the new arrivals. It should be noted that anthropologists, sociologists and psychologists view the nature and intensity of the interaction between groups and between individuals as changing with time. They also consider it to be influenced by the social, economic and political conditions as reflected in the policies and programs that are in place at a given point in time (see Berry, 1990; Graves, 1967; Isajiw, 1993; Redfield et al., 1936; Schermerhorn, 1970).

Acculturation and its effect on migrants fall within the social psychological theoretical framework. In a working paper commissioned by the Economic Council of Canada John Berry suggests that acculturation is a function of two primary factors; (1) the importance that the individual places on maintaining his or her own cultural distinctiveness and (2) the importance that he or she places on maintaining relations with the larger society (Berry, 1991: 11)³. Berry considered acculturation to be a strategy that the individual chooses in the process of adapting. It has already been established earlier in this chapter that it is more appropriate to view acculturation as a process, especially when the subjects of analysis are immigrants. Therefore, the factors that define the outcomes of acculturation must be transformed as follows:

- The importance that the individual places on retaining his or her ethno-cultural distinctiveness and identity must be changed to a measure of the degree to which an individual has retained ties to his or her ethnic origin.
- The importance that an individual places on establishing and maintaining relations with the larger society must be transformed into a measure of the

degree to which the individual has incorporated himself or herself into the host society.

The following figure is a graphic representation of the revised model. Although this model presents a simple binary decision for each of the two issues described above, it must be noted that each of these dimensions is really a continuum.

Figure 2-1 : A model of acculturation

According to this characterisation of acculturation, if an individual retains ties to his or her ethno-cultural origins and incorporates himself or herself into the host society, he or she is **integrated**. **Assimilation** occurs when the individual incorporates himself or herself into the host society without retaining any ties to his or her origins. **Separation** occurs when the level of ethnic retention is high but there is no incorporation into the host society. Finally, someone who neither retains his or her ethno-cultural identity nor incorporates into the host society is considered to be **marginalized**.

Having defined a theoretical framework for the analysis conducted in this study, I will now shift to a discussion of the analytical variables that will be considered as potential determinants of acculturation.

2.2 Analytical Variables

A relationship exists between acculturation and the socio-economic characteristics of the subjects. In describing the specific features of acculturation and adaptation Berry and Sam propose that symbolic characteristics such as language, dress, gender attitudes and social norms (including exogamy and endogamy) have an impact on the process (1997: 301). In earlier work on the topic, Richmond suggested that characteristics such as the age at which the immigrant arrived in the host society, the level of education that he or she possessed at the time of immigration, the knowledge of the lingua franca (English and/or French in the context of this study), his or her place of birth and the personal and community networks to which he or she has access at the time of immigration also affect the outcome of acculturation (1974: 200-26). The list of analytical variables considered as potential determinants of acculturation is derived in part on the basis of the preceding discussion.

Most of the independent variables used in the analytical portion of this study are very well described in the 1991 or 1996 Census Dictionaries (see Statistics Canada 1994 and 1999). Therefore, they will not be defined in this dissertation. However, the rationale for including these characteristics as independent variables is discussed in this section of the study.

In the context of this study **immigrants** are defined as individuals who are landed immigrants. To be classified as a landed immigrant a person must be granted the right to live permanently in Canada by Canadian immigration authorities, regardless of the class⁴ under which he or she was admitted. Data on **non-permanent residents**, defined as people who reside in Canada on a student authorisation, employment authorisation, a Minister's permit or who are refugee claimants, were collected for the first time in the

1991 Census. It should be noted that many of the non-permanent residents also experience the process of acculturation. However, the number of people who are classified as such among the ethnic groups in the study population in the 1991 Census Public Use Micro data File is not sufficient to identify them separately in the analysis. A **non-immigrant** is defined as someone who is a Canadian citizen by birth, regardless of his or her residency status. The expression “born-in-Canada” is often used to describe these individuals.

The **age at immigration** of the respondent refers to “... the age at which the respondent first obtained landed immigrant status” (Statistics Canada, 1999: 22). Studies have shown that the primary socialisation process has a substantial impact on how the individual eventually inserts himself or herself into the society in which he or she lives (Guppy and Davies, 1998). This stage in the development of the individual occurs during primary and secondary schooling. The socialisation process includes learning the language (or languages) that is (are) commonly used, becoming familiar with the social and economic structures of the society, learning the administrative systems and how to deal with them and learning to interact with other members of the society. All of these elements contribute in a very direct way to the outcome of acculturation. As a consequence, someone who arrives in Canada at a relatively young age will have the opportunity to experience a broader range of outcomes of acculturation than an individual who arrives when he or she has entered the later stages of the life-course. If these assumptions hold true, I suggest that the outcome of acculturation for the immigrants who arrived in Canada when they were older is more likely to be *separated* whereas those who arrived when they were young children are more likely to be *assimilated*.

Men and women do not necessarily experience acculturation in the same manner nor with the same result. A number of studies have confirmed that **gender** is an important consideration in immigrant adaptation (see Amott and Matthaei, 1991; Boyd, 1999; Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis, 1995). The role of women may be very circumscribed in some cultures and in some societies. Their sphere of activity may be limited to the household and the ethnic community of which they are a member, thereby minimising the contact they have with the host society. It was recognised by a number of theorists that contact with the members of the host society has an impact on the outcome of acculturation (Gordon, 1978; Redfield et al, 1936)⁵. Clearly, the conditions described in this paragraph show that the opportunities for contact may not be equal between men and women. Hence, the individual's sex must be considered as a potential determinant of acculturation. I suggest that the results will show that the likelihood of an outcome of acculturation in the *integrated* or *separated* portions of the continuum will be greater for women and that an outcome in the *assimilated* portion of the continuum will be greater for men. This distribution will be especially noticeable for ethnic groups in which the women's sphere of activity is traditionally limited to the home (e.g. the South Asians, Chinese and Italians).

Marital status is defined as "... the legal conjugal status of a person" (Statistics Canada, 1999: 76). This definition excludes common-law partners in the "now married" category. They are classified as either "single" or under the legal marital status that precedes their entry into a common-law union. The term "single" is used in the analytical chapters to designate those individuals who are classified as never married in the census data. The other categories are consistent with common interpretations. In the context of

this study, two issues with respect to marital status must be considered. The first concerns whether or not the immigrant is living in a household in which there is a common ethnic or cultural foundation. Family in its broadest sense (kinship) plays an important role in the preservation of customs and culture in the home (Nash, 1989: 5-12). Those who live in exogamous unions are less likely to retain attachment to their cultural and ethnic origins, whereas those who are married to partners with the same ethnic or cultural heritage have a common basis for retention of their origins (Kobrin and Goldscheider, 1978; Lieberman and Waters, 1988). The second issue concerns the marital status at the time of immigration. When families migrate as a unit it is likely to have an impact on the outcome of acculturation for a number of reasons. First, the adult members of the family will be older and at a stage in their life-course when they are less susceptible to change. Second, acculturation takes on a collective as opposed to individual dimension since it involves the entire family unit.

The marital status of the individual immigrant presents an analytical challenge. The census data do not provide any direct indication of the marital status of the immigrant at the time of immigration. However, we know from the literature that divorce or separation is frowned upon in many of the orthodox and ethnic religions as well as among Catholics (Chalfant et al., 1981: 88-90). Therefore, it is likely that the outcome of acculturation will be *assimilated* for people who are divorced or separated and who belong to ethnic groups in which the dominant religion falls in the aforementioned categories. Furthermore, it is also likely that outcome of acculturation will be in the *integrated* portion of the continuum for people who are married and who were older when they arrived in Canada. Finally, on the basis of the higher survival rates for

women, it is likely that *separated* will be a noticeable outcome of acculturation for those who are widowed.

Mother tongue is defined as “... the first language learned at home in childhood and still understood by the individual at the time of the census” (Statistics Canada, 1999: 71-72). As stated in the previous section, language is an important vehicle for the transmission and retention of cultural values, traditions and knowledge as well as the primary means of adapting to the new society. Two points must be taken into account by the analyst when he or she considers this characteristic as a possible determinant of acculturation. First, when an individual declares a specific mother tongue it does not imply proficiency in the language. It simply indicates a sufficient knowledge of the language in order to be able to understand some conversation. Second, the possible relationship between the declared mother tongue and the language spoken in the home must also be considered in the analysis. It is possible that a statistically significant correlation exists between the two language concepts for some of the ethnic groups that form the study population, in which case the risk of introducing a tautological error in the analysis is very high. Mother tongue must be removed from the model as an independent variable in these instances.

It has been shown in a number of studies that language is an important element in the retention and promulgation of ethnic identity since it serves as a link between the individual and the ethnic group (see Anderson, 1983; Banks, 1996; Brass, 1991; Breton et al, 1990; Fishman, 1980; Goldscheider, 1995; Harrison, 1999; Weinreich, 1986). If an individual declares that his or her mother tongue is the heritage language most commonly associated with his or her ethnic origin, it is an indication that he or she has retained some

ties to his or her ancestry. In such cases, the outcome of acculturation is likely to be either *integrated* or *separated*, depending on the individual's incorporation into the host society. For the groups in the study population, those who declare their mother tongue to be either a heritage language that is not usually associated with their ethnic origin, English and/or French are indicating that their degree of ethnic retention is somewhat weaker than the individuals described earlier in this paragraph. Hence, *assimilated* is a more likely outcome for these immigrants.

The individual's **place of birth** refers to the country in which he or she was born, on the basis of the boundaries that were in existence at that time. As an analytical variable, place of birth defines the context from which the immigrant came to Canada. It cannot be assumed that all people of a given ethnic origin migrated to Canada from the country or region of the world that is usually associated with that origin. For instance, we know that a number of the immigrants to Canada of South Asian origins were born in Africa and in the Caribbean. These individuals are described in this study as originating in a diaspora. The term "diaspora" as used in this study is defined as "... an ethnic group of migrant origin which maintains sentimental or material links with its land of origin" (Esman, 1986: 333). Although this concept is most commonly associated with the Jewish communities living throughout the World, it applies equally to other ethnic groups such as the South Asians who lived in Africa and Caribbean and the Armenians who live in various countries. People who are born in a diaspora are exposed to cultures that may be substantially different from their own. The potential exists for these individuals to have social and economic contact with the members of the host society. They also have the opportunity to be exposed to the educational system of the host society. They undergo an

important part of their socialisation in a context that is not necessarily the same as, or compatible with, their ethnic origin. (See Guppy and Davies, 1998, for a discussion on the importance of the formal and informal context on the socialisation of the individual.)

The fluidity of national boundaries must also be considered when the individual's place of birth is included in the analysis. National boundaries have changed over the course of recent history and countries that are in existence today as independent nations may not have been recognised as such in the past and vice versa. This possibility is particularly true for three of the ethnic groups that form the study population—the Germans, the Polish and the Ukrainians. The boundary changes are dealt with in the respective analytical chapters.

The effect of place of birth on the outcome of acculturation is expected to vary substantially by ethnic group. In most instances, the outcome of acculturation will most likely be *integrated* for immigrants who were born in the country or region usually associated with their ethnic origin. Individuals who belong to groups that tend to form relatively strong communities, such as the South Asians (Buchignani, 1985), the Chinese (Li, 1998) and the Italians (Perin and Sturino, 1990), are more likely to retain links with their ethnic origins, regardless of their places of birth. Therefore, outcomes in the *integrated* portion of the continuum are most likely for immigrants of these origins who were born in a diaspora. The outcome of acculturation for those who belong to the other groups in the study population is more likely to be in the *assimilated* portion of the continuum as a result of the impact of the context on the primary socialisation process referred to above.

Where the immigrants live and the size of the ethnic communities in which they live is another important spatial dimension of the analysis. The data on which the analysis in this study is based contain a very limited level of geographic detail. However, the **province of residence** and the proportion of the members of a given ethnic group who live in Census Metropolitan Areas (CMA) are used as initial indicators of the impact of the geographic context on the outcome of acculturation. It has been postulated by some social scientists that residential concentration generally results in greater institutional completeness which in turn results in a stronger or more pronounced identity with the community (Breton, 1964; Kobrin and Goldscheider, 1978: 57). Ethnic establishments such as shops and restaurants provide an environment outside the home, the formal community institutions and the religious institutions in which the members of the group may "live" the ethnic experience through access to traditional foods and meals and through unstructured interaction with other members of the same group (Kobrin and Goldscheider, 1978: 57).

Balakrishnan and Hou (1999) developed a measure that quantifies the relative concentration of an ethnic group in CMAs in Canada based on the Gini coefficient. These measures were derived by analysing the settlement patterns for ethnic groups at a very fine level of geographic detail within the CMAs. The authors ranked the census tracts in each CMA by the proportion of people of a given ethnic origin living in that area. They plotted the curves of concentration, also known as the Lorenz curves, for each ethnic group in each CMA. The Gini coefficient was calculated from the Lorenz curves (Balakrishnan and Hou, 1999: 127). A higher coefficient indicates that the ethnic group lives in a smaller number of neighbourhoods. A lower coefficient indicates that the

members of the ethnic group are more dispersed within the boundaries of the CMA (Balakrishnan and Hou, 1999: 126-136). When used in conjunction with the proportion of immigrants of a given ethnic group who live in the CMAs, it is possible, through inference, to draw some meaningful conclusions about the impact of the community context on the outcome of acculturation. The outcome of acculturation for individuals who live in CMAs in which their ethnic group tends to be more concentrated in fewer neighbourhoods (i.e. higher Gini coefficient) is likely to be in the *integrated* portion of the continuum. Conversely, those who live in CMAs in which their ethnic group is more dispersed are more likely to be *assimilated*.

It was noted in the discussion on the sex of the individual that a number of theorists proposed that contact with the members of the host society has an impact on the outcome of acculturation (Gordon, 1978; Redfield et al, 1936)⁵. Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude from this that the outcome of acculturation will change over time as the opportunities for, and the incidence of, contact with the host society increase. However, the data that are used in the analysis presented in this study are cross-sectional in nature. They do not provide any indication of change over time. Introducing the **number of years the immigrant has been living in Canada** as an analytical variable adds a quasi-temporal dimension to the analysis. It will be possible to identify immigrant cohorts and to relate the outcome of acculturation to their characteristics. It will also be possible to provide a preliminary indication whether time is a factor in acculturation for all, or any, ethnic groups. I submit that the results of the analysis will show that the likelihood of an outcome of acculturation in the *assimilated* portion of the continuum will increase in proportion to the number of years the immigrant has been living in Canada.

The **LICO**, also known as the low income cut-off, is a relative measure that positions economic families⁶ or unattached individuals who are 15 years of age and older with respect to a threshold that takes into account their ability to economically subsist. It takes into account the impact of contextual factors that affect the cost of living. Factors such as the number of people in the economic family, the size of the area of residence and the province of residence are components of the derivation of the LICO threshold. The concept of an economic family allows for larger groupings of people within a household. For instance, it is possible that an economic family may include three generations in the same family; the parent (or parents), the children and the grandchildren. It is also possible to have more than one economic family living in a household, in which case the data indicate which of the families include the household maintainer. Calculations are based on standards established from the national Survey of Consumer Finances and the Consumer Price Index. This is not a measure of wealth nor a measure of poverty. It simply indicates whether or not the economic family or the unattached individual (15 years of age and older) has sufficient income to cover the basic necessities such as food, shelter and clothing (Statistics Canada, 1999: 130-132). The census variable that is used in this analysis indicates whether the individual belongs to an economic family that is above or below the LICO threshold for the region in which they live.

Although the LICO is not a direct measure of income, it is an indicator of the economic circumstances (at an aggregate level) in which the individual lives. If an immigrant is living in a below-LICO situation, he or she is less likely to have the resources necessary to acquire some of the services and assistance that may help him or her to acculturate. It is highly probable that these individuals will be heavily dependent

on their family unit or their ethnic community for support. Therefore, it is likely that the outcome of acculturation will be *separated* for the people living in below-LICO circumstances.

The **occupational skill level** is an aggregation of occupations based on the 1991 standard occupational classification (1991 SOC) that takes “ ... education, training or skill level required to enter the job, as well as kind of work performed ...” into account (Statistics Canada, 1999: 59). The following table summarises the occupations that are included in each skill level.

Table 2-1 : List of occupational skill levels based on the 1991 classification

Skill Level	Occupations
1	Cashiers, primary production labourers, labourers in processing, manufacturing and utilities
2	Clerical occupations, assisting occupations in support of health services, retail sales persons and sales clerks, occupations in food and beverage service, childcare and homecare support workers, assemblers in manufacturing
3	Technical occupations related to natural and applied sciences, technical and related occupations in health, paralegals, social service workers and occupations in education and religion not elsewhere classified, technical occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport, clerical supervisors, sales and service supervisors, contractors and supervisors in trades and transportation, supervisors in manufacturing, finance and insurance administrative occupations, secretaries, administrative and regulatory occupations, chefs and cooks, construction trades, stationary engineers, power station operators and electrical trades and telecommunications occupations, machinists, metal forming, shaping and erecting occupations, mechanics.
4	Senior management occupations, specialist managers, managers in retail trade, food and accommodation services, other managers not elsewhere classified, professional occupations in business and finance, professional occupations in natural and applied sciences, professional occupations in health, nurse supervisors and registered nurses, judges, lawyers, psychologists, social workers, ministers of religion, policy and program officers, teachers and professors, professional occupations in art and culture.

It can be seen from the description in this table that each of the skill categories is very broad in scope. This presents important limitations in the analytical value of this

independent variable. The heterogeneity of the skill groupings mask differences in the nature of the qualifications required to perform some of these occupations. For example, occupations such as stationary engineers and technical occupations in health require some form of “professional certification” whereas no such requirement exists for secretarial services. Also, it is not possible to determine whether the individual acquired the requisite qualifications and certification for his or her occupation in Canada or “off-shore” from the data source used for this study. Therefore, the degree to which the lack of recognition in Canada of an individual’s qualifications for the position affects his or her employment cannot be determined in this analysis.

Nevertheless, occupational skill level adds an interesting dimension to the analysis of acculturation. In their work on economic integration, Piché et al demonstrate that the occupational skills an immigrant possesses on migration have some bearing on his or her entry into the labour market (Piché et al, 1999). They also found that there was some relationship between the immigrant’s region of origin and the socio-economic status of his or her occupation as measured by the Blisshen index (Piché et al, 1999: 203). It has been argued that socio-economic status serves as an empowering agent for immigrants (Richmond, 1994: 51-59). The higher the socio-economic status, the fewer barriers the immigrant will encounter. It is reasonable to conclude from these arguments that the outcome of acculturation for immigrants who are in higher skilled occupations, hence who have a higher socio-economic status, is more likely to be at the *integrated* or *assimilated* portion of the continuum, depending on the ethnic origin. The decision whether the outcome is classified in the *integrated* or the *assimilated* portions of the continuum is based on the degree to which the particular ethnic group exhibits

characteristics that would indicate that its members tend to retain links to their ethnic origins (e.g. the results will show that South Asians tend to retain links whereas the Germans do not). The outcome for those who belong to groups in which there is a stronger tendency towards ethnic retention will be in the *integrated* portion of the continuum whereas it will be in the *assimilated* portion for the others. To complete the picture, the likelihood of an outcome of acculturation in the *separated* portion of the continuum increases for those in lower skilled occupations, or for those who are not in the labour market.

The immigrant's **highest level of education** is the final variable to be considered as part of this economic block. This is defined as the "... the highest grade or year of elementary or secondary school attended, or the highest year of university or other non-university completed" (Statistics Canada, 1999: 106). These data are provided for all respondents who are over the age of 14. In effect, some aspects of the contribution of this characteristic to the analysis have been dealt with in the discussion on occupational skill level. Education is one of the components that is used in the development of the Blishen index (Blishen et al, 1987).

The highest level of education is also related to the ability of the immigrant to function in either English and/or French, with the period of immigration acting as an intervening variable. Language abilities can be categorised as either "basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS)" or as "cognitive/academic language proficiency (CALP)" (Cummins, 1984: 136-138). Immigrants who arrived in Canada at an early stage in their development and who attended school in Canada usually achieve a CALP level of proficiency in one or both of the official languages. Similarly, immigrants who obtained

advanced post-secondary qualifications, regardless of where these were obtained, are more likely to possess a CALP level of proficiency in English and/or French. The outcome of acculturation for individuals with a higher level of education, hence with a CALP level of proficiency in English and/or French, will be in the *integrated* or *assimilated* portions of the continuum. As with occupational skill, the individual's ethnic origin will be the factor that determines which of these two ranges of outcome is more likely. The outcome of acculturation for those with lower levels of education is more likely to be in the *separated* portion of the continuum.

These variables form the basis of the characteristics that are deemed to be potential determinants of acculturation, the independent variables in the models presented in the analytical chapters of this study. The methodology used to derive the outcome of acculturation and the analytical models are described in the following chapter.

3 METHODOLOGY

It may be useful to briefly review the objectives of this study before we proceed with a detailed discussion of the methodology employed. The primary objective of this study is to isolate empirically the determinants of acculturation and to quantify their relative impact on the outcome. A secondary objective is to establish whether or not the determinants are uniform with respect to their importance in influencing the outcome of acculturation for all immigrants regardless of ethnic origin.

This chapter covers three crucial aspects of the study. It begins with a detailed description of the process by which the outcome of acculturation is determined including the variables used in the derivation and the logic that is employed. The next section describes the analytical approach that is central to the chapters dealing with the empirical results. The final section provides an outline/overview of the analytical chapters.

3.1 Deriving an Indicator of Acculturation

It was noted in Chapter 2 that the analytical framework as originally conceived by Berry defined the two dimensions of the model on the basis of qualitative data on the attitudes of respondents with respect to cultural retention and to the importance they place on relations with the host society. It was also indicated in that chapter that the dimensions of the model were transformed for this study to focus on ethnic retention and participation in the host society. Furthermore, the focus of the analytical model for this study is to examine the results of acculturation, as opposed to the strategies of acculturation in Berry's conception. The following paragraphs describe the essential elements of the transformation process.

The rationale for changing the focus of the continuum from *strategy* to *outcome* is founded on two points. First, it isn't entirely clear that immigrants adopt a strategy when

they migrate, other than making the decision to move from their respective places of origin to Canada. It can safely be assumed that most immigrants share the goal of establishing themselves socially and economically in Canada and to become part of Canadian society to the extent that they are able to do so. However, this does not imply that the outcome of the acculturation process will be uniform for all. Second, the census data provide objective measures of the status of the population at a given point in time. These data are not suitable as measures of the intent of the respondent. This suggests that any indicator that is derived from census data can only focus on the result, in this instance the outcome of the process of acculturation.

Two factors support the creation of a nominal scale with a limited number of graduations to represent the outcome of acculturation. First, the census data used to determine the outcome of acculturation are nominal variables that include a limited set of categories. To construct a continuous scale from a series of nominal variables requires an extremely complex and robust methodology that mathematically transforms the combination of the nominal indicators into a continuous variable. This is neither warranted nor necessary for the analysis performed in this study. Second, the nature of the analysis constrains the number of categories that may reasonably be considered. The concept of the outcome of acculturation lends itself to a representation that contains a limited number of categories that provide an indication of the status of an individual with respect to this process. Meaningful comparisons may be made among relatively broad categories of outcome of acculturation, such as *strongly integrated* and *weakly assimilated*. However, little analytical value is added by considering an open-ended continuous scale to represent minute variations in the outcome of acculturation.

Furthermore, as stated earlier, we are not able to measure small differences in outcomes of acculturation with the existing data. Therefore, the continuum is represented as an index of the outcome of acculturation with a limited set of categories (see Figure 3-1).

Figure 3-1 : The Outcome of Acculturation Continuum

INTEGRATED			ASSIMILATED			SEPARATED			M A R G I N A L I Z E D
S T R O N G L Y	M O D E R A T E L Y	W E A K L Y	W E A K L Y	M O D E R A T E L Y	S T R O N G L Y	S T R O N G L Y	M O D E R A T E L Y	W E A K L Y	

Three points must be noted concerning the index described in Figure 3-1. First, no relative value is implied by the various outcomes of acculturation. For instance, an outcome of *strongly integrated* is not deemed better or more desirable than an outcome of *weakly assimilated* or *strongly separated*. Second, the outcome of acculturation may change over time, as conditions and the characteristics of the individuals change. For example, an individual whose outcome of acculturation is classified in the *separated* portion of this framework may change to an outcome in the *integrated* range once he or she acquires language skills in either English or French. Finally, although the outcome of acculturation is defined as an index in this study, it will be referred to as a “continuum” in the analytical chapters of this book since that term more accurately reflects the true nature of the concept.

3.1.1 Proxy Variables

Let us continue by examining the variables that serve to derive the index. The census data do not include direct measures of ethnic retention or participation in the host society. However, the data include characteristics that may be used to estimate these two

dimensions of the model. As will be shown below, characteristics such as religion, the nature of response to the question on ethnic origin, the knowledge and use of languages other than the two official languages and the knowledge of either (or both) English and French serve as effective proxy measures of the retention of ethnic ties and of the individual's participation in the host society.

The horizontal axis of the model described in the previous chapter focuses on the retention of cultural identity and characteristics. The nature of the responses to the question on ethnic origin provides a first indication of ethnic retention. In a recent study on "the assimilation process in white neighbourhoods in New York", Alba, Logan and Crowder use the type of ancestry as a measure of ethnic intensity (Alba et al, 1995: 9). They suggest that when someone reports a single ethnic origin as opposed to multiple origins, it is an indication of a stronger retention by the individual of his or her cultural identity or characteristics. According to the authors, multiple origins are usually an indication of a weaker association with a given ancestry. However, it may be argued that in some instances the reporting of multiple origins provides additional detail about the specific cultural identity and characteristic of the individual. For instance, the multiple origins of Jewish and Polish define a very specific and distinct subset of the population of Polish ancestry. However, these conditions tend to apply only to selected groups. This forms part of the rationale for including religion in the algorithm (described below).

For people born in Canada, especially if they can trace their origins in Canada through many generations, it is possible and perhaps likely that they would declare Canadian as their ethnic origin. For immigrants, a response of Canadian, either singly or as one of a number of declared origins, suggests that they may be prepared to abandon

that include Canadian as one of the responses provides empirical evidence of the pan-Canadian identity referred to by Boyd and her colleagues. Pryor et al (1992) stress the importance of ethnicity in understanding Canadian society, especially given the important role that immigration has played in its evolution and growth. Like Boyd et al, they attribute the trend of respondents to report Canadian as one of their origins to a growing sense of Canadian identity among the members of the diverse ethnic groups that make up Canadian society. It is reasonable to conclude from this that multiple origins that include Canadian are a valid response to a question on ethnic origin and that they are an indicator of identification with the host society.

As suggested earlier, the respondents' declared religions provide an additional indication of the value they place on their cultural characteristics. Certain religions, referred to as ethnic religions, promote the retention of cultural values. The result of acculturation for individuals declaring these religions will potentially shift from assimilation to integration (Kalbach and Richard, 1990). For instance, the Eastern Orthodox, Jews, Hindus, Muslims, Buddhists, Mennonites, Sikhs and Hutterites go to great lengths to educate their members on the values of their religious and cultural heritage⁸. Therefore, it is more likely that someone who declares one of these religions in the census places a stronger value on his or her cultural characteristics. In discussing factors that may be used to show the cultural differences between Canada and the United States, Reitz and Breton (1994: 19-22) include religion as one of the measures that shows either distinctiveness or assimilation. Although their study focuses on comparing ethnicity between Canada and the U.S., the importance they place on religion as an

indicator of assimilation supports its inclusion in the derivation of the outcome of acculturation.

It has also been shown in previous research that a relationship exists between marital patterns and religious denomination (Hurd, 1941; Richard, 1991). In her analysis of the marital patterns of ethnic groups, Richard demonstrated that a definite link exists between exogamy and assimilation (Richard, 1991: 38). The ethnic religions referred to above tend to stress the importance of endogamy (Chalfant et al., 1981). In fact, family and members of these communities generally frown upon marriages outside the religion. The link between exogamy and religious denominations adds further weight to including type of religion as a factor in deriving the outcome of acculturation.

Language is an important component of culture, both as a symbol and as a mechanism for the transmission of values and the promulgation of identity. In his seminal work on ethno-cultural maintenance in Canada, Herberg stresses that "language is part and parcel of group ethnoculture" (Herberg, 1989: 102). Therefore, if the language spoken in the home is in the group classified as the heritage language most closely associated with a person's ethnic origin (i.e. other than one of the two official languages), it may be an indication that he or she is making an active attempt to retain some aspect of his or her cultural heritage. Similarly, if the respondent indicates that he or she knows a heritage language that is associated with his or her particular ancestry, this is also an indicator of cultural retention (albeit weaker than home language).

Just as the knowledge of a non-official language is an important indicator of ethnic retention on the part of an individual, the knowledge of one or both of the two official languages is an indicator of an individual's ability to function and to maintain

relations with the other members of Canadian society. Only one variable in the census is suitable as a measure of the ability an individual possesses to be able to communicate with others. If the respondent declares knowledge of one or both of the two official languages in Canada, this suggests that he or she is able to communicate effectively with the larger community. Hence this variable serves as the only proxy for the vertical axis of Berry's framework (described in Chapter 2).

3.1.2 Deriving the Outcome of Acculturation (OA)

The variables described in the previous section form the basis on which the outcome of acculturation (OA) is derived. The logic divides into four streams based on the nature of the response to the census question on ethnic origin. A graphic representation of the logic is shown in the following diagram.

Figure 3-2 : Logic to derive the outcome of acculturation

Although the labels in Figure 3-2 are largely self-explanatory a few points of clarification are called for. The term “ethnic religion” refers to the designated religion mentioned in the previous section. Also, when listing the multiple ethnic origins, the reference to “Canadian” indicates that this origin either is or is not one of the origins declared by the respondent. The following paragraphs describe in detail the logic that is used to derive the outcome of acculturation (as illustrated in Figure 3-2).

3.1.2.1 *People Who Declare A Single Ethnic Origin Other Than Canadian*

The outcome for a respondent who declares a single ethnic origin other than Canadian (shown in the uppermost horizontal path) and who declares one of the designated (ethnic) religions is either *strongly integrated* or *strongly separated*. If he or she is functional in either English or French, according to the data on knowledge of official language, the outcome is classified as *strongly integrated*. Conversely, if he or she declares that he or she cannot communicate in one of these languages, the outcome of acculturation is classified as *strongly separated* since this demonstrates an inability on the part of the respondent to participate fully in the larger society.

An examination of the language spoken in the home is added to the process of determining the outcome of acculturation for respondents who declare single ethnic origins other than Canadian and who do not declare one of the designated religions. If the language usually spoken in the home is one of the heritage languages associated with their origins the outcome of acculturation is classified as either *strongly integrated* or *strongly separated*. A knowledge of one of the official languages results in an OA of *strongly integrated*. Otherwise the OA is classified as *strongly separated*.

The next step in this hierarchical process is to consider the respondent's knowledge of the heritage language that corresponds with his or her ethnic origin. If the respondent declares a single origin other than Canadian and he or she does not declare one of the designated religions nor speak the corresponding heritage language in the home, this shows a weaker retention of the cultural origins. Nevertheless, the fact that the respondent has a knowledge of his or her heritage language demonstrates some retention. Therefore, the outcome for people who fall in this category is either *weakly*

integrated or weakly separated, depending on the knowledge of English or French (as described previously).

People who declare a single origin other than Canadian but who do not declare one of the designated religions and who have no knowledge of the heritage language associated with their origins are classified as either *weakly assimilated* or *marginalized*, again depending on their knowledge of either English or French. The fact that they declared a single origin other than Canadian demonstrates some retention of their ancestry. However, the fact that they do not know the language associated with that origin limits the exposure they may have to their culture to either translated texts or to oral transmission. In either case this will have the effect of diminishing the opportunities to learn about their heritage and to participate actively in the cultural milieu associated with their ancestry.

3.1.2.2 *People Who Declare A Single Ethnic Origin Of Canadian*

By itself a declaration of a single origin of Canadian (second row from the top in Figure 3-2) should generally indicate strong assimilation on the part of the respondent. However, if the respondent declares one of the designated religions it is likely that he or she is exposed to his or her cultural origins and lives according to the precepts of his or her culture in the household. For example, an individual of South Asian origins (e.g. Indian, Pakistani, Bengladeshi, etc.) who is foreign born but who migrated to Canada at a very young age (pre-school) will have spent his or her formative years in Canadian schools and may respond Canadian to a question on ethnic origin (see Table 3-1). However, the home environment will have an influence on the outcome of acculturation. It is likely that people who exhibit these characteristics will retain an attachment to their ancestral origins. Hence their outcome of acculturation is classified as either *moderately*

integrated or *moderately separated*. It must be noted that it is highly probable that individuals with these characteristics will be able to function in either English or French. Therefore, the outcome of acculturation is unlikely to be *moderately separated*.

The language spoken in the home provides an indication of cultural retention that is less intense than religious affiliation. A simple analysis of the relationship between home language and ethnic origin shows a correlation between speaking a heritage language in the home and a declaration of the corresponding ethnic origin (see Goldmann, 1998b: 126). However, this path in the logic deals with people who declared Canadian as their only ethnic origin. It is assumed that individuals who indicate that they speak a heritage language at home, in spite of the fact that they declared their ethnic origin to be Canadian, most likely have a minimal attachment to their ancestral roots. They most certainly have the potential to increase their knowledge and attachment to their ancestry since they possess the primary means with which this may be accomplished—a knowledge of the associated heritage language. Therefore, people who fall in this category of ethnic origin and who do not declare one of the designated religions are more likely to be either in the assimilated or the marginalized portions of the OA continuum, depending on their ability to participate in the larger society. The language spoken in the home serves to position the outcome of acculturation somewhere along that portion of the continuum. If the respondent speaks a heritage language in the home the OA is either *weakly assimilated* or *marginalized*, depending on the knowledge of English or French. However, if English and/or French are spoken in the home the OA is *strongly assimilated*.

3.1.2.3 *People Who Declare Multiple Ethnic Origins, None Of Which Are Canadian*

As indicated earlier, the declaration of multiple origins either provides greater precision about the ancestral roots of the respondent or it demonstrates a movement away from a root ancestry. In the first instance, the components of the declared origins share either complementary or related characteristics. For example multiple origins such as Jewish and Polish or French and Canadian are complementary whereas origins of British and Welch are related. Although there are a finite number of combinations that fall into this category of multiple response, no special provision is made to deal with these cases in the derivation of the outcome of acculturation since the decision on which combinations are significant is somewhat subjective.

For the second group, such declarations are most common among second and subsequent generations of exogamous unions. In fact, it is probable that the potential number of multiple responses increases with each successive generation. Again, without considering any intervening variables it would be logical to classify the outcome of acculturation for people who declare multiple origins as either *strongly assimilated* or *marginalized*, depending on whether or not they speak English and/or French. However, as with those who declare single Canadian origins, the type of religion and the language spoken in the home must be considered in determining the OA. Respondents in this category of ethnic origin who declare one of the designated religions are classified as *moderately integrated* or *moderately separated*, depending on their knowledge of either English and/or French.

The next level of inquiry examines the language spoken in the home for people who do not declare one of the designated religions and who report multiple non-Canadian origins. If the individual declares that he or she speaks the language most closely

associated with one of the origins it is assumed that some retention of the cultural heritage exists. Therefore, the OA is classified as either *weakly integrated* or *weakly separated*. However, if the heritage language spoken in the home does not correspond to any of the origins declared by the respondent, it is necessary to consider whether or not the individual speaks any ethnic language in the home. This condition may arise in instances when the individual adopts the ethnicity of a spouse or partner. Under these circumstances it is assumed that ethnic retention is very weak, resulting in a classification of *moderately assimilated* or *marginalized*, depending on the knowledge of English and/or French.

The remainder are those who declare multiple non-Canadian origins, who do not declare one of the designated religions and who speak either English and/or French in the home. Clearly there is no basis to suggest that they retained any aspect of their ethnic or cultural origins. Therefore, the OA is classified as *strongly assimilated*.

3.1.2.4 People Who Declare Multiple Ethnic Origins, One Of Which Is Canadian

As in the case of multiple non-Canadian origins, this category of multiple declarations provides greater precision about the ancestry the respondent considers meaningful (the final row in Figure 3-2). However, the similarity ends there. By including Canadian as one of the origins the respondent is making a statement about the salience of the other components of the response. It is acknowledged that the census data do not provide any indication of the relative ranking of the multiple origins declared by a respondent. However, the presence of Canadian among the responses suggests that the individual considers himself or herself to be a “hyphenated Canadian”, which in itself is an indication of the outcome of acculturation. It suggests that the outcome of

acculturation for the respondent tends towards the *assimilated* or *marginalized* portions of the continuum, although this not a necessary result.

Once again, the influence of intervening variables must be considered in deriving the outcome or acculturation. If the individual declares one of the designated religions the OA is classified as *moderately integrated* or *moderately separated*, depending on the knowledge of English and/or French.

The responses to home language are considered in cases where the individual does not declare one of the designated religions. If the home language is a heritage language that is closely associated with one of the non-Canadian ethnic origins the outcome of acculturation is classified as *weakly assimilated* or *marginalized*, depending on the knowledge of English and/or French. As with the previous category of ethnic origin, if the language spoken in the home is not the heritage language associated with one of the origins but it is an ethnic language, the OA is classified as *moderately assimilated* or *marginalized*, depending on the knowledge of either English and/or French. If the home language is English and/or French the OA is classified as *strongly assimilated*.

3.2 The Analytical Approach

The discussion in the previous section of this chapter described the methodology to derive the outcome of acculturation—the dependent variable in the analysis. The focus of the discussion now shifts to the analytical approach that is used in this study. The three central components of the analytical approach are: (1) the subjects of analysis (referred to as the study population), (2) the sources of data on which the analysis is conducted, and (3) the analytical models that are applied. Each of these is described in detail in the following paragraphs.

3.2.1 *The Study Population*

The following seven ethnic groups form the study population: Chinese, Dutch, German, Italian, Polish, South Asian and Ukrainian. The rationale for selecting these seven ethnic groups includes their history with respect to immigration to Canada, the characteristics by which they are defined, the geographic regions from which they originate and their representation in the total population. It is important that the groups selected represent "old" migrants with a long history in Canada, such as the Germans and the Ukrainians, and relatively newer migrants such as the South Asians and the Chinese. The terms old and new are relative in this context. It is a well documented fact that members of the Chinese and South Asian ethnic groups migrated to Canada at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th Centuries (see the chapters dealing with these two groups for examples). However, their numbers were very small. In essence, the main waves of migration for these two ethnic groups began in the late 1970s and early 1980s. With respect to the Chinese, the rate of migration to Canada has accelerated through the 1990s, as will be shown in the data. Therefore, these two groups are considered "new" migrants.

By contrast, German and Ukrainian migration to Canada began in the middle to end of the 19th century. Members of these two groups were among the waves of immigrants who arrived in Canada to settle the Prairies and to establish a Canadian presence in that region of the country. These "older" migrant groups had greater opportunities to establish communities as well as longer acculturation histories in Canada. As will be seen in the empirical chapters of this study, these longer established groups have a substantial proportion of their members who are born in Canada, either as

the first generation (i.e. the direct descendants of immigrants) or as second and subsequent generations.

It is important to note that the characteristics by which the groups are defined (i.e. their boundaries) contribute a great deal to the outcome of acculturation and to the potential for ethnic mobility. For instance, people belonging to a group that is defined largely on phenotypical characteristics, such as the Chinese, are less likely to identify solely with another group. Furthermore, it is unlikely that someone without the phenotypical features will identify with the group. In other words, the socio-cultural boundaries are less permeable and the likelihood of ethnic mobility is reduced (Goldmann, 1998a: 133-139). To project this on the outcome of acculturation, it is highly probable that the groups will be more homogenous and their OA will be in the *integrated* or *separated* portions of the continuum. It will be shown in the analysis that other characteristics, such as language and religion, also play an important role in the outcome of acculturation. Coincidentally, these characteristics are also often used to define the socio-cultural boundaries around particular ethnic groups.

On the surface it appears as though the seven ethnic groups selected for this study migrated from only three regions—Europe, Asia and South Asia. This impression is not entirely accurate. It is true that the five of groups originated in Europe. However, the immigrants belonging to these groups came from different political, social and economic environments, all of which will shape their acculturation experience. The South Asians did not necessarily migrate from the Indian Subcontinent. Many originated in Africa (e.g. South Africa and Kenya) or in the Caribbean (e.g. Trinidad and Tobago and Guyana). It will be shown in the analysis that the outcome of acculturation may be

different for the members of a group that lived in a diaspora as opposed to the region usually associated with the ethnic origin.

Finally, it is important in the analysis that the respective groups be sufficiently large to ensure substantial numbers once they are subdivided by certain key characteristics. The primary data source for this study is the 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File (described in the following section). This file is a 3% sample of the total Census database. If the initial population is too small the probability of cells with few or no cases increases dramatically once we take a sample and once the dependent variable is cross-tabulated with the independent variables. The following table shows the respective population counts in the public use micro data file for each of the seven groups.

Table 3-2 : Population in the 1991 PUMF Individual File for the ethnic groups in the study population, unweighted data

	Immigrant	Non-Immigrant	Total
Chinese	13 375	5 110	18 485
Dutch	4 638	15 720	20 358
German	13 411	73 003	86 414
Italian	12 682	22 359	35 041
Polish	6 024	16 162	22 186
South Asian	11 104	4 375	15 479
Ukrainian	2 359	28 686	31 045

3.2.2 The Data

Much of the empirical analysis presented in this study is based on the 1991 Canadian census of population. The strengths and limitations of these data will not be discussed in this document since they are addressed at length in other publications and research papers (for examples see White et al, 1993). However, the following two points must be noted:

- (1) All of the tables and results of the multivariate models are based on the public use micro data files (PUMF). These files contain a full range of actual response

variables and they are derived from a 3% proportional sample of the full population. Only the unweighted sample populations are included in the models. However, this will not influence the results since the recommended weight is constant for all cases and all variables in the PUMF. Furthermore, the focus in the tabular analyses is on the relative proportions rather than the absolute counts.

- (2) The data represent the respondent's answers to the questions on the census or the answers provided on behalf of the respondent by another member of the household (proxy responses). They are considered to be reasonably accurate reflections of the individual characteristics as reported by the respondent. However, it must be noted that some anomalies may exist due to reporting errors or to misinterpretation on the part of the respondent. Every attempt has been made in this study to exclude such "outliers" from the analysis.

One final point concerning the data must be noted. This study is being published in the year 2000. This begs the question "Why are the models applied to the 1991 Census data as opposed to the more current 1996 Census data?". The answer is quite simple. It was shown in the previous section that the respondent's declared religion plays a pivotal role in the derivation of the outcome of acculturation. However, data on religious affiliation are collected only on the decennial censuses (the censuses conducted on the years ending in '1'). Therefore, it is not possible to derive the outcome of acculturation using the data from the 1996 Census. Nevertheless, it was felt that the analysis would benefit from descriptive profiles of the seven groups using the most current data available at the time of the study. Hence, each of the chapters dealing with the specific ethnic groups includes a section describing their characteristics according to the 1996 data.

3.2.3 *The Regression Models*

The nature and degree to which immigrants adapt to living in a new host environment are affected by the policies of the receiving society as well as their respective socio-cultural, demographic and economic characteristics. Immigrants belonging to specific ethnic groups exhibit behaviours with respect to adaptation that are shaped by their history and beliefs. The outcome of the acculturation process that immigrants undergo provides a unique view of the effects of adaptation. It is possible to construct a model in which the outcome of acculturation is the result of the combined effects of the demographic, socio-cultural and economic characteristics of the immigrant. The characteristics that form the basis of the model include the following variables: sex, marital status, mother tongue, age at immigration, place of birth, number of years the immigrant has been living in Canada, province of residence, income status, occupational skill level and education. (These variables were described in a previous chapter.) This may be characterised mathematically by the following logistic regression equation:

$$OA = C + D_{age@immig} + D_{yrscan} + D_{sex} + D_{marstat} + D_{mtongue} + D_{pob} + D_{prov} + D_{lico} + D_{skill} + D_{educ} + e$$

where C is the constant term

OA is the outcome of acculturation;

D_{sex} , $D_{marstat}$, $D_{mtongue}$, $D_{age@immig}$ and D_{yrscan} are the effects of the demographic characteristics;

D_{pob} and D_{prov} are the effects of the socio-cultural characteristics;

D_{lico} , D_{skill} and D_{educ} are the effects of the economic characteristics; and e is the standard error term.

The range of characteristics that are considered as suitable independent variables for this analysis (as described in Chapter 2), the D terms in the model, were selected from a much longer list derived from other research conducted in this field of investigation (see Alba, 1990; Breton et al, 1990; Isajiw, 1997; Jasso and Rosenzweig, 1990). It was found through a process of forward entry and successive approximation that this restricted set of variables contributed the most to the robustness of the models, as measured⁹ by the Nagelkerke R^2 .

3.3 The Presentation of Results

The seven chapters dealing with the ethnic groups that form the study population are structured identically. Each begins with a brief description of the history of that group's migration to Canada in order to set the context for the analysis. This is followed by a profile of the ethnic group using data from the 1996 Census. The objective of the profiles is to describe the structure and characteristics of the ethnic groups in Canada. Special attention is paid to the immigrant component of each group in the study population. The profiles cover most of the characteristics that are included as independent variables in the models as well as additional information such as the age-sex distributions and the mean employment incomes.

The emphasis in each of these chapters then shifts from the 1996 data to the results of the 1991 Census since the dependent variable, the outcome of acculturation, features heavily in the remainder of the analyses. The first step involves a comparison of the immigrant population with their born-in-Canada homologues for each ethnic group. The primary objectives of this section are to determine whether or not the acculturation experience for the two subsets of the population differs and whether any notable difference exists in the declared mother tongues and the provinces of residence. Care

was exercised to ensure that the characteristics that are compared are not necessarily affected by the age differences that exist between the immigrant and non-immigrant portions of the ethnic group.

Extensive use is made of the index of dissimilarity in this section of each of these chapters. This index provides a measure of the differences between two distributions. It is calculated by summing the absolute differences for each category between the two distributions and then dividing the result by 2. The index indicates what proportion of cases need to be moved from one distribution to the other in order to render them equal (Duncan and Duncan 1955, 494). The higher the index, the more unequal the two distributions.

It is important to note that the shift from 1996 to 1991 data is not necessarily seamless. For instance, none of the ethnic groups in the study population can be considered closed¹⁰. This means that there are in-migrants and out-migrants in the period between 1991 and 1996. The index of dissimilarity is used in order to establish whether or not the migration that occurred between the two census periods seriously affects the composition of the particular ethnic group. Assessing the impact of migration is accomplished by comparing the distributions of key characteristics of the ethnic group in 1991 and 1996 (age, sex, marital status, highest level of education and skill level) to determine whether important differences exist. This comparison is presented at the beginning of the section in which the shift from 1996 to 1991 data occurs.

The next stage of analysis presented in the empirical chapters begins to explore the relationship between the dependent variable, the outcome of acculturation, and the independent variables, the range of demographic, socio-cultural and economic

characteristics, that will eventually be included in the full modelling exercise. The focus is narrowed to immigrants only. A series of bivariate tables showing the distribution of the independent variables cross-tabulated with the outcomes of acculturation that are considered to be important based on the number of cases they represent are presented and discussed at this point in each chapter. Notable trends are highlighted and, where relevant, inferences are made with respect to the potential contribution of the given characteristics in the analysis.

One of the characteristics examined during this portion of the analysis, mother tongue, opens the possibility of introducing a tautological error. As was shown in Section 3.1.2, home language is a key variable in the methodology used to derive the outcome of acculturation. It is crucial to demonstrate that the two variables are sufficiently independent in order to avoid this type of error in the analysis. The test of independence is accomplished by examining the correlation between the two characteristics for the immigrants of the ethnic group presented in that chapter. If the correlation is relatively high and statistically significant, mother tongue is removed from the analysis for that ethnic group. The Pearson's correlation coefficient and the Cramer's V coefficient are two of the more common measures of association between two nominal variables. Both methods provide a measure between 0 and 1, with 1 indicating a complete association and 0 indicating no association (Bishop et al, 1991: 382-387). For certain tables, such as those generated when mother tongue is cross-tabulated with home language, the maximum value of the Pearson's Coefficient approaches 1 but it never reaches it. The Cramer's V coefficient is able to achieve a value of 1 under these circumstances. Therefore, it is a preferable measure to use since the maximum potential

value is constant for all tables of the type being analysed in this study. A coefficient greater than 0,600 indicates that the correlation between the two variables is relatively high (Hoel, 1962: 160-168; Jackson, 1999: 217-218). The assumption is made in this analysis that a tautological error may be introduced under such circumstances. Therefore, mother tongue will be removed as an independent variable in the analysis when the Cramer's V exceeds 0,600.

The penultimate section of each of these empirical chapters presents the results of the multivariate logistic regression models. The outcomes of acculturation that are considered to be meaningful in the analysis were determined in one of the earlier sections of each chapter. This was accomplished by examining the distribution of immigrants by the outcomes of acculturation and selecting only those that included 5% or more of the cases. Each model contrasts two outcomes of acculturation. One model, contrasting *assimilated* to *integrated* is common to all groups in the study population. In addition, in instances where *separated* is an important outcome of acculturation two additional models—*separated* to *integrated* and *separated* to *assimilated*—are also presented.

The multivariate regression results for each model are presented in tabular form, with a common structure for all ethnic groups. The coefficients obtained through the regression procedure provide relative measures of the importance of a particular instance of a given characteristic (independent variable) in determining a given outcome after controlling for all other independent variables in the model. The table in which the results of the models are presented is structured as follows:

- (1) The rows are the independent variables representing the characteristics that have been determined in the previous analytical stages to be important in analysing the outcome

of acculturation. The variable is indicated in the shaded row, followed by the categories for which the coefficients are calculated. The reference category is always at the top of the list in bold and italics type.

- (2) The models representing the pair-wise comparisons between the significant outcomes of acculturation are shown along the columns. The first model always compares the aggregate outcomes of acculturation *assimilated* to *integrated*. In the event that *separated* is also to be included, as described above, two additional models are included in the tables; *separated* to *integrated* and *separated* to *assimilated*. The reference OA for each model is always listed second in the column label. Therefore, *integrated* is the reference OA for the first and second models and *assimilated* is the reference OA for the third model, where it exists.
- (3) Two sets of numbers are shown for each model. The first is the regression coefficient (labelled "Exp(B)") and the second is the significance of either the variable, if it is in the shaded row, or the individual coefficient. The interpretation of the significance, which is calculated on the Wald statistic, varies depending on where it appears in the table. When it appears in a shaded row it indicates the significance of the independent variable in the model. When it appears next to a coefficient it indicates whether or not that particular result is statistically significant. The coefficients represent the likelihood of a particular event for a given set of conditions. A coefficient that is greater than 1 indicates that an event is more likely to occur, given the conditions described by the independent variables. If the coefficient is less than 1 the even is less likely to occur. For example, a coefficient of 1,2075 for the category "female" in the first model, *assimilated* to *integrated*, indicates that the outcome of

acculturation is 1,2075 times more likely to be in the *assimilated* as opposed to *integrated* portion of the OA continuum for an immigrant who is a woman when compared to an immigrant man, all other characteristics in the model being equal. This final qualifier is not necessarily repeated each time the coefficients are referred to. However, it is always implied and it must always be considered since these are multivariate models and each of the characteristics that is statistically significant contributes to some degree to the final result.

- (4) The Nagelkerke R^2 is presented for each model⁹. This statistic indicates the proportion of the variation in the dependent variable that is explained by the combination of independent variables included in the model. The higher the statistic, the more robust the model. It must be noted that this statistic tends to be lower in logistic regression models due to the dichotomous nature of the dependent variable and the complexity of the model. Therefore, models in which the Nagelkerke R^2 values exceed 0,4 are considered very robust (Demaris 1992, 53-54; Hosmer and Lemeshow 1989, 148; Menard 1995, 18-24).

The final section of each chapter summarises the findings for the characteristics that were shown to be significant determinants of acculturation for a particular ethnic group in the modelling exercise. This synthesis forms the basis for the discussion in the chapter that follows these seven empirical presentations since it narrows the focus to a few significant characteristics for each ethnic group.

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 three 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.

Conditions for the Chinese in the western United States became extremely difficult in the late 1850s. 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 Valley¹¹ (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 ratio 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, 1876:377).

The migrants arriving from the United States were joined by immigrants from China 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)¹². 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 residence¹³, 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	%
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 Asians, 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 Provinces¹⁴ 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 on the population of Chinese origin in Canada described earlier 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 group 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. This suggests 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. I will explore the impact of place of birth on the

outcome of acculturation by including it as an independent variable in subsequent multivariate analyses.

Two comparisons are meaningful in an analysis of 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 lags 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 education¹⁵. 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 groups (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 group are still in school. Therefore, the overall pattern is likely to change over time for the individuals in those age groups. 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 groups as the proportion with less than secondary school increases.

4.3 A Comparison Between Immigrants And Those Born-In-Canada (1991 Only)¹⁶

The preceding profile of the Chinese immigrants shows a population group most of whom were adults when they arrived in Canada, most of whom arrived since 1981 (70%) with a substantial proportion arriving in the 5 years leading up to the 1996 Census and virtually all of whom live in an urban setting (99% live in CMAs). It also describes a population that earns less than the national average for immigrants and that has an educational profile that is likely to change as the younger members of the group complete their schooling.

Up to this point in the chapter the descriptions are based on data from the 1996 Census. However, the analysis that follows is based on data from the 1991 Census since the respondent's declared religion is an important component in the derivation of the outcome of acculturation (see endnote 16). It is known that almost 40% of the immigrants of Chinese origin arrived in Canada between 1991 and 1996 (see Table 4-1). Is it reasonable to continue with an analysis that excludes almost 40% of the population? The answer to this question depends on the characteristics of the Chinese immigrants

who arrived after 1991. A comparison of selected key characteristics shows that the immigrants who arrived between 1991 and 1996 are similar to those who arrived between 1981 and 1990 in many respects. The following table summarises the indices of dissimilarity for the characteristics that were examined.

Table 4-3 : Index of dissimilarity for selected key characteristics, Chinese immigrants, 1991 and 1996

Characteristic	Index of Dissimilarity
Sex	0,86
Marital Status	4,75
Highest level of education	3,15
Occupational skill level	14,95

Source: 1991 and 1996 Census Public Use Microdata File, CD-ROM

The indices are relatively small for three of the four characteristics. In the case of occupational skill, most of the difference is due to the increase in the proportion of the Chinese immigrants who are in the “not applicable” category between 1991 and 1996. These are individuals who are below the age of 15. In addition, the mean ages for the two subgroups of the population are 38,6 and 34,8 respectively. On the basis of this comparison, it is likely that excluding the immigrants who arrived between 1991 and 1996 will not seriously affect the results. However, I acknowledge that this is an imperfect solution.

An analysis of the outcomes of acculturation and selected social, demographic and economic characteristics of people of Chinese origin who are born in Canada with their immigrant homologues will provide an indication of the degree to which the acculturation experience differs for immigrants and non-immigrants. The index of dissimilarity is used in this analysis to show how the two distributions differ.

An obvious starting point for this analysis is an examination of the outcome of acculturation, the dependent variable. The following table presents the outcomes of acculturation for the immigrant and non-immigrant population of Chinese origin (see Chapter 3 for a description of the outcome of acculturation continuum). A full range of outcomes is shown for the *integrated* and *assimilated* portions of the continuum. However, the *marginalized* and *separated* outcomes are displayed as aggregate categories, rather than as *weakly ~*, *moderately ~* or *strongly ~*, due to the small number of cases in each cell of the more detailed classification.

Table 4-4 : Outcome of acculturation, Chinese, 1991

Outcome of Acculturation	Non-immigrant		Immigrant	
	count	%	count	%
Strongly integrated	1 314	25,7	7 791	58,3
Moderately integrated	44	0,9	115	0,9
Weakly integrated	1 252	24,5	2 085	15,6
Weakly assimilated	1 033	20,2	561	4,2
Moderately assimilated	13	0,3	60	0,4
Strongly assimilated	1 008	19,7	334	2,5
Separated	440	8,6	2 415	18,1
Marginalized	6	0,1	14	0,1
Total	5 110	100,0	13 375	100,0

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals, CD-ROM

The index of dissimilarity for these two distributions is 42.2, indicating that the outcomes of acculturation for two population sub-groups are substantially different. Upon more detailed examination we see that *strongly integrated*, *weakly integrated*, *weakly assimilated* and *strongly assimilated* are the dominant outcomes of acculturation for the non-immigrant group, with the relative proportions varying from 25.7% to 19.7%. We also see that almost 9% of the non-immigrants are *separated*. The distribution for the immigrants is quite different, with *strongly integrated* as the dominant outcome of acculturation (almost 60%) followed by *weakly integrated* (15.6%) and *separated* (about 18%).

This result leaves no doubt that the acculturation experience for the two population sub-groups differs. What are the factors that may contribute to these differences? It was noted earlier that the mean ages for these two population sub-groups are quite different. We know from the discussion on concepts and definitions in Chapter 2 that school attendance in Canada has a bearing on the outcome of acculturation. Therefore, the fact that the mean age of the non-immigrant subgroup places them squarely in the stage of their life course when they would attend primary and secondary school in Canada would have a tendency to push the outcome of acculturation towards the *assimilated* portion of the continuum. It has also been shown that the Chinese ethnic group in Canada is very well organised and exhibits strong tendencies towards retaining the culture (see Li, 1998). Collective characteristics such as this tend to pull the outcome of acculturation towards the *integrated* portion of the continuum. The distribution shown in the preceding table confirms both trends.

When we consider possible explanations for the people whose outcome of acculturation is classified as *separated*, age takes on two dimensions. First, the data show that among the non-immigrants it is primarily those under 10 years of age (96%) who are *separated* whereas over 60% of the immigrants whose outcome of acculturation is *separated* are 50 years of age and older. Second, among the immigrants it is more likely that the outcome of acculturation will be *separated* for those who arrived when they were older. The elderly Chinese immigrants are usually totally dependent on their families and their community and are limited in their ability to interact effectively with the larger society.

Language was also identified as an important factor in ethnic retention in the discussion in Chapter 2. The reader will recall that the language spoken in the home, the knowledge of the heritage language that corresponds with the ethnic origin and the knowledge of one or both of the official languages in Canada are used in the derivation of the outcome of acculturation (see Chapter 3 – methodology). Therefore, the possibility exists of introducing a tautology in the analysis. However, since the analysis is restricted to univariate distributions of the population by the mother tongue declared by the individual at this stage in the analysis, no tautology exists.

Table 4-5 : Mother tongue by immigrant status, Chinese, 1991¹⁷

Mother tongue	Non-immigrant		Immigrant	
	count	%	count	%
English and/or French	2 331	45,6	1 081	8,1
Chinese	2 686	52,6	11 433	85,5
Other heritage language	93	1,8	861	6,4
Total	5 110	100,0	13 375	100,0

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals, CD-ROM

The distributions in this table are clearly different (index of dissimilarity = 37,5). Three important facts must be considered in the distributions in Table 4-5. First, most of the Chinese immigrants arrived since 1981 and most were born in Eastern or South Eastern Asia. Also, a substantial proportion were 20 years of age and older when they arrived in Canada. This explains why 85% of the immigrants declared Chinese to be their mother tongue. The second fact is that the Chinese community is very well developed and it can be considered institutionally complete. One can find distinct Chinese neighbourhoods in all metropolitan centres in which there is a substantial population of Chinese origins. Community services are available to the residents in their mother tongue. The members of the community are able to obtain all nature of goods and services from merchants, service providers and professionals who are members of their ethnic group. In fact,

major Chinese shopping malls are emerging in suburban neighbourhoods in Toronto and Vancouver, two of the largest Chinese communities in Canada, thereby extending the institutions beyond the urban core (Li, 1998: 146-148). This helps to explain the high proportion who retain Chinese as a mother tongue among the non-immigrants. Third, the proportion of exogamous unions among the Chinese who are born in Canada is very low (9% of Chinese men who are born in Canada are married to non-Chinese partners and 10% of Chinese women who are born in Canada are married to non-Chinese partners). This creates an environment in which language retention is a more likely outcome, which again serves to explain the high proportion of Chinese mother tongue among the non-immigrants. It is clear from this discussion that the differences in the distributions shown in this table can easily be explained. It is also clear that mother tongue may be a factor in determining the outcome of acculturation for the immigrants of Chinese origin, although this point requires an analysis of the correlation between this variable and the language variables used to derive the index. (See the discussion on mother tongue in the following section.)

The settlement patterns, as indicated by the province of residence, for immigrants and non-immigrants are quite similar (index of dissimilarity is 6,3). This finding is consistent with some of the observations made earlier concerning the fact that many of the non-immigrants are the children of immigrants. It may also be evidence of the attractiveness of well established Chinese communities to immigrants of that ethnic origin. The Chinese in Canada have a long history of strong ties to their community which is often reflected in residential patterns that result in the forming of ethnic enclaves that are relatively self-sufficient. In the study referred to in Chapter 2, Balakrishnan and

Hou calculate the Gini coefficients to be between 0,608 and 0,731 for the Chinese communities in the census metropolitan areas across Canada, indicating a very high ethnic concentration at the local level (Balakrishnan and Hou, 1999: 130-131). The enclaves include most of the services required by the community—food provision, culturally specific health care, community centres for cultural activities, to name a few—and are very easily identifiable in most major metropolitan centres in Canada. Therefore, it is not surprising that Chinese immigrants tend to settle in areas where established communities exist. This is not to suggest that Chinese immigrants do not migrate within Canada after settlement. However, the evidence indicates that they migrate to metropolitan areas in which established Chinese communities exist. Given the consistency in the pattern of settlement and the institutional completeness of Chinese communities in Canada, it is not clear at this stage in the analysis whether the province of residence has any impact on the outcome of acculturation.

4.4 The bivariate perspective

The preceding distributional analysis confirms that the acculturation experience is different for immigrants of Chinese origins as opposed to their born-in-Canada homologues. We will now turn to an analysis of the factors that contribute to a given outcome of acculturation for immigrants. Do these factors, based on the socio-demographic and economic characteristics of the immigrant, contribute equally to the outcome of acculturation? Are all outcomes of acculturation important for this population group?

According to the distribution shown in Table 4-4 three outcomes of acculturation appear to be dominant for the immigrants of Chinese origin—*strongly integrated*, *separated* and *weakly integrated*³⁹. Another 8% of the immigrant population fall into the

assimilated portion of the continuum. Therefore, the aggregate category will be considered in the analysis that follows in which I probe more deeply into the characteristics of the subsets of the immigrant population whose outcome is classified in one of the aforementioned categories.

Before discussing the results for the three full models it is helpful for us to examine the relationships between each of the independent variables and the outcome of acculturation, the dependent variable, controlling for immigrant status. Highlights of the patterns observed in the data are presented in the following paragraphs. The tables to which this part of the discussion apply appear in the appendix to this chapter. This portion of the analysis focuses on differences in the respective distributions of the categories of each independent variable when compared to the overall distribution of the dependent variable. The variables are discussed in the same order as they appear in the full model.

When we examine the various categories of age at immigration (Table A4-8) we see that three distinct patterns emerge in the distributions of outcome of acculturation for the immigrants of Chinese origin. Although the proportion is only 14%, the outcome of acculturation tends to be towards the *assimilated* portion of the continuum more frequently for those who immigrated before the age of 15 than for those who immigrated at a later age. This substantiates the suggestion made earlier in this chapter about the importance of context in which the socialisation process occurs on the outcome of acculturation. This point is further reinforced when *weakly integrated* is considered. It can be seen that the likelihood of this outcome is greater if the age at immigration is under 30 years old.

The second sub-group includes all immigrants who arrived between the ages of 15 and 44. We see that the dominant outcome of acculturation is *strongly integrated*, indicating that they retain a strong attachment to their ethnic origin while concurrently participating fully in the host society. Since most of the people in this age group are likely to be active in the labour force, they have a need to interact economically, and possibly socially, with the larger society.

The outcome of acculturation for the final subgroup, those who were 45 years of age and older when they arrived, is predominately *separated* (60%). A number of observations must be made concerning this sub-group. First, they spent most of their lives in a society that is culturally, socially, economically and politically distinct from Canada. Second, it is probable that many of these immigrants came to Canada either with their families or to be reunited with their families. As mentioned earlier, they may be ageing parents or other elderly relatives who are brought to Canada by their children, or their nieces and nephews, etc. Finally, the fact that the Chinese communities are very well organised and well established in Canada makes it possible for these people to obtain the full range of services that they require without coming into contact with the larger Canadian society. In effect, they are able to function entirely in an environment that is similar to that which they left.

The sex of the immigrant does not appear to be as strong an influence on the outcome of acculturation as the age at which they migrated. We see from the results in Table A4-9 in the appendix that males tend to be more *strongly integrated* than females (62% as opposed to 54%). We also see that the balance between males and females as indicated by the male/female ratio in Table A4-9 is not remarkable for most of the other

outcomes—other than *separated*! The beginnings of a profile of the people whose outcome is *separated* is starting to emerge. They are women who arrived in Canada later in life.

As with sex, no obvious patterns emerge from the analysis of marital status, other than among those whose outcome of acculturation is *separated* (see Table A4-10). The immigrants whose outcome is classified as *separated* tend to be widowed, adding another piece to the puzzle. The other characteristics examined in this analysis will complete the profile of this group of immigrants.

One critical factor must be considered in the preceding discussion on the distributions of outcome of acculturation by mother tongue. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the possibility of a tautology exists since home language and knowledge of official languages are used in the derivation of the outcome of acculturation. A moderate correlation between mother tongue and home language exists for immigrants of Chinese origin (Cramer's $V = 0,463$). Since the correlation coefficient is less than 0,600 this result indicates that a tautology is not likely in this particular instance (see Chapter 3).

The importance of language on the outcome of acculturation is shown very clearly in Table A4-11. We see that people who declare their mother tongue to be either English and/or French are generally at the *assimilated* portion of the OA continuum whereas those who reported that their mother tongue was Chinese tend to be either at the *integrated* or *separated* portions of the continuum. Those whose mother tongue is a heritage language other than Chinese straddle the border between *integrated* and *assimilated*. These results are not surprising given the role that language plays as a

means of maintaining ties to an ethnic culture and of transmitting that culture to subsequent generations.

It was already established that most Chinese immigrants were born in China, Hong Kong and other countries in Eastern and South East Asia (see distribution by place of birth)²⁵. The distribution of outcomes of acculturation by place of birth (see Table A4-12) indicates that it is a factor that needs to be considered. The outcome for most of the immigrants who were born in Eastern and South East Asia is either in the *integrated* or *separated* portions of the continuum. As expected, the outcome of acculturation for immigrants born elsewhere in the world (other than East and South East Asia) is more likely to be in the *assimilated* portion of the continuum.

As indicated by the coefficients calculated by Balakrishnan and Hou (1999: 130-131) , the Chinese immigrants tend to settle in cities in which there exist established communities. The distributions of outcomes of acculturation by province of residence (Table A4-13) reflect this fact. Given the overwhelming consistency in the provinces of residence and in the proportions of the Chinese immigrants who live in metropolitan areas, it is likely that this independent variable will have little effect on the outcome of acculturation. Certainly, the distributions in Table A4-13 show no distinguishable pattern when compared to the marginal distributions.

It was noted in Chapter 2 that contemporary research on acculturation hypothesises that the likelihood of *assimilation* or *integration* (as defined in this study) increases over time as the incidence of contact with people from other ethnic groups increases. It was also noted that this hypothesis applied particularly to immigrants from “traditional” sources. As expected, since the Chinese fall into the category of immigrants

from “non-traditional” sources, this hypothesis must be rejected. The results show that the proportions whose outcome is classified in the aforementioned categories ranges from 88,5% for those who have been in Canada 10 years or less to 85% for those who have been in Canada more than 40 years (see Table A4-14). The proportions for the intermediate ranges fluctuate between 75,5% and 84,2%. In fact, it appears unlikely at this stage in the analysis that the number of years that the Chinese immigrants are living in Canada has any impact on the outcome of acculturation.

The economic characteristics (low income status, occupational skill level and education) do not appear to be major determinants of acculturation, with one notable exception—the immigrants whose outcome is *separated*. It was shown earlier in this discussion that those whose outcome of acculturation is *separated* are possibly elderly women who are widows and who arrived at a later stage in their life course. The distributions in Table A4-15, Table A4-16 and Table A4-17 show also that they are less educated, they are either not in the labour force or employed in lower skilled occupations and they are more likely to be living in circumstances that place them below the LICO thresholds.

4.5 The multivariate perspective

We have seen patterns emerge in the distributions of Chinese immigrants and non-immigrants described in the previous sections that cannot easily be explained by examining simple bivariate relationships. For instance, we know that most of the immigrants of Chinese origin were born in East and South East Asia. What impact does this have on the outcome of acculturation once age at immigration and the number of years they have been living in Canada are taken into account? Are these people more likely to be *integrated*? We may also speculate about the impact of mother tongue on the

outcome of acculturation. It is reasonable to assume that people who declare their mother tongue to be Chinese are more likely to be either *integrated* or *separated*. However, does this hold true when we take into account other factors such as education, age at the time of immigration, occupation, marital status, sex and the number of years that they have been living in Canada? The full set of complex relationships and interactions between the independent variables is analysed in this section.

Each of the models presented in Table 4-6 contrasts the outcomes of acculturation that were shown to be important in this analysis. *Strongly integrated* and *weakly integrated* have been grouped for the purpose of this analysis. The outcomes are grouped in pairs to allow comparisons to be made between them. The first focuses on *assimilated* and *integrated*, the second on *separated* and *integrated* and the third on *separated* and *assimilated*. The discussion is organised by model since it is important to take into the account the interaction of all independent variables in the analysis.

Table 4-6 : Multivariate regression models, Chinese immigrants, 1991

Variable	Assimilated to Integrated		Separated to Integrated		Separated to Assimilated		Variable	Assimilated to Integrated		Separated to Integrated		Separated to Assimilated	
	Exp(B)	Std.	Exp(B)	Std.	Exp(B)	Std.		Exp(B)	Std.	Exp(B)	Std.	Exp(B)	Std.
Age in 14 years							0 - 10						
15 to 24 years	0.5131	0.0000	4.2388	0.0000	12.8920	0.0000	11 - 20	1.4482	0.0013	0.8002	0.0020	0.4005	0.0002
25 to 29 years	0.5010	0.0003	8.4003	0.0000	15.8631	0.0000	21 - 30	2.7279	0.0000	0.7444	0.0188	0.1505	0.0000
30 to 44 years	0.5136	0.0003	10.9724	0.0000	35.0395	0.0000	31 - 40	1.6394	0.1176	1.4964	0.0065	0.5811	0.3795
45 years and older	0.4919	0.0050	44.2740	0.0000	82.3988	0.0000	41 plus	0.5176	0.2638	0.9438	0.8510	4.7709	0.4548
Male							Total income > LICO						
Female	1.2053	0.0519	1.3249	0.0000	0.9367	0.7624	Total income < LICO	0.6342	0.0005	1.3227	0.0000	1.5965	0.0598
Marital status							Not applicable						
Single	0.4940	0.0000	2.0040	0.0000	2.0040	0.0000	Occupational skill level	0.7944	0.1501	3.4005	0.0000	3.2352	0.0104
Married	1.0626	0.6545	1.4441	0.0005	1.6189	0.1367	Skill level 4	0.7259	0.0396	3.2224	0.0000	3.8139	0.0022
Divorced/Separated	1.4926	0.1328	1.3830	0.0907	1.2499	0.6844	Skill level 3	0.5680	0.0062	4.5650	0.0000	6.0567	0.0004
Widowed	0.8634	0.7104	3.3816	0.0000	2.0485	0.2072	Skill level 2	0.9258	0.6573	4.4533	0.0000	5.5548	0.0001
Chinese language							Not applicable						
Chinese	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	Elementary/secondary						
English and/or French	89.2778	0.0000	0.2884	0.0000	0.0035	0.0000	Post-secondary, non-univ.	1.1857	0.2187	0.1563	0.0000	0.1521	0.0000
Other heritage language	29.5734	0.0000	0.5321	0.0000	0.0212	0.0000	University, undergraduate	1.3261	0.0262	0.1137	0.0000	0.0641	0.0000
Place of birth							University, graduate						
China, Hong Kong + E & SE Asia	2.7594	0.0000	0.8596	0.0776	0.2753	0.0000	Not available	0.9638	0.8394	3.1350	0.0000	2.6313	0.0472
Elsewhere	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	Constant						
Province of residence							Neither - R²						
Quebec	0.6347	0.0108	1.2518	0.0516	2.6185	0.0182		0.0115	0.0000	0.0069	0.0000	0.6097	0.3892
Manitoba	0.4387	0.0249	1.3003	0.1995	7.1843	0.0059		0.000	0.000	0.482	0.000	0.892	0.000
Saskatchewan	0.2124	0.0069	1.2985	0.3039	3.2769	0.2358							
Alberta	0.7689	0.0852	1.1063	0.2760	2.7778	0.0039							
British Columbia	0.8679	0.2217	1.2899	0.0002	1.4804	0.1080							

Two points need to be made before proceeding with a discussion on the three models. First, the R^2 statistics for each model is relatively high indicating that the combination of independent variables explains a significant proportion of the variation in the dependent variable. Second, all of the independent variables, hence all of the characteristics, are significant in at least one of three models. However, it does not necessarily follow that all characteristics will be significant determinants of acculturation once all three models are analysed. This aspect of the analysis will be dealt with in the following section.

The first model, which contrasts *assimilated* and *integrated*, shows that marital status and education are not significant determinants of acculturation for Chinese immigrants. We see that immigrants 15 years of age and older are less likely to be *assimilated* than their younger counterparts. We also see that women are about 20%

more likely than men to be *assimilated* as opposed to *integrated*. The individual's declared mother tongue is shown to be an important characteristics to consider. Those who declare a language other than Chinese are substantially more likely to be *assimilated* as opposed to *integrated* (coefficients of 89 and 29). Similarly, where the immigrant was born has some bearing on the outcome of acculturation. Those who were born outside of East or South East Asia are almost 3 times as likely to be *assimilated* as opposed to *integrated*.

Although the province of residence is not significant for all categories, it is still possible to see that the likelihood of an outcome of *assimilated* is lower when the immigrant lives outside of Ontario. There also appears to be some effect based on the size of the Chinese population living in a province. The coefficients are closer to 1 in the provinces with a larger Chinese immigrant population. Almost 35% of the Chinese immigrant population lives in British Columbia (coefficient = 0,8679). About 10% live in Alberta (coefficient = 0,7689) and 6% live in Québec (coefficient = 0, 6347). This fact is certain to be important in the final analysis.

Contrary to what was seen in the bivariate distributions in the previous section, the results of the first model show that the number of years an immigrant of Chinese origin has been living in Canada has an impact on the outcome of acculturation, all other things being equal. In fact, the results in Table 4-6 indicate that the hypothesis concerning the relationship between length of residence and acculturation that was rejected earlier should, in effect, not be rejected—albeit with one important caveat. The results of the analysis are not significant for those who have been living in Canada more than 30 years. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that less than 5% of the Chinese

immigrant population has been living in Canada more than 30 years, resulting in many cells with fewer than 25 cases.

Finally, the economic block of characteristics, low income status and occupational skill level, shows that immigrants who live in a context in which the total family income is below the LICO are less likely to be *assimilated* as opposed to *integrated* and the likelihood of an outcome of *assimilated* declines as the skill level declines. This result confirms that immigrants who are relatively well placed in the labour market (higher skilled occupations and greater income) are more likely to adopt aspects of the host culture, partly due to greater opportunities and exposure.

Only one characteristic is not significant in the **second model** (*separated* compared to *integrated*)—the individual's place of birth. As predicted in the previous section, an outcome of *separated* as opposed to *integrated* is more likely for immigrants who arrive later in life, who are women, who are either married or widowed, who live in a family with an income below the LICO, who are poorly skilled or unskilled and who have very little education. The results also indicate that individuals whose outcome is *separated* as opposed to *integrated* are less likely to have a mother tongue other than Chinese and are more likely to live in a province other than Ontario.

In addition to the portrayal of individuals who are *separated* as elderly widows who arrived later in life and who are somewhat isolated from the general society (over 90% of the Chinese immigrants whose outcome is in this category are women and 100% of them do not have a working knowledge of either English or French), the profile that we obtain from the second model highlights the importance of language skills and province of residence in determining the outcome of acculturation. The outcome for

immigrants who declare a mother tongue of English, French or a heritage language other than Chinese¹⁷ is much less likely to be *separated*. The province of residence provides a limited indication of the impact of the nature of the community on the outcome of acculturation for Chinese immigrants. The coefficients are statistically significant only for Québec and British Columbia and they indicate that immigrants living in these two provinces are only 25% to 29% more likely to be *separated* as opposed to *integrated*. According to Balakrishnan and Hou, the Chinese communities in Canada tend to be more highly concentrated in CMAs in which the population base is smaller, such as Montreal and St. Catharines/Niagara (Balakrishnan and Hou, 1999).

Sex, marital status and income status are not significant in the **third model**, the comparison between *separated* and *assimilated*. This model completes the triangulation of comparisons of the outcomes of acculturation. As in the previous model, we see that the likelihood of an outcome of *separate* as opposed to *assimilated* increases as the age at which the immigrant arrived in Canada increases. We also see the effects of coming from a diaspora in the coefficients for mother tongue (a mother tongue of either English, French or a heritage language other than Chinese¹⁷ reduces the likelihood of an outcome of *separated*) and place of birth (the likelihood of an outcome of *separated* is reduced for immigrants born outside East and South East Asia). Immigrants who have been in Canada longer are less likely to be *separated* as opposed to *assimilated*. The likelihood of an outcome of *separated* as opposed to *assimilated* increases for immigrants living outside Ontario as well as for immigrants who hold lower skilled occupations. Finally, Chinese immigrants who are better educated are less likely to be *separated*.

4.6 What do the results tell us about the acculturation of Chinese immigrants?

Four outcomes of acculturation dominate for immigrants of Chinese origin; *strongly integrated*, *separated*, *weakly integrated* and *assimilated*, in that order. In fact, the outcomes for over 90% of all Chinese immigrants fall into one of these categories. The reader will recall that outcomes in the *integrated* and *separated* portions of the continuum indicate a strong retention on the part of the individual of his or her ethnic and cultural origins. Therefore, it is clear that the overwhelming majority of Chinese immigrants maintain ties to their origins. Furthermore, the results show that about 75% of the immigrants are at the *integrated* portion of continuum, indicating that they also place importance on being part of the larger society.

Looking specifically at the characteristics of the Chinese immigrants we obtain an interesting profile of the people whose acculturation experience results in particular outcomes of acculturation. For instance, the coefficients in Table 4-6 show that the people whose outcome is *separated* are more likely to be women who are widowed and who arrived in Canada later in life with little education. We also see that they are more likely to be poorly skilled or not in the labour force (occupational skill level = not applicable) and to live in relative poverty (as indicated by the coefficient for LICO). The immigrants whose outcome falls in the *integrated* portion of the continuum are more likely to be born in East and South East Asia, to speak Chinese, to live in Ontario and to be working in higher skilled occupations. Finally, we see that those whose outcome is at the *assimilated* end of the continuum declared either English or French as their mother tongue, they were probably born outside of East and South East Asia, they work in higher skilled occupations and they are more likely to live in Ontario.

The following table summaries the impact of each characteristic on the outcome of acculturation.

Table 4-7 : Summary of determinants of acculturation for Chinese immigrants

Characteristic	Model - Is it a determinant of acculturation			Comment
	<i>Assimilated vs Integrated</i>	<i>Separated vs Integrated</i>	<i>Separated vs Assimilated</i>	
Age at immigration	Yes	Yes	Yes	Elderly tend to be <i>separated</i> . Others tend to be <i>integrated or assimilated</i> .
Sex	Yes	Yes	No	Women are more likely to be either <i>separated</i> or <i>assimilated</i> .
Marital status	No	Partial	No	The <i>separated</i> are predominately women.
Mother tongue	Yes	Yes	Yes	<i>Integrated</i> and <i>separated</i> tend to speak Chinese. <i>Assimilated</i> tend to speak English or French
Place of birth	Yes	No	Yes	The immigrants who are born in a diaspora are more likely to be <i>assimilated</i> .
Province of residence	Partial	Partial	Partial	Those living outside Ontario are more likely to be either <i>integrated or separated</i> .
Length of time in Canada	Partial	Partial	Partial	
Low income status	Partial	Partial	No	Those who are below LICO are less likely to be <i>assimilated</i> and more likely to be <i>separated</i> .
Occupational skill level	Partial	Yes	Yes	Those with post-secondary education are less likely to be <i>separated</i> .
Highest level of education	No	Yes	Yes	

Appendix A—detailed tables

Table A4-8 : Outcome of acculturation by age at immigration, Chinese immigrants, 1991

	0 to 14 years		15 to 24 years		25 to 29 years		30 to 44 years		45 years & older		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	56,5	1 736	67,5	2 237	63,8	1 162	65,1	1 948	32,5	708	58,3	7 791
Weakly integrated	23,7	727	17,3	572	18,6	338	11,8	354	4,3	94	15,6	2 085
Assimilated	13,8	424	6,9	229	5,7	103	4,7	142	2,6	57	7,1	955
Separated	4,7	144	7,3	241	11,3	206	17,3	519	59,9	1 305	18,1	2 415
Other	1,3	40	1,0	34	0,6	11	1,0	30	0,6	14	1,0	129
Total	100,0	3 071	100,0	3 313	100,0	1 820	100,0	2 993	100,0	2 178	100,0	13 375

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A4-9 : Outcome of acculturation by sex, Chinese immigrants, 1991

	Female		Male		Total		Male/Female Ratio
	%	n	%	n	%	n	
Strongly integrated	54,4	3 711	62,3	4 080	58,3	7 791	1,10
Weakly integrated	15,0	1 022	16,2	1 063	15,6	2 085	1,04
Assimilated	7,2	489	7,1	466	7,1	955	0,95
Separated	22,4	1 532	13,5	883	18,1	2 415	0,58
Other	1,1	73	0,9	56	1,0	129	0,77
Total	100,0	6 827	100,0	6 548	100,0	13 375	0,96

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A4-10 : Outcome of acculturation by marital status, Chinese immigrants, 1991

	Single		Married		Divorced /		Widowed		TOTAL	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	63,6	2 802	59,2	4 694	46,8	189	16,5	106	58,3	7 791
Weakly integrated	17,9	787	14,6	1 160	23,0	93	7,0	45	15,6	2 085
Assimilated	10,6	467	5,4	430	10,6	43	2,3	15	7,1	955
Separated	6,6	290	19,9	1 578	18,1	73	73,7	474	18,1	2 415
Other	1,3	57	0,8	63	1,5	6	0,5	3	1,0	129
Total	100,0	4 403	100,0	7 925	100,0	404	100,0	643	100,0	13 375

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A4-11 : Outcome of acculturation by mother tongue, Chinese immigrants, 1991

	English and/or French		Chinese		Other heritage language		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	16,8	182	64,1	7 333	32,1	276	58,3	7 791
Weakly integrated	21,1	228	14,4	1 643	24,9	214	15,6	2 085
Assimilated	58,5	632	0,9	99	26,0	224	7,1	955
Separated	2,3	25	20,2	2 308	9,5	82	18,1	2 415
Other	1,3	14	0,4	50	7,5	65	1,0	129
Total	100,0	1 081	100,0	11 433	100,0	861	100,0	13 375

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A4-12 : Outcome of acculturation by place of birth, Chinese immigrants, 1991

	China, Hong Kong, Eastern and SE Asia		Elsewhere		TOTAL	
	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	61,8	6 549	44,7	1 242	58,3	7 791
Weakly integrated	14,9	1 576	18,3	509	15,6	2 085
Assimilated	2,9	302	23,5	653	7,1	955
Separated	19,9	2 110	11,0	305	18,1	2 415
Other	0,6	59	2,5	70	1,0	129
Total	100,0	10 596	100,0	2 779	100,0	13 375

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A4-13 : Outcome of acculturation by province of residence, Chinese immigrants, 1991

	Québec		Ontario		Prairie Provinces		British Columbia		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	56,9	506	60,0	3 847	55,1	1 125	57,4	2 313	58,3	7 791
Weakly integrated	12,1	108	14,5	929	18,2	371	16,8	677	15,6	2 085
Assimilated	7,4	66	8,9	568	5,6	115	5,1	206	7,1	955
Separated	19,9	177	15,9	1 017	19,7	402	20,3	819	18,1	2 415
Other	3,7	33	0,8	50	1,4	29	0,4	17	1,0	129
Total	100,0	890	100,0	6 411	100,0	2 042	100,0	4 032	100,0	13 375

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A4-14 : Outcome of acculturation by years living in Canada, Chinese immigrants, 1991

	0 - 10		11 - 20		21 - 30		31 - 40		41 plus		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	63,8	4 640	53,4	2 284	45,8	349	51,2	253	51,6	65	58,3	7 791
Weakly integrated	10,2	745	20,6	881	27,3	327	19,2	95	29,4	37	15,6	2 085
Assimilated	4,5	327	10,2	436	13,5	162	5,1	25	4,0	5	7,1	955
Separated	20,6	1 498	14,6	623	13,1	157	24,3	120	13,5	17	18,1	2 415
Other	0,9	66	1,3	55	0,4	5	0,2	1	1,6	2	1,0	129
Total	100,0	7 276	100,0	4 279	100,0	1 200	100,0	494	100,0	126	100,0	13 375

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A4-15 : Outcome of acculturation by low income status, Chinese immigrants, 1991

	Total income above LICO		Total income below LICO		Not applicable		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	58,3	5 902	58,5	1 875	35,0	14	58,3	7 791
Weakly integrated	17,0	1 723	10,8	346	40,0	16	15,6	2 085
Assimilated	8,1	816	4,2	135	10,0	4	7,1	955
Separated	15,9	1 610	24,9	799	15,0	6	18,1	2 415
Other	0,8	81	1,5	48	0,0		1,0	129
Total	100,0	10 132	100,0	3 203	100,0	40	100,0	13 375

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A4-16 : Outcome of acculturation by occupational skill level, Chinese immigrants, 1991

	Skill level 4		Skill level 3		Skill level 2		Skill level 1		Not applicable		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	63,8	1 556	61,9	1 417	61,7	1 825	55,7	696	51,7	2 297	58,3	7 791
Weakly integrated	24,2	390	17,3	396	16,6	492	13,4	167	9,9	440	15,6	2 085
Assimilated	8,8	215	8,0	184	7,4	219	5,4	67	6,1	270	7,1	955
Separated	2,7	67	12,1	277	13,3	394	23,2	290	31,2	1 387	18,1	2 415
Other	0,4	10	0,7	15	1,0	29	2,4	30	1,0	45	1,0	129
Total	100,0	2 438	100,0	2 289	100,0	2 959	100,0	1 250	100,0	4 439	100,0	13 375

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A4-17 : Outcome of acculturation by highest level of education, Chinese immigrants, 1991

	Elementary & Secondary		Post-secondary, non-university		University, undergraduate		University, graduate		Not applicable / not available		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	51,1	3 251	68,1	1 430	62,8	1 945	63,0	408	65,0	757	58,3	7 791
Weakly integrated	10,0	638	16,6	348	24,1	748	28,5	185	14,3	166	15,6	2 085
Assimilated	4,7	300	9,2	194	9,8	305	7,1	46	9,5	110	7,1	955
Separated	33,0	2 100	4,9	103	2,9	90	0,8	5	10,1	117	18,1	2 415
Other	1,2	74	1,2	26	0,4	11	0,6	4	1,2	14	1,0	129
Total	100,0	6 363	100,0	2 101	100,0	3 099	100,0	648	100,0	1 164	100,0	13 375

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

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. 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. Public 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 realized 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 ethnic group accounts 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	%
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 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 or both 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 incomes¹⁸ 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 group—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 groups. 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.)

5.3 Comparison between immigrants and born-in-Canada (1991 only)¹⁶

Before we approach the analysis of the Dutch population in Canada based on the 1991 Census data we must establish whether the influx of Dutch immigrants in the period between 1991 and 1996 has the potential to render the profile drawn in the previous section unusable for purposes of discussion in this and subsequent sections. Since less than 5% of the Dutch immigrant population living in Canada at the time of the 1996 Census arrived between 1991 and 1996, I assume that the collective characteristics of the Dutch population are not seriously altered by the new arrivals. Therefore, the profile described in Section 5.2 applies equally to the 1991 population.

The similarity or difference between immigrants and non-immigrants of Dutch origin with respect to acculturation needs to be addressed before we proceed with a more complex analysis of the outcomes. Are the outcomes of acculturation similar for immigrants and non-immigrants of Dutch origin? Similarity in this instance refers to the distribution of outcomes of acculturation over the population sub-group. If there are no differences then should the subsequent analysis be limited to the immigrant population? Alternatively, is it reasonable to attribute the conclusions that are reached when we analyse the immigrants to their born-in-Canada homologues? If it is shown that the respective outcomes of acculturation for immigrants and non-immigrants are not similar, what other characteristics are meaningful markers of the differences between these two population subgroups?

A word of explanation is called for before we proceed with the analysis. The classification of people of Dutch ethnic origin in the Canadian census has been the source of error and controversy. Norman Ryder (1954 and 1956) described in detail how many people of German and Austrian origins reported themselves as either Dutch or Swiss in

the 1941 and 1951 Censuses. He also reported that some of the Mennonites who migrated to Canada from the United States were misclassified as being of Dutch rather than German origins (presumably the result of some confusion in translating from Pennsylvania Deutsche to Pennsylvania Dutch). Apparently this misclassification has survived over time. It is beyond the scope of this study to explore why this occurred. However, it certainly indicates that we must exercise caution when analysing these data. Consequently, all people of Dutch origin who declared German as their mother tongue or who declared one of their ethnic origins to be German have been excluded from the population under study in order to compensate for this anomaly in the data. This represents about 22% of the total population of Dutch ethnic origin and 5% of the immigrant population of Dutch ethnic origin on the 1991 Census public use micro data file.

The outcomes of acculturation for the immigrant and non-immigrant population of Dutch origin (Table 5-3) show that substantial differences exist between the two groups³⁹. The reader is reminded that the outcomes *separated* and *marginalized* have been collapsed since the number of cases for the more detailed classification is too small.

Table 5-3 : Outcome of acculturation, Dutch, 1991

Outcome of Acculturation	Non-immigrant		Immigrant	
	count	%	count	%
Strongly integrated	400	2,5	503	10,8
Moderately integrated	148	0,9	30	0,6
Weakly integrated	1 068	6,8	3 182	68,6
Weakly assimilated	4 576	29,1	451	9,7
Moderately assimilated	4	0,0	11	0,2
Strongly assimilated	9 514	60,5	446	9,6
Separated	9	0,1	14	0,3
Marginalized	1	0,0	1	0,0
Total	15 720	100,0	4 638	100,0

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals, CD-ROM

The index of dissimilarity for these two distributions is 70,6 which indicates that the outcomes of acculturation for the two population sub-groups are substantially different. Upon closer examination we see that about 90% of the non-immigrants are in the *assimilated* portion of the continuum, with 60% classified as *strongly assimilated* and another 29% classified as *weakly assimilated*. The distribution for the immigrants shows that over three quarters of them are in the *integrated* portion of the continuum, with 69% classified as *weakly integrated* and another 11% classified as *strongly integrated*. It is noteworthy that the outcome of acculturation for almost 10% of the immigrants is *strongly assimilated*. This is a reflection of the fact that the Dutch are acculturating into a society that still bears the strong influence of its Northern and Western European roots and that most of the Dutch immigrants have some knowledge of either English or French (see the previous section of this chapter).

As with the Chinese population, this result leaves no doubt that the acculturation experience for the two population sub-groups differs. What are the factors that may contribute to these differences? The substantial difference in the respective mean ages of the non-immigrants and immigrants (24,9 and 51,7 years respectively in 1991) limits the comparisons that may be made without controlling for age. However, the age differences described above do not have a dramatic impact on characteristics such as mother tongue, the proportion of exogamous unions and the province of residence.

One of the most visible acts that opens the door for different outcomes of acculturation is whether or not the individual has chosen someone of the same ethnic origin as his or her life partner. In all husband-wife couples in which at least one of the partners was of Dutch origins and born in Canada, the husband was Dutch and the wife

declared another origin in 39,4% of the cases. In 40,1% of the cases the wife was Dutch and the husband declared non-Dutch origins. The remainder were endogamous unions. The comparable figures for the Dutch immigrants are 36,2% for men and 26,8% for women. Although no indicator of exogamy is included in the full model these results suggest that marital status may be a factor that needs to be considered in subsequent analyses.

The distribution of non-immigrants and immigrants of Dutch origin by the declared mother tongue (Table 5-4) displays a pattern that suggests a relationship between this characteristic and the outcome of acculturation. First, as with the outcome of acculturation, the index of dissimilarity for the respective distributions by mother tongue between the two population subgroups is quite high (76,4). Second, we see that 95% of the non-immigrants compared to less than 20% of the immigrants declared their mother tongue to be English and/or French. The differences in the two distributions reflects the impact that primary schooling in Canada had on the language profile of the non-immigrants. Third, we see that about 75% of the immigrants declared their mother tongue to be a Netherlandic language. The possibility of a tautology does not exist at this point in the analysis since only univariate distributions are being examined. However, this issue will be addressed in depth in the next section of the chapter since language variables are used to derive the outcome of acculturation.

Table 5-4 : Mother tongue by immigrant status, Dutch, 1991

Mother Tongue	Non-immigrant		Immigrant	
	<i>count</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>count</i>	<i>%</i>
English and/or French	15 008	95,5	884	19,1
Netherlandic language	672	4,3	3 645	78,6
Other heritage language	40	0,3	109	2,4
Total	15 720	100,0	4 638	100,0

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals, CD-ROM

There does not appear to a substantial difference in where non-immigrants and immigrants of Dutch origins are living as measured by the province of residence (index of dissimilarity is 8,3). The historical background of Dutch migration to Canada described in the introduction to this chapter suggests that availability of arable land and sources of employment were the primary factors that influenced where Dutch immigrants settled. There are no strong indications in the distribution by province of residence to suggest alternative hypotheses.

5.4 The bivariate perspective

In the preceding section it was shown that the acculturation experience differs for non-immigrants and immigrants of Dutch origin. The focus of the analysis now shifts to establishing which of the characteristics included in the model are determinants of acculturation for Dutch immigrants.

The profile of the Dutch immigrants (based on the 1996 Census) that we have to this point in the analysis is that of an older population (mean age is 53,7 years compared to 35,4 years for the total Canadian population), more than half of whom arrived in Canada after the age of 20. About three quarters arrived in Canada before 1970 and a substantial proportion (42,2%) live outside of metropolitan areas. We also know that virtually all of the Dutch immigrants (99%) declared some knowledge of either English and/or French and that over three quarters were born in the Netherlands. The data also show that the Dutch immigrants tend to fare reasonably well economically with a median employment income (\$25 076) that is more than \$6 000 higher than the non-immigrants of Dutch origin (\$19 028) and about \$3 000 higher than all other immigrants in Canada (\$21 956). Finally, their educational profile shows a population group in which the younger people have higher qualifications than their older peers. This profile may be

applied to the immigrant population of Dutch origin living in Canada at the time of the 1991 Census since there was very little immigration between 1991 and 1996.

Given this profile, what are the expected outcomes of acculturation? We know from some of the theories dealing with acculturation presented earlier that language proficiency and place of birth play an important role in determining the outcome of acculturation. The profile outlined in the preceding paragraph describes a population group for whom *assimilated* is a likely outcome. It also describes a group for whom an outcome of *separated* is most unlikely. We see from the distribution shown in Table 5-3 that four outcomes of acculturation appear to be dominant for the immigrants of Dutch origin—*strongly integrated*, *weakly integrated*, *weakly assimilated* and *strongly assimilated*. Therefore, the analysis that follows focuses on the *integrated* and *assimilated* portions of the continuum. It probes more deeply into the characteristics of the subsets of the immigrant population whose outcome is classified in one of the aforementioned categories.

Three distinct patterns emerge when we examine the distributions of age at immigration by outcome of acculturation (see Table A5-7). First, the proportion of the immigrant population of Dutch origin that is *strongly integrated* increases with the age at which they migrated, with this outcome being more likely for those who were 30 years of age and older. This is an expected result since the immigrants who arrived later in their life course are more likely to retain links to their ethnic (ancestral) origins. The second pattern follows naturally from the first. The proportion of immigrants who are at the *assimilated* portion of the continuum is higher than the marginal proportions for those who were below 15 years of age when they arrived in Canada. As stated in earlier

chapters, these people have the greatest opportunities to be exposed to the socialisation process through school attendance and eventual participation in the labour force. The final pattern concerns the “transition point” *weakly integrated* and *weakly assimilated*. The people whose outcome of acculturation is classified in this portion of the continuum maintain ties to their ethnic culture and develop ties to the culture of the host society. The results show that the immigrants who arrived between the ages of 15 and 29 are most likely to be at this portion of the continuum. They are old enough to have established strong ties to their ethnic roots through the primary socialisation process and they are young enough to adopt some aspects of the culture of the dominant society. It may be concluded from these results that age at immigration is a factor in determining the acculturation of Dutch immigrants.

The outcome of acculturation does not appear to be affected dramatically by the sex of the individuals for those who are in the *integrated* portion of the continuum (see Table A5-8). However, the sex of the immigrant appears to be a factor for those in the *assimilated* portion of the continuum. Men appear to be more likely than women to be *weakly assimilated* and women appear to be more likely than men to be *strongly assimilated*. A result such as this would suggest that women have a greater tendency to intermarry than do men. In fact, the exact opposite is true. Only 27% of Dutch immigrant women are married to partners of origins other than Dutch. The corresponding proportion for Dutch men is 36%. Clearly other factors need to be considered along with the sex of the individual.

The distribution of outcome of acculturation by marital status (Table A5-9) provides some hints of a more complex interplay of characteristics such as age and sex.

The data show that the immigrants who are widowed are more likely to be at the *strongly integrated* portion of the continuum. The results in this table also show that the single are more likely to be at the *assimilation* portion of the continuum when compared to their marginal distribution for the total immigrant population. Again, this is partially a reflection of their age—they are at the younger end of the age spectrum. Finally, we see an interesting pattern for the immigrants who are either married or divorced/separated. Those who are married are more likely to be in the *integrated* portion of the continuum whereas the immigrants who are either divorced or separated display exactly the opposite pattern. These results suggest that marital status has some bearing on the outcome of acculturation, especially as part of a more complex model in which interactions between other characteristics are considered.

The importance of language on the outcome of acculturation is shown very clearly in Table A5-10. However, it is necessary to establish whether or not a tautology exists before proceeding with the analysis since language variables are used to derive the outcome of acculturation. Although the correlations between mother tongue and home language are statistically significant at the 0.000 level, the Cramer's V correlation coefficient (0,265) indicates that the relationship is weak for immigrants. Therefore, the analysis will be pursued as though no tautology exists. (See Chapter 2 for a discussion on this statistic.)

We see that people who declare their mother tongue to be either English and/or French are overwhelmingly at the *assimilated* portion of the OA continuum whereas those who reported that their mother tongue was a Netherlandic language tend to be at the *integrated* portion of the continuum. Very few of the Dutch immigrants declared a

mother tongue other than either one of the official languages or a Netherlandic language (2%). Therefore, they do not factor into the analysis since their impact on the total result is negligible. The effect of language is consistent with the ideas proffered in the conceptual discussion in Chapter 2. The outcome of acculturation for individuals whose mother tongue is either English and/or French is more likely to be in the *assimilated* portion of the OA continuum. Correspondingly, the outcome for those whose mother tongue is the heritage language associated with the ethnic origin of the individual is more likely to be in the *integrated* portion of the continuum.

The proportions in Table A5-11 show that distribution of the outcomes of acculturation varies substantially by place of birth²⁵. The immigrants who were born in the Netherlands are more likely to be at the *integrated* portion of the continuum whereas those who were born elsewhere are more likely to be *assimilated*. It must be noted that of the 15% of the immigrants of Dutch ethnic origin who were born outside of the Netherlands, one third were born in the United States, 15% were born in Africa, 13% were born in East and South East Asia, 12% were born in the United Kingdom and another 12% were born in Central America, South America, the Caribbean or Bermuda. The range of places of birth indicates that these immigrants were exposed to diverse cultures at various formative points in their lives. Therefore, it is not surprising that they are more likely to be at the *assimilated* portion of the continuum. In fact, as we see from the proportions in the table, they appear to be concentrated at the outcome *strongly assimilated*. Clearly, place of birth must be considered in the full model.

Two points must be considered by the reader when examining the distributions of outcome of acculturation by province of residence (Table A5-12). First, the immigration

history of the Dutch in Canada points to an ethnic group that had a tendency to settle either in rural areas or in small urban centres (many of which were not census metropolitan areas). This point is confirmed by the distributions in Table 5-2. For instance, almost half of the Dutch immigrants live in parts of Ontario that are not classified as CMAs. The Dutch residents of Québec are the exception. Second, Balakrishnan and Hou have shown that the concentration of people of Dutch ethnic origin in most CMAs in Canada is relatively low, with the exception of Montréal (1999: 130-131). The distributions in Table A5-12 show that the likelihood of an outcome of acculturation of *strongly assimilated* increases substantially in Québec when compared to the other provinces. They also show that the outcomes of acculturation at the *weakly integrated/weakly assimilated* portion of the continuum are higher in the other provinces (in which the Dutch population is more dispersed, according the coefficients calculated by Balakrishnan and Hou for the CMAs in those provinces) than in Québec. These results suggest that ethnic retention is related to the size and relative concentration of the community.

Some interesting patterns emerge from the distribution of outcome of acculturation by the number of years the immigrant has been living in Canada (Table A5-13). The results show that the proportion who are *weakly integrated* is lowest for the most recent arrivals and it increases gradually, peaking for those who have been in Canada 31 to 40 years. The pattern for those who are at the *strongly integrated* point in the continuum moves in exactly the opposite direction, indicating a possible weakening of ethnic retention over time. When we focus on the *assimilated* portion of the continuum the distributions indicate the likelihood of virtually no ethnic retention is

highest for the immigrants who have been in Canada 30 years or less and retention increases for those who have been in Canada more than 30 years. This distribution suggests strongly that the Dutch immigrants may be split into two groups—those who have been in Canada 30 years or less and those who have been in this country more than 30 years. In effect, this bipolar division of the Dutch immigrants was foretold in the immigration history of the people belonging in this ethnic group. The earlier cohorts were either agricultural workers moving to small cohesive rural settlements or they were post-war immigrants to Canada who retained strong ties to their origins regardless of where they settled. The more recent cohorts are better educated and over 60% live in larger urban settings.

The distributions of the three “economic” independent variables in the model—incidence of low income, occupational skill level and education—add an interesting dimension to the acculturation profile of Dutch immigrants. First, the distribution of outcome of acculturation by LICO (Table A5-14) shows no unusual pattern for those who live in economic families. This is not surprising given that over 90% of the immigrants live in families whose income is above the LICO. Second, skill level appears to have some impact on the outcome of acculturation (Table A5-15). According to the distributions in the table, Dutch immigrants who are working in occupations that fall in the highest skill level (level 4) are more likely to be at the *assimilated* portion of the continuum—especially *strongly assimilated*. Those who are at the lower skill levels (levels 1 and 2) are also more likely to be at the *assimilated* portion of the continuum, although their outcome tends to be *weakly assimilated* rather than *strongly assimilated*.

Finally, the people in the “not applicable” category, i.e. those who did not work or who were under 15 years of age, are more likely to be *strongly integrated*.

As I argued in Chapter 2, occupational skill level serves as an indicator of socioeconomic status of the individual and, in that capacity, it has a bearing on the outcome of acculturation. I also argued that other characteristics such as age at which the immigrant came to Canada, the individual’s sex and his or her education need to be considered in the model. If we focus on the sex of the individual, we see that males are over-represented at skill level 4 (64%) and skill level 3 (68%) when compared to their proportion in the total Dutch immigrant population (51%). Females are over-represented at skill level 2 (55%) and the not applicable category (66%) when compared to their proportion in the total immigrant population (49%). In fact, if we look at the 20 to 59 year age group among the not applicable category we see that women represent 85% of the total number of immigrants who fall into this category. This result suggests rather strongly that the model is quite complex and that demographic variables such as sex need to be considered.

The distributions by highest level of education (Table A5-16) show a pattern that repeats itself for most of the other ethnic groups that form the study population (see the equivalent tables in Chapters 4 through 9). Immigrants with higher levels of education are more likely to be in the *assimilated* portion of the continuum whereas the outcome for those with lower levels of education is more likely to be in the *integrated* portion of the continuum. The data for the Dutch immigrants show that the likelihood of being at the *strongly assimilated* point in the continuum increases as the level of education increases. They also show a corresponding decrease in the likelihood of being at the *integrated*

portion of the continuum with an increase in education. It should be noted that the individuals who are classified in the not applicable/not available category are under 15 years of age. Hence they are still in the school system—which accounts for the high proportion who are *strongly assimilated*.

5.5 The multivariate perspective

As shown in the previous section, bivariate or simple multivariate analyses provide limited information about the significance and impact of the independent variables. The relationships are somewhat more complex and their exploration requires an analysis of the full model—taking into consideration the interaction among the independent variables. Table 5-5 presents the model including the full list of independent variables being considered in this study. Since only the outcomes of acculturation in the *integrated* and *assimilated* portions of the continuum are meaningful in this analysis, the comparisons in this model are restricted to these two ranges of outcome.

Table 5-5 : Multivariate regression model, Dutch immigrants (excluding German mother tongue and ethnic origin), 1991

Variable	Assimilated to Integrated	Variable	Assimilated to Integrated
Exp(B)	Sig	Exp(B)	Sig
Age at immigration	0,000	Age at immigration	0,000
0 to 14 years		0 - 10	
15 to 24 years	0,2843	11 - 20	1,2957
25 to 29 years	0,2591	21 - 30	1,7458
30 to 44 years	0,2187	31 - 40	1,0670
45 years and older	0,2261	41 plus	1,0779
Sex	0,000	Income status	0,146
Male		Total Income not below LICO	
Female	0,8069	Total Income was below LICO	0,9424
Marital status	0,000	Not applicable	3,8022
Single		Occupational skill level	0,000
Married	1,4863	Skill level 4	
Divorced/Separated	1,7262	Skill level 3	0,7765
Widowed	2,1735	Skill level 2	0,9690
Mother tongue	0,000	Skill level 1	1,1196
Netherlandic Language		Not applicable	0,8213
Official language	22,5057	Education	0,000
Other	3,2300	Elementary/secondary	
Place of birth	0,000	Post-secondary, non-university	0,9125
Netherlands		University, undergraduate	1,1635
Elsewhere	3,7073	University, post-graduate	0,7977
Province of residence	0,000	Not applicable/not available	2,0630
Ontario		Constant	0,0870
Quebec	0,8536	Nagelkerke - R²	0,548
Manitoba	1,0893		
Saskatchewan	1,2124		
Alberta	1,2712		
British Columbia	1,3853		

According to the regression results in this table, only the age at which the immigrant arrives in Canada, the immigrant's sex, his or her marital status, the mother tongue which he or she declares and his or her place of birth are fully statistically significant at the 0,05 level. In addition, one category of the number of years the immigrant has been living in Canada is statistically significant at the 0,05 level.

It is clear from these results that the outcome of acculturation for immigrants of Dutch origin who arrived in Canada when they were 15 years of age and older is much more likely to be in the *integrated* as opposed to *assimilated* portion of the continuum. This is consistent with the bivariate analysis. The results also indicate that Dutch immigrant women are more likely to be *integrated* as opposed to *assimilated* when compared to men—a result that was not evident from the bivariate analysis in the

previous section of this chapter. The coefficients for marital status show that immigrants who are or who were married are more likely to be *assimilated* as opposed to *integrated*, confirming that marital status does not stand on its own as a determinant of acculturation.

Predictably, the declared mother tongue and the immigrant's place of birth have a rather strong impact on the outcome of acculturation. The outcome of acculturation for individuals who declared a language other than one of the Netherlandic languages as their mother tongue is more likely to be in the *assimilated* portion of the continuum. In fact, someone who declared either English or French to be his or her mother tongue is over 20 times more likely to be in the *assimilated* portion of the OA continuum. Similarly, immigrants who were born in a country other than the Netherlands or Canada (i.e. born in a diaspora) are almost 4 times more likely to be *assimilated* as opposed to *integrated*, contrary to what was suggested in the bivariate analysis.

It was suggested in the previous section that the impact on the outcome of acculturation of the number of years an immigrant has been living in Canada is not entirely clear. The coefficients in Table 5-5 indicate that the impact is very limited. The only statistically significant result is for the immigrants who have been living in Canada between 21 and 30 years. They are at the leading edge of the second cohort that was referred to in the previous section. We see from these results that the outcome of acculturation for these immigrants is almost 80% more likely to be in the *assimilated* as opposed to *integrated* portion of the continuum when compared to the most recent arrivals. This is a strong indication that the so called second cohort may not be homogenous with respect to the outcome of acculturation.

5.6 What do the results tell us about Dutch immigrant acculturation?

It was observed by Herman Ganzevoort (1988:166) that “If the first-generation immigrants *integrated* into Canadian society and made their accommodation then the following generations have *assimilated* and become Canadians” (the author’s emphasis). The results of the preceding analysis support this observation. The distributions in Table 5-3 show that the outcome of acculturation for most non-immigrants, who correspond to the “following generations” referred to above, is in the *assimilated* portion of the continuum whereas the outcome is in the *integrated* portion for the immigrants.

The results also reinforce the importance of language in the analysis. Language has been characterised as one of most important vehicles for retaining cultural identity among immigrant groups in Canada (Ganzevoort, 1988:116). The regression models demonstrate the extent to which this observation holds for the Dutch immigrants, as well as for the other immigrant groups that form the study population. The fact that those who declare a mother tongue of either English and/or French as opposed to a Netherlandic language are much more likely to be in the *assimilated* portion of the continuum confirms the role that language plays in maintaining the cultural identity.

The following table summarises the impact of each characteristic on the outcome of acculturation. Essentially only five of the independent variables may be considered as meaningful determinants of acculturation; age at immigration, sex, marital status, mother tongue and place of birth.

Table 5-6 : Summary of determinants of acculturation for Dutch immigrants

Characteristic	Model - Is it a determinant of acculturation			Comment
	<i>Assimilated vs Integrated</i>	<i>Separated vs Integrated</i>	<i>Separated vs Assimilated</i>	
Age at immigration	Yes	N/A	N/A	Dutch immigrants who were 15 and older at immigration are less likely to be <i>assimilated</i> .
Sex	Yes	N/A	N/A	Marginal impact
Marital status	Yes	N/A	N/A	Those who are or who have been married are more likely to be <i>assimilated</i> .
Mother tongue	Yes	N/A	N/A	The OS for people whose mother tongue is English and/or French or a heritage language other than Dutch or Friesian is more likely to be <i>assimilated</i> .
Place of birth	Yes	N/A	N/A	The immigrants who are born in a diaspora are more likely to be <i>assimilated</i> .
Province of residence	No	N/A	N/A	
Length of time in Canada	No	N/A	N/A	It is only significant for those who were in Canada between 21 and 30 years.
Low income status	No	N/A	N/A	
Occupational skill level	No	N/A	N/A	
Highest level of education	No	N/A	N/A	

Appendix A-5: Detailed Tables

Table A5-7 : Outcome of acculturation by age at immigration, Dutch immigrants, 1991, excluding German mother tongue and ethnic origin

	0 to 14 years		15 to 24 years		25 to 29 years		30 to 44 years		45 years & older		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	3,8	62	6,7	87	10,4	68	24,5	213	39,9	73	10,8	503
Weakly integrated	62,9	1 023	81,2	1 039	77,1	503	61,4	534	33,3	61	68,6	3 182
Weakly assimilated	19,0	309	5,0	65	4,0	26	4,5	39	6,6	12	9,7	451
Strongly assimilated	13,3	216	6,5	85	7,8	51	8,0	70	13,1	24	9,6	446
Other	1,0	16	0,6	8	0,8	5	1,6	14	7,1	13	1,2	56
Total	100,0	1 626	100,0	1 304	100,0	653	100,0	870	100,0	183	100,0	4 638

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A5-8 : Outcome of acculturation by male/Female distribution, Dutch immigrants, 1991, excluding German mother tongue and ethnic origin

	Female		Male		Total		Male/Female Ratio
	%	n	%	n	%	n	
Strongly integrated	11,5	261	10,2	242	10,8	503	0,93
Weakly integrated	68,1	1 541	69,1	1 641	68,6	3 182	1,06
Weakly assimilated	8,3	188	11,1	263	9,7	451	1,40
Strongly assimilated	10,5	238	8,8	208	9,6	446	0,87
Other	1,5	35	0,9	21	1,2	56	0,60
Total	100,0	2 263	100,0	2 375	100,0	4 638	1,05

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A5-9 : Outcome of acculturation by marital status, Dutch immigrants, 1991, excluding German mother tongue and ethnic origin

	Single		Married		Divorced / Separated		Widowed		TOTAL	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	11,1	51	11,0	384	6,2	22	13,6	46	10,8	503
Weakly integrated	47,4	217	71,6	2 497	68,3	243	66,4	225	68,6	3 182
Weakly assimilated	14,0	64	9,0	314	12,1	43	8,8	30	9,7	451
Strongly assimilated	24,9	114	7,3	255	13,5	48	8,6	29	9,6	446
Other	2,6	12	1,0	35	0,0		2,7	9	1,2	56
Total	100,0	458	100,0	3 485	100,0	356	100,0	339	100,0	4 638

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A5-10 : Outcome of acculturation by mother tongue, Dutch immigrants, 1991, excluding German mother tongue and ethnic origin

	English and/or French		Netherlandic language		Other heritage language		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	2,9	26	12,8	466	10,1	11	10,8	503
Weakly integrated	21,8	193	80,3	2 927	56,9	62	68,6	3 182
Weakly assimilated	35,6	315	3,5	127	8,3	9	9,7	451
Strongly assimilated	37,1	328	2,8	103	13,8	15	9,6	446
Other	2,5	22	0,6	22	11,0	12	1,2	56
Total	100,0	884	100,0	3 645	100,0	109	100,0	4 638

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A5-11 : Outcome of acculturation by place of birth, Dutch immigrants, 1991, excluding German mother tongue and ethnic origin

	The Netherlands		Elsewhere		TOTAL	
	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	11,5	454	7,3	49	10,8	503
Weakly integrated	76,2	3 020	24,0	162	68,6	3 182
Weakly assimilated	8,5	338	16,8	113	9,7	451
Strongly assimilated	3,4	133	46,4	313	9,6	446
Other	0,5	19	5,5	37	1,2	56
Total	100,0	3 964	100,0	674	100,0	4 638

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A5-12 : Outcome of acculturation by province of residence, Dutch immigrants, 1991, excluding German mother tongue and ethnic origin

	Québec		Ontario		Prairies		British Columbia		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	13,8	26	10,3	274	13,0	108	9,8	95	10,8	503
Weakly integrated	60,6	114	70,6	1 875	67,1	558	65,8	635	68,6	3 182
Weakly assimilated	2,7	5	9,7	257	11,0	91	10,2	98	9,7	451
Strongly assimilated	20,2	38	8,1	214	7,9	66	13,3	128	9,6	446
Other	2,7	5	1,3	34	1,0	8	0,9	9	1,2	56
Total	100,0	188	100,0	2 654	100,0	831	100,0	965	100,0	4 638

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A5-13 : Outcome of acculturation by years living in Canada, Dutch immigrants, 1991, excluding German mother tongue and ethnic origin

	0 - 10		11 - 20		21 - 30		31 - 40		41 plus		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	26,1	99	13,9	71	6,8	40	9,6	241	8,1	52	10,8	503
Weakly integrated	39,1	148	50,5	257	62,2	364	77,5	1 954	71,4	459	68,6	3 182
Weakly assimilated	10,0	38	10,8	55	9,4	55	8,7	220	12,9	83	9,7	451
Strongly assimilated	19,8	75	22,4	114	19,8	116	3,8	96	7,0	45	9,6	446
Other	5,0	19	2,4	12	1,7	10	0,4	11	0,6	4	1,2	56
Total	100,0	379	100,0	509	100,0	585	100,0	2 522	100,0	643	100,0	4 638

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A5-14 : Outcome of acculturation by low income status, Dutch immigrants, 1991, excluding German mother tongue and ethnic origin

	Total income above LICO		Total income below LICO		Not applicable		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	10,6	446	13,1	57	0,0		10,8	503
Weakly integrated	68,9	2 886	65,8	287	64,3	9	68,6	3 182
Weakly assimilated	9,7	406	10,1	44	7,1	1	9,7	451
Strongly assimilated	9,6	403	8,9	39	28,6	4	9,6	446
Other	1,1	47	2,1	9	0,0		1,2	56
Total	100,0	4 188	100,0	436	100,0	14	100,0	4 638

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A5-15 : Outcome of acculturation by occupational skill level, Dutch immigrants, 1991, excluding German mother tongue and ethnic origin

	Skill level 4		Skill level 3		Skill level 2		Skill level 1		Not applicable		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	5,9	47	8,5	97	6,6	39	6,9	19	18,4	281	10,8	503
Weakly integrated	67,8	540	72,9	835	69,1	615	68,6	188	65,6	1 004	68,6	3 182
Weakly assimilated	10,5	84	9,6	110	12,8	114	14,2	39	6,8	104	9,7	451
Strongly assimilated	14,7	117	8,3	95	10,0	89	9,1	25	7,8	120	9,6	446
Other	1,1	9	0,8	9	1,5	13	1,1	3	1,4	22	1,2	56
Total	100,0	797	100,0	1 146	100,0	890	100,0	274	100,0	1 531	100,0	4 638

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A5-16 : Outcome of acculturation by highest level of education, Dutch immigrants, 1991, excluding German mother tongue and ethnic origin

	Elementary & Secondary		Post-secondary, non-university		University, undergraduate		University, graduate		Not applicable / not available		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	12,4	302	9,4	120	7,9	52	8,9	17	15,2	12	10,8	503
Weakly integrated	70,3	1 707	74,6	956	58,1	383	60,2	115	26,6	21	68,6	3 182
Weakly assimilated	10,4	252	7,4	95	11,1	73	7,9	15	20,3	16	9,7	451
Strongly assimilated	5,8	142	7,9	101	20,6	136	20,9	40	34,2	27	9,6	446
Other	1,0	25	0,7	9	2,3	15	2,1	4	3,8	3	1,2	56
Total	100,0	2 428	100,0	1 281	100,0	659	100,0	191	100,0	79	100,0	4 638

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

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 (Bausenhart, 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. This triggered 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 food supply but also on the farmers. 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. Germans were sought after as settlers because of their agricultural skills and their success as pioneers. The settlement process 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. Many German-Canadians 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)¹⁹.

Table 6-1 : German immigrants by period of immigration

Period of immigration	Count	%
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 Germany²⁰. (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 20²¹. 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 group, 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 groups.

**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).

6.3 Comparison between immigrants and born-in-Canada (1991 only)¹⁶

The similarity or difference between immigrants and non-immigrants of German origin with respect to acculturation will be addressed before a more complex analysis of the outcomes of acculturation is presented. As in the previous chapters, the index of dissimilarity is used as a primary indicator of the differences between the immigrant and non-immigrant population subgroups. Notable differences are highlighted in the discussion and possible explanations are offered. Many of these explanations will be either substantiated or refuted in the more complex modelling that follows this section.

The distributions in Table 6-1 indicate that 7% of the German immigrants arrived in Canada between 1991 and 1996. The indexes of dissimilarity for selected key variables indicate that the influx of new immigrants did not dramatically alter the profile of the German immigrant population between 1996 and 1991. Therefore, the profile drawn in the preceding section will be used for comparative purposes.

Table 6-3 : Index of dissimilarity for selected characteristics for German immigrants, 1991 and 1996

Variable	Index of Dissimilarity
Age	8,7
Sex	0,8
Marital status	2,1
Highest level of education	3,6
Occupational skill level	2,6

Both the immigrant and non-immigrant populations of German origin have bimodal distributions of outcome of acculturation (Table 6-4). However, the primary and secondary peaks are exactly opposite²².

Table 6-4 : Outcome of acculturation, German, 1991

Outcome of Acculturation	Non-immigrant		Immigrant	
	count	%	count	%
Strongly integrated	3 856	5,3	2 814	21,0
Moderately integrated	1 416	1,9	253	1,9
Weakly integrated	4 303	5,9	6 522	48,6
Weakly assimilated	13 725	18,8	830	6,2
Moderately assimilated	50	0,1	86	0,6
Strongly assimilated	49 493	67,8	2 773	20,7
Separated	152	0,2	127	0,9
Marginalized	8	0,0	6	0,0
Total	73 003	100,0	13 411	100,0

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals, CD-ROM

The dominant outcomes of acculturation for the group who declared German origins and who were born in Canada (the non-immigrant group) are in the *assimilated* portion of the continuum with a weak secondary peak in the *integrated* portion. The pattern is exactly the opposite for the immigrants of German origin—dominant outcomes in the *integrated* portion with secondary peaks in the *assimilated* portion. Clearly the two distributions are sufficiently dissimilar (index of dissimilarity = 60) to warrant the conclusion that the acculturation experience is different for immigrants when compared to their born-in-Canada homologues. However, two additional points are noteworthy. First, although the outcome of acculturation for the majority of the immigrants is in the *integrated* portion of the continuum, the outcome is in the *assimilated* range for a substantial proportion (27%) with over 20% classified as *strongly assimilated*. At a first glance this result suggests that the characteristics of the German immigrants and those of the German community in Canada lend themselves to placing greater emphasis on becoming part of the host society rather than retaining ties to the ethnic and cultural heritage. In fact, this result is consistent with what one would expect given the immigration history of the Germans coming to Canada.

It is also noteworthy that virtually none of the immigrants or non-immigrants of German origin are at the *separated* end of the continuum. This attests to the facility with which the German immigrants acquire functional skills in one or both of the two official languages. As with the Dutch, virtually all of the Germans living in Canada are proficient in one of the two official languages (100% of the non-immigrants and 99% of the immigrants). It is not known whether or not the immigrants were functional in either English or French when they arrived in Canada. However, the data provide a clear indication that they readily acquire the requisite language skills. Furthermore, there are few uniquely and self-sufficient German enclaves in Canada, other than some of the Mennonite communities²³, in which people of German origin may function entirely in their mother tongue without requiring contact with and access to services provided by the host society.

The patterns with respect to endogamy/exogamy also need to be considered at this stage in the analysis. It was noted in a previous chapter that the selection of a marriage partner who belongs to the same ethnic group may be a contributing factor to the retention of an individual's ethnic origin. Although the frequency of exogamy cannot be considered in the multivariate stage of the analysis, it is possible to provide some indication of the prevalence of endogamy/exogamy as a univariate distribution. Both immigrants and non-immigrants of German origin practice exogamy in relatively high proportions. About 35% of German immigrants marry partners of non-German origins and almost 40% of the non-immigrants are in exogamous unions.

The distribution by mother tongue (see Table 6-5) echoes the expected result given the distributions by outcome of acculturation. Virtually all non-immigrants

declared a mother tongue of English and/or French and the majority of immigrants (75%) declared their mother tongue to be either German or another heritage language²⁴.

Table 6-5 : Mother tongue by immigrant status, German, 1991

Mother Tongue	Non-immigrant		Immigrant	
	<i>count</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>count</i>	<i>%</i>
English and/or French	65 977	90,4	3 352	25,0
German	6 617	9,1	7 492	55,9
Other heritage language	409	0,6	2 567	19,1
Total	73 003	100,0	13 411	100,0

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals, CD-ROM

In order to put the proportion of German immigrants who declared another heritage language as their mother tongue in perspective it is important to consider both the immigration history and the ethnic composition of this group. It was shown earlier in this chapter that many of the German immigrants were born in a country other than Germany. Furthermore, about 30% of the immigrants of German origin (98 280 out of 331 945) declared more than one ethnic origin in the 1991 Census. Both of these factors serve to explain why about 19% of the German immigrants declared a mother tongue other than German. Many of the German immigrants who declared more than one ethnic origin reported their mother tongues to be either Dutch, Spanish, Polish, Ukrainian and Hungarian.

Nevertheless, as with most of the other ethnic groups that form the study population, it is clear that mother tongue is an important variable in the analysis of the outcome of acculturation. The parallels in the distributions and the comparable indexes of dissimilarity (60 for outcome of acculturation and 65 for mother tongue) offer convincing evidence to include this variable in subsequent analyses.

The question of the impact of an existing community or concentration of people belonging to a given ethnic group on the selection of a destination for immigrants of the

same ethnic group has been raised in a number of other studies (see Alba, 1990; Balakrishnan and Hou, 1999; Breton et al, 1990; Ley and Bourne, 1993; Lieberman and Waters, 1988). Is this a factor for the German immigrants coming to Canada? The index of dissimilarity for the distribution by province of residence (22,4) suggests that immigrants of German ethnic origin are not necessarily drawn to German communities or enclaves when they choose where to settle. This finding is further reinforced by the study conducted by Balakrishnan and Hou (1999). In an analysis of all CMAs in Canada, they found that the people of German origin tend not to form ethnic enclaves (Balakrishnan and Hou, 1999: 129-132).

6.4 The Bivariate Perspective

The foregoing distributional analysis has shown that the acculturation experience is different for immigrants and non-immigrants of German origin (Table 6-4). Furthermore, there appear to be parallels between the distributions of the outcome of acculturation and the declared mother tongue for immigrants and non-immigrants. We also see in Table 6-5 that almost 20% of the German immigrants declared a mother tongue other than English, French or German. There is no doubt that the relationship between the outcome of acculturation and the characteristics of the immigrants of German origin is quite complex. There are indications that it may differ somewhat from the relationships that were observed for some of the other ethnic groups in the study population. What are the implications of these differences on the determinants of acculturation for the Germans in Canada?

We see from the distribution shown in Table 6-4 that four outcomes of acculturation appear to be dominant for the immigrants of German origin—*weakly integrated*, *strongly integrated*, *strongly assimilated* and *weakly assimilated*, in that

order³⁹. The fact that virtually the same substantial proportion of German immigrants are at the *strongly integrated* and *strongly assimilated* portions of the continuum, two polar extremes in the classification of acculturation, indicates dramatic differences in this population group. The analysis that follows will explore these differences—specifically what characteristics are significant determinants of acculturation. The tabular analysis examines the relationship between each of the independent variables and the important outcomes of acculturation (the dependent variable). The interaction among all the independent variables is dealt with in the full statistical models.

The distributions of outcome of acculturation by age at immigration (see Table A6-8) conforms to the expected pattern based on the theoretical discussions presented in earlier chapters. The outcome of acculturation for immigrants who arrived in Canada under the age of 15 is more likely to be either *strongly* or *weakly assimilated* indicating a weak retention of ethnic origin.

For those who arrived between the ages of 15 and 29 the outcome is more likely to be *weakly integrated* and for the migrants who arrived when they were 30 years of age and older it is more likely to be *strongly integrated*. These results indicate that German immigrants who arrived in Canada during their teen-age years and older retain some attachment to their own cultural origins while simultaneously making efforts to be full participating members of the host society.

If we base ourselves simply on the bivariate relationship between the outcome of acculturation and sex for immigrants of German origin we would have to conclude that this characteristic is not a meaningful determinant of acculturation. The differences in distribution between men and women (see Table A6-9) show that the proportions favour

males slightly for the outcomes in the *integrated* portion of the continuum and they favour females for the *assimilated* outcomes. The distribution of men and women by the proportion of exogamous unions is not consistent with this result. Men of German ethnic origin have a non-German partner in 36,4% of all husband-wife couples in which at least one of the partners is of German ethnic origin. The comparable figure for women is 34,9%. These results indicate that women are slightly less likely to enter into exogamous unions than are men, which suggests that they should be at the *integrated* portion of the continuum. This last point notwithstanding, the differences are relatively minor.

Marital status is equally inconclusive as a determinant of acculturation at this stage in the analysis (see Table A6-10). Immigrants who are single are more likely to be *strongly assimilated*. Divorced or separated immigrants are more likely to be either *weakly integrated* or *strongly assimilated*. Immigrants who are widowed are more likely to be anything but *strongly assimilated*. Finally, those who are married show no distinct pattern of outcome of acculturation when compared to the marginal distributions. It is possible that marital status does not stand on its own as a determinant of acculturation. There may be interactions with other characteristics such as the sex of the immigrant and the age at which he or she came to Canada. These possibilities are explored in the full models.

Language, as indicated by the declared mother tongue of the individual, proves to be an important determinant of acculturation. However, before we proceed with an examination of this characteristic of the population, we must confirm that no error is introduced in the analysis as a result of the use of home language in the derivation of the dependent variable and of mother tongue as an independent variable. The Cramer's V

correlation coefficient (0,306) indicates a moderate statistical relationship between mother tongue and home language for the German immigrants living in Canada. However, as I indicated in previous chapters, since this statistic is below a threshold of 0,600, it is unlikely that a tautological error has been introduced in the analysis.

The results in Table A6-11 show that the immigrants who declared their mother tongue to be either English and/or French are more likely to be at the *assimilated* portion of the continuum whereas those who declared either German or another heritage language to be their mother tongue are more likely to be in the *integrated* portion of the continuum. The relationship between mother tongue and outcome of acculturation for the Germans is consistent with what was found for the other ethnic groups. Once the full model is analysed it will be interesting to see whether differences exist between the immigrants who declared German to be their mother tongue and those who declared another heritage language.

Given that 65% of the immigrants of German origin were born in a country other than Germany, it is entirely possible that this characteristic plays a very limited role in the determination of the outcome of acculturation²⁵. The results in Table A6-12 show that the outcome of acculturation for those who were born in Germany is more likely to be *weakly integrated* whereas it is more likely to be in the *assimilated* portion of the continuum for those who were born elsewhere. The most frequently reported places of birth other than Germany are: the United States (21%), the European portion of the USSR (11%), Poland (10%), the United Kingdom (6%), other European countries not included in this list (37%) and Central American, South America, the Caribbean and Bermuda (8%). Although it has been shown for some of the other ethnic groups that a diasporic

existence tends to weaken the attachment of the individual to his or her cultural and ethnic origins, the differences in distribution between those who were born elsewhere and the total immigrant population are relatively minor.

As with some of the preceding characteristics, the distributions of outcome of acculturation by province of residence in Table A6-13 are not conclusive at this stage of the analysis. Although the data show that immigrants of German origin who settle in the Atlantic provinces are more likely to be at the *strongly assimilated* point in the OA continuum—a result that is consistent with the immigration history for this ethnic group—the numbers are not sufficiently large to draw any definite conclusions since fewer than 2% of the immigrants of German origin live in the Atlantic Provinces. The distributions for the provinces in which the respective number of immigrants is sufficiently large do not indicate any distinctive patterns, with one notable exception. The outcome of acculturation for the immigrants of German origin who live in Manitoba is more likely to be at the *integrated* portion of the continuum, with a concentration at *strongly integrated*. This distribution reflects the fact that one third of the Mennonites and Hutterites who are immigrants live in Manitoba. Also, it is unlikely that the existence of ethnic enclaves is a factor in the analysis, given the findings by Balakrishnan and Hou referred to earlier.

It was suggested earlier that an interaction may exist between age at immigration and the number of years the immigrant has been living in Canada with respect to the impact of these characteristics on the outcome of acculturation. The distribution of outcome of acculturation by years living in Canada (Table A6-14) does not provide any evidence to support this hypothesis²⁶. The outcome of acculturation for the immigrants

of German origin who have been in Canada the least amount of time (10 years or less) is most likely to be either *strongly integrated* or *strongly assimilated*, outcomes that are polar opposites with respect to the retention of cultural and ethnic ties. Both outcomes indicate a desire on the part of the immigrant to be part of the host society. However, the first indicates retention of the German cultural and ethnic origins whereas the second shows a complete detachment from the cultural and ethnic roots. The distributions for the other categories of duration in Canada are equally ambiguous.

Two factors may contribute to this result. First, 99% of the immigrants of German origin know either English and/or French. Given this strong statistic, the result must be interpreted as a clear indication of the degree to which they are able to be part of the host society. Second, it was shown earlier that the German immigrants fare quite well with respect to their employment earnings, indicating the success with which they have become part of the host society.

Based on the cross-tabular analysis in Table A6-15, income status, as measured by the LICO, does not appear to be a major factor in determining the outcome of acculturation. However, final judgement will be reserved until the full model is considered.

On the other hand, occupational skill level appears to be an important variable to consider. The distributions in Table A6-16 show that over 60% of the immigrants of German origin who are in the labour force are employed in occupations that are rated at either level 3 or level 4, indicating that this tends to be a highly skilled workforce. The outcome of acculturation for those whose occupations are rated at level 4 is more likely to be *strongly assimilated* and is less likely to be *strongly integrated*. This echoes the

pattern seen for many of the other ethnic groups in the study population and it may be an indication of the impact of socio-economic status on acculturation for the immigrants of German origins (see Chapter 2). Although the distribution of outcome of acculturation for the other categories of skill level do not differ as dramatically from the marginal distributions for the total immigrant population, the strength of the pattern for skill level 4 suggests that this characteristic is important in the model.

It appears that the strength of the attachment to the cultural and ethnic origins of the individual are inversely proportional to the highest level of education (Table A6-17). The immigrants who are 15 years of age and older who have only completed elementary and secondary school are more likely to be at the *strongly integrated* point in the continuum. Those with a non-university diploma are more likely to be *weakly integrated*. Those with university qualifications are more likely to be *strongly assimilated*. It would be dangerous to draw any final conclusions about the impact of education on the outcome of acculturation at this point in the analysis since, as has been shown for some of the other ethnic groups in the study population, this characteristic must be considered along with other variables such as age at immigration, sex and the number of years the immigrant has been living in Canada.

6.5 The Multivariate Perspective

Certain conclusions were drawn in the bivariate analysis that may not hold when all the relevant variables are considered concurrently. Does the full model resolve some the ambiguities noted in the bivariate analysis? The following table presents the results of the logistic regression model that compares the aggregated *assimilated* outcomes of acculturation with the aggregated *integrated* outcomes.

Table 6-6 : Multivariate regression models, German immigrants, 1991

Variable		Assimilated to Integrated	Variable		Assimilated to Integrated
		Exp(B)			Exp(B)
		Sig			Sig
Age			Age		
0 to 14 years			0 - 10		
15 to 24 years	0,4452	0,000	11 - 20	1,0702	0,494
25 to 29 years	0,3249	0,000	21 - 30	0,9369	0,654
30 to 44 years	0,3092	0,000	31 - 40	0,7854	0,015
45 years and older	0,3673	0,000	41 plus	0,7697	0,039
Sex			Income		
Male			Total income not below LICO		
Female	1,2599	0,000	Total income was below LICO	0,9491	0,128
Married			Not applicable	0,2990	0,001
Single			Occupational skill level		
Married	1,2532	0,013	Skill level 4		
Divorced/Separated	1,5703	0,000	Skill level 3	0,9215	0,351
Widowed	1,3588	0,029	Skill level 2	0,9376	0,482
Mother tongue			Skill level 1	1,0240	0,857
German			Not applicable	0,8891	0,206
Official language	31,6880	0,000	Education		
Other	2,3267	0,000	Elementary/secondary		
Place of birth			Post-secondary, non-university	1,1711	0,027
Germany			University, undergraduate	1,2845	0,002
Elsewhere	1,4606	0,000	University, post-graduate	0,9439	0,399
Province of residence			Not applicable/not available	1,5449	0,032
Ontario			Constant		
Quebec	0,4332	0,000		0,1136	0,000
Manitoba	0,6875	0,004	Nagelkerke - R²		
Saskatchewan	1,1952	0,288		0,523	
Alberta	1,1021	0,245			
British Columbia	1,2123	0,005			

The value of the Nagelkerke R^2 statistic provides a measure of the robustness of the model. The R^2 statistic is relatively high for logistic models indicating that the combination of independent variables is appropriate for this analysis.

Only the occupational skill level is not statistically significant to the 0,05 level. The province of residence, the years the immigrant has been living in Canada and the income status with respect to the LICO are partially significant (i.e. some of the categories within these variables are statistically significant). Many of the results presented in the following paragraphs confirm the preliminary conclusions that were drawn from the bivariate analysis presented in the preceding section.

The demographic characteristics indicate that immigrants who arrived when they were 15 years of age and older are less likely to *assimilate* as opposed to *integrate* when compared to the youngest group. We also see that women are more likely than men to *assimilate* as are individuals who are or who were married at some point in their lives. As with the other ethnic groups in the study population, the impact of mother tongue on the outcome of acculturation is very dramatic. The outcome of acculturation is much more likely (over 30 times more likely) to be in the *assimilated* portion of the continuum for individuals who declared a mother tongue of either English and/or French when compared to those who declared German as their mother tongue. The impact is in the same direction, albeit somewhat less dramatic, for those who declared a heritage language other than German as their mother tongue.

Spatial characteristics such as place of birth and province of residence also influence the outcome of acculturation. Immigrants who were born outside of what is considered to be the current boundaries of Germany are more likely to *assimilate* as opposed to *integrate*, reflecting the impact of being born in a diaspora (see Chapter 2) on the retention of ties to the individual's ethnic origins. As predicted in the bivariate analysis, the impact of the province of residence is limited. The immigrants who live in Québec and in Manitoba are less likely to *assimilate* when compared to *integrate*. The results for Manitoba are most probably due to the presence of Mennonite and Hutterite communities (as discussed in the previous section). The results for Québec are probably due to the greater likelihood of the German immigrants to live in neighbourhoods in which there are others of the same ethnic origin (Balakrishnan and Hou, 1999: 130-131).

Finally, the impact of the level of education attained by the German immigrants is comparable with the results for most of the other groups in the study population. Individuals with higher levels of education are more likely to be in the *assimilated* portion of the continuum.

6.6 What do the results tell us about the acculturation of German immigrants?

The characteristics that determine the outcome of acculturation for the immigrants belonging to this ethnic group reflect their long immigration history in Canada and the emigration history of the German people. It is noteworthy that all of the outcomes of acculturation fall between *strongly integrated* and *strongly assimilated* in the continuum. It is also noteworthy that many of the characteristics considered as potential independent variables in the model remain statistically significant. Most of the characteristics behave in a consistent fashion in the bivariate and multivariate analyses, indicating that no hidden interaction effects exist among these independent variables. In effect, other than quantifying the impact of the individual characteristics, the logistic model adds very little to the analysis for this ethnic group.

The following table summaries the impact of each characteristic on the outcome of acculturation.

Table 6-7 : Summary of determinants of acculturation for German immigrants

Characteristic	Model - Is it a determinant of acculturation			Comment
	<i>Assimilated vs Integrated</i>	<i>Separated vs Integrated</i>	<i>Separated vs Assimilated</i>	
Age at immigration	Yes	N/A	N/A	The OA tends to be <i>integrated</i> for immigrants who arrived at an advanced age.
Sex	Yes	N/A	N/A	Women are more likely than men to be <i>assimilated</i> .
Marital status	Yes	N/A	N/A	Immigrants who are or who were married are more likely to be <i>assimilated</i> .
Mother tongue	Yes	N/A	N/A	A mother tongue other than German tends to result in an OA of <i>assimilated</i> .
Place of birth	Yes	N/A	N/A	The immigrants who are born in a diaspora are more likely to be <i>assimilated</i> .
Province of residence	Yes (partial)	N/A	N/A	This characteristic is significant only for Québec and Manitoba. People living in those provinces are less likely than those living in Ontario to be <i>assimilated</i> .
Length of time in Canada	No	N/A	N/A	
Low income status	No	N/A	N/A	
Occupational skill level	No	N/A	N/A	
Highest level of education	Yes	N/A	N/A	Individuals with post-secondary qualifications tend to be in the <i>assimilated</i> portion of the continuum, although the coefficients are not very strong

Appendix A-6: Detailed tables

Table A6-8 : Outcome of acculturation by age at immigration, German immigrants, 1991

	0 to 14 years		15 to 24 years		25 to 29 years		30 to 44 years		45 years & older		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	15,0	539	17,2	663	22,3	488	31,2	871	31,7	232	21,2	2 793
Weakly integrated	41,1	1 476	59,3	2 283	55,4	1 216	46,6	1 302	32,7	240	49,5	6 517
Weakly assimilated	11,0	395	3,8	147	2,5	55	2,7	76	8,2	60	5,6	733
Strongly assimilated	29,4	1 057	17,4	669	16,5	362	15,8	442	16,2	119	20,1	2 649
Other	3,5	126	2,3	89	3,3	72	3,6	101	11,2	82	3,6	470
Total	100,0	3 593	100,0	3 851	100,0	2 193	100,0	2 792	100,0	733	100,0	13 162

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Note: The age at immigration was not available on the PUMF for 249 cases.

Table A6-9 : Outcome of acculturation by male/female distribution, German immigrants, 1991

	Female		Male		Total		Male/Female Ratio
	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	
Strongly integrated	20,3	1 364	21,7	1 450	21,0	2 814	1,06
Weakly integrated	47,1	3 165	50,2	3 357	48,6	6 522	1,06
Weakly assimilated	6,3	421	6,1	409	6,2	830	0,97
Strongly assimilated	22,7	1 523	18,7	1 250	20,7	2 773	0,82
Other	3,7	251	3,3	221	3,5	472	0,88
Total	100,0	6 724	100,0	6 687	100,0	13 411	0,99

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A6-10 : Outcome of acculturation by marital status, German immigrants, 1991

	Single		Married		Divorced / Separated		Widowed		TOTAL	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	20,1	389	22,5	2 015	10,1	133	22,8	277	21,0	2 814
Weakly integrated	33,6	652	50,5	4 515	55,7	734	51,1	621	48,6	6 522
Weakly assimilated	7,0	136	5,8	519	7,1	93	6,7	82	6,2	830
Strongly assimilated	33,7	653	18,5	1 650	24,0	316	12,7	154	20,7	2 773
Other	5,7	110	2,7	240	3,1	41	6,7	81	3,5	472
Total	100,0	1 940	100,0	8 939	100,0	1 317	100,0	1 215	100,0	13 411

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A6-11 : Outcome of acculturation by mother tongue, German immigrants, 1991

	English and/or French		German		Other heritage language		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	3,0	102	27,6	2 067	25,1	645	21,0	2 814
Weakly integrated	17,3	581	61,5	4 609	51,9	1 332	48,6	6 522
Weakly assimilated	18,0	603	1,6	123	4,1	104	6,2	830
Strongly assimilated	59,7	2 000	6,2	464	12,0	309	20,7	2 773
Other	2,0	66	3,1	229	6,9	177	3,5	472
Total	100,0	3 352	100,0	7 492	100,0	2 567	100,0	13 411

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A6-12 : Outcome of acculturation by place of birth, German immigrants, 1991

	Germanv		Elsewhere		TOTAL	
	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	21,9	1 028	20,5	1 786	21,0	2 814
Weakly integrated	64,8	3 047	39,9	3 475	48,6	6 522
Weakly assimilated	5,2	244	6,7	586	6,2	830
Strongly assimilated	7,1	334	28,0	2 439	20,7	2 773
Other	1,1	51	4,8	421	3,5	472
Total	100,0	4 704	100,0	8 707	100,0	13 411

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A6-13 : Outcome of acculturation by province of residence, German immigrants, 1991

	Atlantic		Québec		Ontario		Manitoba		Saskatchewan		Alberta		British Columbia		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	8,5	19	28,5	307	20,8	1 324	40,4	326	17,8	63	16,6	280	17,2	493	21,0	2 812
Weakly integrated	1,8	4	49,5	534	50,2	3 193	34,1	273	48,9	173	52,4	886	50,6	1 454	48,7	6 521
Weakly assimilated	37,2	83	1,6	17	5,0	315	4,8	39	11,3	40	8,4	142	6,3	180	6,1	816
Strongly assimilated	51,6	113	14,4	155	20,5	1 303	12,4	100	19,5	69	20,5	347	23,5	673	20,6	2 764
Other	0,9	2	6,0	65	3,5	222	8,2	66	2,5	9	2,1	36	2,5	72	3,5	472
Total	100,0	223	100,0	1 078	100,0	6 359	100,0	806	100,0	354	100,0	1 691	100,0	2 874	100,0	13 385

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Note: The province of residence was not available for 26 cases.

Table A6-14 : Outcome of acculturation by years living in Canada, German immigrants, 1991

	0 - 10		11 - 20		21 - 30		31 - 40		41 plus		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	30,1	362	17,3	320	14,5	362	19,8	1 063	27,7	507	21,0	2 814
Weakly integrated	28,3	329	32,1	392	49,4	1 232	62,4	3 333	44,6	816	48,6	6 522
Weakly assimilated	5,2	97	8,1	150	6,3	157	4,6	248	9,6	176	6,2	828
Strongly assimilated	28,0	322	37,3	689	26,9	671	11,6	623	14,6	268	20,7	2 773
Other	8,4	156	5,2	96	2,8	70	1,6	86	3,5	64	3,5	472
Total	100,0	1 866	100,0	1 847	100,0	2 492	100,0	5 373	100,0	1 831	100,0	13 409

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Note: The year of immigration was not available for 2 cases.

Table A6-15 : Outcome of acculturation by low income status, German immigrants, 1991

	Total income above LICO		Total income below LICO		Not applicable		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	19,8	2 261	27,9	528	23,6	25	21,0	2 814
Weakly integrated	49,7	5 673	42,8	809	37,7	40	48,6	6 522
Weakly assimilated	6,2	705	5,6	106	17,9	19	6,2	830
Strongly assimilated	21,2	2 420	17,6	333	18,9	20	20,7	2 773
Other	3,1	356	6,0	114	1,9	2	3,5	472
Total	100,0	11 415	100,0	1 890	100,0	106	100,0	13 411

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A6-16 : Outcome of acculturation by occupational skill level, German immigrants, 1991

	Skill level 4		Skill level 3		Skill level 2		Skill level 1		Not applicable		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	12,8	336	17,5	495	19,3	459	21,8	168	28,2	1 356	21,0	2 814
Weakly integrated	49,1	1 288	54,5	1 545	48,7	1 156	45,6	352	45,4	2 181	48,6	6 522
Weakly assimilated	6,0	157	6,0	170	6,4	151	7,3	56	6,2	296	6,2	830
Strongly assimilated	29,4	773	20,0	568	22,3	529	20,6	159	15,5	744	20,7	2 773
Other	2,7	71	2,0	57	3,4	81	4,8	37	4,7	226	3,5	472
Total	100,0	2 625	100,0	2 835	100,0	2 376	100,0	772	100,0	4 803	100,0	13 411

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A6-17 : Outcome of acculturation by highest level of education, German immigrants, 1991

	Elementary & Secondary		Post-secondary, non-university		University, undergraduate		University, graduate		Not applicable / not available		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	25,7	1 452	19,2	748	13,4	325	17,6	194	26,9	95	21,0	2 814
Weakly integrated	48,9	2 765	56,8	2 209	43,6	1 053	41,8	461	9,6	34	48,6	6 522
Weakly assimilated	7,3	412	4,6	180	6,3	152	5,5	61	7,1	25	6,2	830
Strongly assimilated	14,0	790	17,5	680	33,1	799	31,4	346	44,8	158	20,7	2 773
Other	4,1	234	1,8	69	3,6	88	3,6	40	11,6	41	3,5	472
Total	100,0	5 653	100,0	3 886	100,0	2 417	100,0	1 102	100,0	353	100,0	13 411

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

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	%
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 7.4.

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 groups. 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 families²⁷. 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 exploring the reasons for these differences is 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 groups. 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

7.3 Comparison between immigrants and born-in-Canada (1991 only)¹⁶

The preceding profile of the Italian immigrant population in Canada was based on data from the 1996 Census. Since the remainder of the analysis in this chapter focuses on data from the 1991 Census, it is important to establish whether or not the observations made above still hold five years earlier. The fact that fewer than 3% of the Italian immigrants arrived between 1991 and 1996 is a strong indication that the characteristics of this population group were not dramatically altered over the five years between the two censuses. Therefore, we may proceed with the analysis of the 1991 data.

To continue the analytical pattern set with the other ethnic groups that form the study population, the similarity or difference between Italian immigrants and Italian non-immigrants²⁸ with respect to acculturation will be addressed before proceeding with a more complex analysis of the outcomes. The distributions of the outcomes of acculturation for the immigrant and non-immigrant population (Table 7-3) leave no doubt about the impact of being born in Canada on the acculturation of the Italians living in Canada. Almost two thirds of the Italians who were born in Canada have an outcome in the *assimilated* portion of the OA continuum and over three quarters of the immigrants

have an outcome in the *integrated* portion of the continuum. Furthermore, *separated* is an outcome for a substantial proportion of the immigrants (11% of the immigrant population) whereas it is not very frequent for those who were born in Canada²². Finally, the index of dissimilarity for these two distributions (56,3) provides empirical evidence of the magnitude of the difference in acculturation experience between the immigrants and non-immigrants.

Table 7-3 : Outcome of acculturation, Italian, 1991

Outcome of Acculturation	Born in Canada		Immigrant	
	CENSI	%	CENSI	%
Strongly integrated	1 720	7,7	5 401	42,6
Moderately integrated	165	0,7	56	0,4
Weakly integrated	6 078	27,2	4 716	37,2
Weakly assimilated	4 285	19,2	322	2,5
Moderately assimilated	41	0,2	98	0,8
Strongly assimilated	9 995	44,7	680	5,4
Separated	67	0,3	1 395	11,0
Marginalized	8	0,0	14	0,1
Total	22 359	100,0	12 682	100,0

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals, CD-ROM

It is clear from the distributions shown in this table that *strongly assimilated* is an important outcome for the individuals who were born in Canada and *strongly integrated* is important for the immigrants. Neither of these facts is surprising given what is known about the Italian community in Canada and about the impact of the primary socialisation process on acculturation (see Guppy and Davies, 1998; Perin, 1989; Potestio and Pucci, 1988; Ramirez, 1989b). Those who were born in Canada, hence those who obtained most of their primary and secondary education in Canada, have become an integral part of the Canadian ethnic mosaic. Although some of them have a working knowledge of the Italian language and they may have ties to the local Italian community, they are an integral part of the mainstream population. On the other hand, the immigrants have much stronger and more current ties to their cultural origins and to their language. Yet, as we

saw in the brief discussion on their immigration history in Canada, they also attempt to become part of the Canadian mosaic—resulting in outcomes of acculturation in the *integrated* portion of the continuum.

The presence of *separated* as an important outcome of acculturation for the Italian immigrants is also noteworthy. It was noted in the previous sections of this chapter that the Italian communities in Canada tend to be institutionally complete (Breton et al, 1990). Like the Chinese (see Chapter 4), the members of the Italian group in Canada are able to obtain a full range of goods and services in their native tongue without leaving their communities. They are able to live, work, pray and socialise entirely within their own community. Therefore, Italian immigrants do not necessarily face the same pressures to learn the language of the host society, English and/or French in this instance, nor to interact on a regular basis with the population outside their community. They have access to Italian language newspapers, Italian language radio programs and Italian language television programming. In other words, they are able to function very well on a daily basis within their own communities. This may be particularly important for the elderly members of the community. It is likely that the following analysis will show that most of the immigrants whose outcome of acculturation is in the *separated* portion of the continuum are the elderly.

The differences in the distribution by mother tongue for the Italian immigrants and non-immigrants parallel those of the outcome of acculturation. Almost three quarters of the Italians who were born in Canada declared a mother tongue of either English and/or French and 80% of the immigrants declared Italian to be their mother tongue. The

index of dissimilarity is 64,1 once again providing empirical evidence of the difference between the two population subgroups.

Table 7-4 : Mother tongue by immigrant status, Italian, 1991

Mother Tongue	Born in Canada		Immigrant	
	count	%	count	%
English and/or French	16 617	74,3	1 301	10,3
Italian	5 587	25,0	10 134	79,9
Other heritage language ⁽¹⁾	155	0,7	1 247	9,8
Total	22 359	100,0	12 682	100,0

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals, CD-ROM

Notes: (1) This category includes Spanish, Portuguese, Polish and other mother tongues not classified separately in the PUMF

Although the results in Table 7-4 indicate that a relatively high proportion of Italians who were born in Canada adopt one of the two official languages as their mother tongue, this should not be interpreted as a loss of language ability in Italian for two reasons. First, it is significant that one quarter of the non-immigrants declared the Italian language as their mother tongue. Second, 39% of the individuals included in the sample population in this table declared some knowledge of Italian and 8% declared that they use Italian in the home.

Chain migration (referred to earlier) may result in similarities in the residential patterns of immigrants and non-immigrants, depending on the level of detail at which the geographic distributions are examined and depending on relative stability of the population group with respect to migration within Canada. In the specific case of the population of the Italians living in Canada, the low index of dissimilarity (7,2) is an indication of the impact of chain migration at the provincial level as are the population concentrations—primarily in Ontario (64%) and Québec (23%) at the time of the 1991 Census. Furthermore, the Italians in the major CMAs in these two provinces tend to live

in neighbourhoods in which they are represented in relatively high proportions (Balakrishnan and Hou, 1999: 130-131).

7.4 The bivariate perspective

We have seen that the acculturation experience for Italian immigrants is different from that of their born-in-Canada homologues. We have also seen that the distributional pattern for the declared mother tongue is similar to that of the outcome of acculturation—approximately 80% of the immigrants are classified in the integrated portion of the continuum and the same proportion declared Italian as their mother tongue. Furthermore, we know that the Italian immigrant population is relatively old (mean age was 50,4 years in 1991 and 53,9 years in 1996) and that most (80%) had been living in Canada for more than 20 years at the time of the 1991 Census. Given this profile, will some characteristics such as age at immigration, mother tongue, sex and province of residence figure more prominently in determining the outcome of acculturation and how will these determinants relate to the outcomes that are statistically significant?

The preceding distributional analysis has shown that four outcomes of acculturation are noteworthy for the Italian immigrants—*strongly integrated*, *weakly integrated*, *strongly assimilated* and *separated*³⁹. Therefore, the analyses that follow focus on the *integrated*, *assimilated* and *separated* portions of the continuum. They probe more deeply into the characteristics of the subsets of the immigrant population whose outcome is classified in one of the aforementioned categories. This section examines the bivariate relationship between the dependent variable, the outcome of acculturation, and the independent variables, the socio-demographic and economic characteristics of the Italian immigrants. The next section looks at the interaction of all the independent variables through logistic modelling.

The outcome of acculturation for the Italian immigrants who were between the ages of 15 and 44 when they arrived in Canada (see Table A7-7) is predominately *strongly integrated*. All but the younger portion of this age group were beyond secondary school age and, given the educational and occupational characteristics of the members of this population group, it is unlikely that many of them pursued any post-secondary education. The occupational profile described earlier shows that many entered the labour force in low skilled or unskilled occupations in trades that are in the services sector (e.g. construction, merchants, restaurant workers, etc.). It is probable that the immigrants employed in these occupations would come into regular contact with the members of the host society, thereby functioning in both worlds—the Italian community and Canadian society.

Those who arrived in Canada when they were younger than 15 years of age are more likely to have an outcome of acculturation that is classified either as *weakly integrated* or *strongly assimilated*. The primary difference between these two outcomes is that in the first instance, *weakly integrated*, the individual retains some ties to his or her ethnic and cultural origins while being part of the host society whereas in the second case he or she focuses entirely on being part of the host society. Since all immigrants who were part of this group attended either primary and/or secondary school in Canada, the different outcomes may be a function of whether the individual was at the younger or older end of the age range for this group. Those who were among the youngest spent the greatest amount of time in Canadian schools, thereby being exposed to all aspects of Canadian society at the prime of their formative years. The outcome of acculturation for these individuals is probably *strongly assimilated*. The older members of the group came

into the Canadian school system with some well developed ties to their ethnic and cultural origins, hence the outcome at the *weakly integrated* point in the continuum. (See the discussion on the effect of socialisation on acculturation in Chapter 2.)

An examination of the age at immigration for the individuals whose outcome is *separated* shows that the likelihood increases when they migrated at a later stage in their lives. This finding makes intuitive sense since it becomes increasingly difficult for an individual to acquire another language and to adapt to another society as he or she ages. The fact that the Italian community in Canada is very well developed and institutionally complete removes some of the urgency for immigrants to adapt to the host society. As stated previously, these immigrants are able to function very well entirely within the Italian community.

Two features emerge from the distribution of the outcome of acculturation of Italian immigrants by their sex (Table A7-8). First, the proportion of women is substantially greater for those whose outcome is classified as *separated*. This distribution is similar to the pattern that was observed for the Chinese population. It is certainly the result of demographic factors such as the higher age of survival for women when compared to men. As suggested earlier, it appears that most of the individuals whose outcome is *separated* are elderly women who are living within the Italian community, either alone or in a household as a member of an extended family. The second feature indicates that men are more likely than women to be classified as *weakly integrated*. A glance at the labour force participation rates for the Italian immigrants 15 years of age and older living in Canada shows that the employment to population ratio for men is 74 whereas it is only 56 for women. Therefore, Italian men are more likely than women to

be in the labour force and are more likely to enter into daily contact with the host society. It is possible that the women who are not in the labour force interact primarily within their family and community context which would result in an outcome of *separated* (see the preceding discussion).

The distribution of the outcome of acculturation by the marital status of the individual (Table A7-9) indicates that other factors must be considered in order to understand the relationship between these two variables. For instance, those who are single or divorced/separated tend to have an outcome of *weakly integrated* or *strongly assimilated*. In the first instance, it is likely that these individuals are young, probably of school age, and that they are either undergoing, or have undergone, part of the socialisation process in Canada. In the second instance, the results suggest that the individual may be moving away from his or her cultural roots since divorce and separation are not very common among Italian immigrants. Only 5% of the Italian immigrant population is either divorced or separated.

It appears that the individual's age and his or her sex may not be the only factors for those who fall in the *separated* category. We have seen in the previous table that those who are separated are more likely to be women. The data in Table A7-9 reveal that they are also more likely to be widows. Again, the pattern is very similar to that observed for the Chinese population (see Chapter 4).

As with the other groups in the study population, the impact of the respondent's declared mother tongue (Table A7-10) on the outcome of acculturation is very clear at this stage in the analysis²⁹. Italian immigrants who declare that their mother tongue is Italian are more likely to have an outcome of *strongly integrated* or *separated*. For those

whose mother tongue is either English and/or French the outcome of acculturation is predominately *strongly assimilated*. About 10% of the Italian immigrants declared a mother tongue that is a heritage language other than Italian. (Of that 10%, about 4% declared Spanish and Portuguese and another 4% declared a language that was not specifically coded in the PUMF.) This last point and the relatively high correlation coefficient between mother tongue and home language notwithstanding, the evidence of the possible influence of mother tongue on the outcome of acculturation for the Italian immigrants is too strong to be ignored. We know from the discussion in Chapter 2 that language is a key element in the preservation and promulgation of cultural heritage and that it also serves as a primary instrument of interaction with the host society. If the declared mother tongue of the immigrant is the language of the host society it is understandable that outcome of acculturation will be *strongly assimilated*. Similarly, individuals whose mother tongue is Italian have the primary means of retaining some contact with their ethnic roots—hence an outcome of acculturation either in the *integrated* or the *separated* portion of the continuum. What remains to be determined is the magnitude of the impact, which is one of the objectives of the modelling exercise presented in the next section.

The distribution of outcomes of acculturation by place of birth (Table A7-11) confirm that immigrants who were born in Italy tend to be at the *strongly integrated* or *separated* portion of the continuum whereas those who were born elsewhere³⁰ are more likely to be either *weakly integrated* or *strongly assimilated*. However, the discussion of the bivariate relationship between place of birth and outcome of acculturation cannot conclude with the forgoing observation. Contrary to what was seen for some of the other

ethnic groups in the study population, Italian immigrants who are born outside of Italy still appear to identify with their Italian origins. The outcome of acculturation is in the *integrated* portion of the continuum for about 60% of the “diasporic” Italians who immigrated to Canada. The reader will recall earlier comments made in this chapter concerning the propensity of Italians to form ethnic enclaves and the influence and impact of the local Italian communities on the people who live in or near them. Clearly this impact is not limited to the Italian communities in Canada. These results show that the Italian communities in the United States and some of the countries in Western Europe, the major places of birth for this diaspora population, have left their impact on the immigrants coming to Canada (see Alba, 1990; Alba, 1995).

The distribution of outcome of acculturation by the province in which the immigrants lived at the time of the 1991 Census (Table A7-12) highlights a number of interesting points beyond the effect of chain migration. First, the outcome of acculturation for the immigrants living in Québec is more likely to be *strongly integrated* than for those living in the rest of the country. This is due, in part, to the long history of Italian immigrants in Québec (see Section 7.1). It may also be due to the fact that the Italian immigrants living in Québec are concentrated in the CMA of Montreal (see Table 7-2)³¹ and that they tend to live in Italian ethnic neighbourhoods (Balakrishnan and Hou, 1999). A substantial concentration of a population group in one CMA provides greater opportunities to develop a community in which the retention of an ethnic or cultural heritage is facilitated. Second, the relative size of the community may have a bearing on the likelihood of the outcome of acculturation being classified as *separated*. The proportion of immigrants who are classified as *separated* is higher in Ontario than in

other parts of Canada. Over 70% of those in Ontario are living in Toronto—a metropolitan area in which there is a very vibrant, active and institutionally complete Italian community.

As the number of years the immigrants have been living in Canada increases, one would expect the distribution of outcome of acculturation to approach that of the non-immigrants belonging to the same ethnic group. This notion does not hold true for the Italians (see Table A7-13). The likelihood of an outcome of acculturation of *strongly integrated* peaks at 47% for the immigrants who have been living in Canada between 31 and 40 years. The equivalent proportion for those who were born in Canada is 8%. There are comparable differences for the other outcomes of acculturation included in the analysis. It appears from the proportion whose outcome of acculturation is in the *integrated* portion of the continuum that the Italian immigrants continue to identify with their origins regardless of the length of time they have been living in Canada. In fact, the proportion increases from just over 60% for those who had been in Canada for 10 years or less in 1991 to over 80% for the individuals who have been in Canada over 30 years. This result suggests that other factors need to be considered in addition to length of residence in Canada.

Income status, as measured by the LICO, does not appear to influence the outcome of acculturation except for those in the *separated* category (Table A7-14). In general most Italian immigrants (86%) live in households whose income is above the LICO. This result is not surprising given the median earnings for Italian immigrants reported earlier in this chapter and given the nature of the Italian communities in Canada. However, it is noteworthy that the outcome of acculturation is *separated* for 20% of the

immigrants who live in families with an income below the LICO. We have seen that those whose outcome is *separated* tend to be elderly women. We may now add to those who are *separated* are also relatively poor.

Of the Italian immigrants who are in the labour force, approximately 65% work in occupations that are classified at skill levels 2 and 3. The split between the two skill levels is more or less equal. The remaining 35% are also relatively evenly split between occupations at skill level 4 and occupations at skill level 1. When the outcome of acculturation is brought into the equation, we see that those who are working in lower skilled occupations tend to be at the *strongly integrated* and *separated* portions of the continuum whereas the individuals who work in more highly skilled occupations are more likely to be either *weakly integrated* or *strongly assimilated*. It is certain that the age of the immigrant combined with when he or she came to Canada has some bearing on this result, as does the socio-economic status of the occupation in which he or she is working (see Chapter 2.). Many of the immigrants who arrived in the 1950s and early 1960s were labourers and unskilled trades workers, occupations that were classified as having low socio-economic status on the Blishen scale (Blishen et al, 1987). We have already seen that the outcome of acculturation for the immigrants who had been in Canada more than 30 years at the time of the 1991 Census is more likely to be *strongly integrated*. The results in Table A7-15 show the same pattern for the relationship between skill level and outcome of acculturation.

The distributions at the other end of the skill spectrum, those with more highly skilled occupations, show a pattern that favours *weakly integrated* and *strongly assimilated* as the more likely outcomes of acculturation. This pattern may be explained

by the fact that the higher skilled occupations are more likely to be in industries and enterprises that are outside the Italian community or that have extensive dealings with people outside the Italian community. They also require higher levels of education. Therefore, the individuals who work in these occupations are more likely to meet the criteria that result in a classification at those points in the OA continuum.

The distribution of outcome of acculturation by highest level of education (Table A7-16) describes a pattern that is completely consistent with the preceding results. The outcome of acculturation for immigrants with lower levels of education tends to be either *strongly integrated* or *separated*, as would be expected of people who work in lower skilled occupations (for the reasons stated above). The outcome of acculturation for those who have higher levels of education (post-secondary) is more likely to be either *weakly integrated* or *strongly assimilated*. Again, this parallels the relationship between occupational skill level and the outcome of acculturation. It will be interesting to see whether both characteristics continue to have similar influence on the outcome of acculturation once the other independent variables are added to the model.

7.5 The multivariate perspective

The analysis conducted to this point is essentially descriptive and it is limited to univariate and bivariate distributions. It was noted on a number of occasions in the preceding section that interactions may exist among the independent variables and that a more complex analytical model is required to establish whether or not a given characteristic is a determinant of acculturation and what is the nature of its impact when all other variables are taken into account.

The following table presents the results of three logistic regression models, each of which includes the full list of independent variables. The first model compares the

outcome of acculturation *assimilated* with the aggregated *integrated* outcomes. The second focuses on the relationship between *separated* and *integrated*. The third completes the triangulation by comparing *separated* to *assimilated*. The aggregate outcomes are used in the models in order to ensure comparability of results across all ethnic groups in the study population.

Table 7-5 : Multivariate regression models, Italian immigrants, 1991

Variable	Assimilated to Integrated Exp(B)	Sig	Separated to Integrated Exp(B)	Sig	Separated to Assimilated Exp(B)	Sig	Variable	Assimilated to Integrated Exp(B)	Sig	Separated to Integrated Exp(B)	Sig	Separated to Assimilated Exp(B)	Sig
Age at immigration		0.000		0.000		0.000	Years in Canada		0.000		0.000		0.000
0 to 14 years							0 - 10						
15 to 24 years	0.4839	0.000	3.8291	0.000	8.0016	0.000	11 - 20	1.0798	0.377	1.3524	0.193	0.7930	0.639
25 to 29 years	0.3391	0.000	7.5130	0.000	62.0297	0.000	21 - 30	0.6375	0.001	1.5381	0.048	0.6858	0.479
30 to 44 years	0.3097	0.000	21.4616	0.000	123.6755	0.000	31 - 40	0.6399	0.004	1.0243	0.914	0.5017	0.196
45 years and older	0.3824	0.000	77.0934	0.000	90.8231	0.000	41 plus	0.7184	0.169	0.5883	0.066	1.0448	0.937
Sex							Personal income		0.000		0.000		0.000
Male							Total income > LICO						
Female	1.1101	0.221	1.7297	0.000	2.1267	0.004	Total income < LICO	0.6012	0.000	1.3450	0.001	4.8632	0.000
Marital status		0.000		0.000		0.000	Not applicable	0.7954	0.706	0.0173	0.772	0.0000	0.841
Single							Occupational skill level		0.000		0.000		0.000
Married	0.5789	0.062	1.4734	0.128	1.9208	0.218	Skill level 4						
Divorced/Separated	1.6268	0.004	1.2681	0.476	0.2831	0.682	Skill level 3	0.9303	0.584	2.2164	0.021	3.4916	0.033
Widowed	1.7846	0.013	2.5074	0.001	2.4079	0.199	Skill level 2	0.9353	0.621	2.7265	0.003	3.8819	0.021
Heritage language		0.000		0.000		0.000	Skill level 1	1.0817	0.652	3.8412	0.000	4.3570	0.016
Italian							Not applicable	1.0319	0.836	6.3300	0.000	8.8433	0.000
English and/or French	18.3094	0.000	0.1487	0.000	0.0017	0.000	Education		0.000		0.000		0.000
Other heritage language	3.4537	0.000	0.4653	0.023	0.0818	0.000	Elementary/secondary						
Place of birth							Post-secondary, non-univ.	1.0376	0.746	0.2942	0.000	0.2237	0.001
Poland							University, undergraduate	1.1876	0.147	0.2354	0.001	0.0811	0.000
Elsewhere	5.1606	0.000	0.4716	0.013	0.0710	0.000	University, graduate	1.1399	0.430	0.0080	0.110	0.0006	0.332
Province of residence		0.000		0.000		0.000	Not available	1.3991	0.301	2.3205	0.437	7.7338	0.113
Ontario													
Quebec	0.4621	0.000	0.8451	0.000	2.4641	0.013	Constant	0.8403	0.000	0.0021	0.000	0.0652	0.003
Manitoba	1.3006	0.347	0.7129	0.343	0.8903	0.498	Nagelkerke - R ²	0.499		0.445		0.918	
Saskatchewan	2.8080	0.023	0.0077	0.997	0.0005	0.817							
Alberta	1.8925	0.000	0.2268	0.000	0.0538	0.000							
British Columbia	1.9933	0.000	0.2732	0.000	0.0919	0.000							

Since the three models examine distinct comparisons of outcomes it is more appropriate to discuss each one separately. However, the degree to which the independent variables selected satisfy the analytical requirements needs to be considered before we proceed with the detailed discussion of each model. As discussed in Chapter 3, the Nagelkerke R² statistic serves as an indicator of how well the independent variables fit in the model. The statistic for all three models shows that the combination of variables is appropriate for this analysis.

As expected, the results for model 1 in Table 7-5 (*assimilated to integrated*) add a great deal of precision to the analysis presented in the previous section. The major points may be summarised as follows. The individual's sex, the occupational skill level and the highest level of education attained are not statistically significant in model 1. Therefore, they do not contribute to explaining which characteristics influence the classification of the outcome of acculturation in the *integrated/assimilated* portion of the continuum. It is clear that the individual's marital status and the age at which he or she came to Canada are important determinants of acculturation in this portion of the continuum, although not necessarily in the direction assumed as a result of the bivariate analysis. In all cases, the outcome of acculturation for immigrants who arrived in Canada when they were 15 years and older is less likely to be in the *assimilated* as opposed to *integrated* portion of the continuum. Immigrants who are either divorced/separated or who are widowed are more likely to be *assimilated* as opposed to *integrated*. The argument made in the previous section (and in Chapter 2) about why the outcome of acculturation for the divorced/separated immigrants is more likely to be *strongly assimilated* still holds. It is not obvious at this point why the outcome for those who are widowed is also more likely to be at this point in the continuum as opposed to *integrated*.

The impact of the individual's declared mother tongue on determining the outcome of acculturation in this portion of the continuum is consistent with what was found for the other ethnic groups that form the study population. Immigrants who declared their mother tongue to be either English and/or French are 18 times more likely than those who said that Italian was their mother tongue to be *assimilated* as compared to *integrated*. The effect of declaring a mother tongue other than Italian or one of the two

official languages was not clear from the bivariate analysis. This model resolves the ambiguity. It shows that the effect is similar to that of the immigrants whose mother tongue is either English or French, although not with the same intensity. Clearly those who declare a heritage language other than Italian as their mother tongue are not as connected to the Italian community. Hence, the outcome of *assimilated*.

Italian immigrants who were born in Italy are more likely to be *integrated*. However, contrary to what was shown in the bivariate results, those who were born elsewhere are more likely to be *assimilated*, which is consistent with what was observed for the other ethnic groups. The community in which he or she lives, has a bearing on the outcome of acculturation. Italian immigrants who live in Québec, a province in which the propensity to live in ethnic enclaves is relatively high for the Italians, are less likely than those living in Ontario to be *assimilated*. As stated in the previous section, this is due to the fact that the Italian immigrants in Québec live primarily in Montreal and they have a well established community whereas those in Ontario live in a number of cities throughout the province³². The coefficients for Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia indicate a greater likelihood of an outcome of acculturation in the *assimilated* portion of the continuum. This result is consistent with the fact that the likelihood of finding Italian ethnic enclaves is much lower in the CMAs in these provinces (Balakrishnan and Hou, 1999: 130-131).

The outcome of acculturation for Italian immigrants who are living in families with an income that is below the LICO is more likely to be *integrated* as opposed to *assimilated*. These individuals rely more heavily on the community for support. Therefore, their links with the community are very immediate and probably very strong.

It is also likely that they are among the older members of the Italian immigrant group. If so, we will see a tendency towards an outcome of *separated* in the other models.

The second model, the comparison between *separated* and *integrated*, provides an insight into which of the characteristics included as independent variables contribute to the relative isolation of the Italian immigrants from the larger Canadian society. It also provides an indication of the intensity of the effect. All variables are either fully or partially significant in this model. Once again, a selection of key observations are summarised below.

The age at which the immigrants arrive in Canada is definitely a factor in determining the outcome of acculturation in this model. The likelihood that the outcome will be *separated* as compared to *integrated* increases dramatically as the age at which the immigrant arrived in Canada increases. No doubt this is tied to two factors: (1) it becomes more difficult to learn another language later in life, and (2) Italian immigrants are able to function completely within their own community in many major centres in Canada. Women are more likely than men to experience an outcome of acculturation of *separated*. In fact, if we consider marital status we see that those who are widowed are two and a half times as likely to be *separated* when compared to *integrated*. They are undoubtedly the surviving spouse in a marriage in which they were almost totally dependant on their husbands for all contact with the larger society. It is quite possible that their outcome of acculturation was *separated* while they were married. (The coefficients in Table 7-5 support this notion.) The argument becomes even stronger when their status with respect to the LICO is considered. Those who are *separated* as

opposed to *integrated* are more likely to live in a situation where their income is below the LICO.

Immigrants who were born in Italy and who declared their mother tongue to be Italian are more likely to be *separated* as compared to *integrated*, all other factors taken into account. Intuitively this makes a great deal of sense since they are the ones who are restricted to the Italian community for most of their activities of daily living since they do not have a working knowledge of either English and/or French. The Italian immigrants who are living in Ontario are more likely than those living in other provinces to be *separated* as opposed to *integrated*. The data show that over 50% of the Italian immigrants whose outcome is in the *separated* portion of the continuum live in Toronto. The coefficients in the table confirm the effect of the institutional completeness and the presence of ethnic enclaves the Toronto CMA, as discussed earlier in this chapter. It is important to note that this comment does not contradict an observation made in model 1 concerning the concentration of Italian immigrants in Montreal. In terms of population size, the Italian immigrant community living in Toronto is larger than in Montreal. However, according to the coefficients calculated by Balakrishnan and Hou (1999) the community is more concentrated in Montreal (Gini coefficient = 0,688) than in Toronto (Gini coefficient = 0,627).

The effect of the educational attainment and occupational skill levels of the immigrants completes the profile of those whose outcome is more likely to be *separated* as compared to *integrated*. They are 6 times as likely as those in the highest skilled occupations not to be in the labour force and they are less likely to have any education

beyond primary or secondary school. This finding is consistent with the conclusions drawn as result of the analysis of the demographic characteristics described earlier.

The final model compares the outcome *separated* with *assimilated*. The results of this model complete the profile of the immigrants who are *separated*. It must be noted that the effects of the independent variables may be more extreme given that these two outcomes represent opposite poles in the OA continuum. The following highlights reinforce the observations made in the analysis of model 2.

The age at which the immigrants come to Canada has a dramatic impact on whether or not the outcome of acculturation will be either *separated* or *assimilated*. The pattern is similar to that of model 2, with one notable exception. The coefficient for the last category (45 years and older) is lower than the immediately preceding category (30 to 44 years). However, they are both extremely high. Therefore, the conclusion remains the same. The results of this model leave no doubt that women who are widowed, born in Italy and whose mother tongue is Italian are more likely to be *separated* when compared to *assimilated* or *integrated* (from model 2). This model also reinforces the notion that these women tend to live in situations that place them below the LICO. The underlying reasons remain the same as those for model 2.

Contrary to what was observed from model 2, the comparison in this model indicates that the outcome of acculturation is about two and a half times more likely to be *separated* as compared to *assimilated* for Italian immigrants living in Québec when compared to those living in Ontario. This result may be partially explained by the fact that the Italian immigrants living in Québec are in one CMA (Montréal) and that they

tend to be concentrated in a smaller number of neighbourhoods according to the coefficients calculated by Balakrishnan and Hou (199: 130-131).

The impact of the employment and educational characteristics described in the previous model apply entirely for this comparison as well.

7.6 What do the results tell us about Italian immigrants?

The acculturation experience for the Italian immigrants appears to be a very complex process in which virtually all the characteristics considered as independent variables in the models are significant. The notable exception is the number of years the immigrant has been living in Canada. This characteristic appears to have little impact on the outcome of acculturation.

Beyond some of the obvious conclusions that appear to be common for all ethnic groups (i.e. the impact of mother tongue and place of birth), four key observations may be made with respect to the acculturation of Italian immigrants in Canada. First, Italian immigrants tend to fare quite well economically—perhaps Caboto's legacy continues. Second, the effects of chain migration continue to be seen in the outcomes of acculturation. Third, those whose outcome is in the *assimilated* portion of the continuum are more likely to be young, better educated than their cultural peers and working in more highly skilled occupations. Finally, those who are in the *separated* portion of the continuum are generally elderly women who are widowed and who have a greater likelihood of not being economically self-sufficient (similar to the Chinese).

The following table summaries the impact of each characteristic on the outcome of acculturation. It is noteworthy that virtually all the characteristics are determinants of acculturation for those who are *separated*, yet four of the characteristics play no role in

determining whether the outcome will be in the *assimilated* or *integrated* portions of the continuum.

Table 7-6 : Summary of determinants of acculturation for Italian immigrants

Characteristic	Model - Is it a determinant of acculturation			Comment
	<i>Assimilated vs Integrated</i>	<i>Separated vs Integrated</i>	<i>Separated vs Assimilated</i>	
Age at immigration	Yes	Yes	Yes	The OA tends to be <i>integrated</i> or <i>separated</i> for immigrants who arrived at an advanced age.
Sex	No	Yes	Yes	Women are more likely than men to be <i>separated</i> .
Marital status	Partial	Partial	No	Not significant, other than for those who are widowed.
Mother tongue	Yes	Yes	Yes	A mother tongue other than Italian tends to result in an OA of <i>assimilated</i> . A mother tongue of Italian reduces the likelihood of an OA of <i>separated</i> .
Place of birth	Yes	Yes	Yes	The immigrants who are born in a diaspora are more likely to be <i>assimilated</i> and less likely to be <i>separated</i> .
Province of residence	Partial	Partial	Partial	This characteristic is significant only for Québec, Alberta and British Columbia. The OA is tied to the institutional completeness of the community.
Length of time in Canada	Partial	Partial	No	Not significant.
Low income status	Partial	Partial	Partial	The effect is pronounced for <i>separated</i> .
Occupational skill level	No	Yes	Yes	The OA is more likely to be <i>separated</i> for those in lower skilled occupations or who are not in the labour force.
Highest level of education	No	Partial	Partial	Individuals with post-secondary qualifications tend to be in the <i>assimilated</i> portion of the continuum, although the coefficients are not very strong

Appendix A-7: Detailed tables

Table A7-7 : Outcome of acculturation by age at immigration, Italian immigrants, 1991

Outcome of Acculturation	0 to 14 years		15 to 24 years		25 to 29 years		30 to 44 years		45 years & older		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	20,3	692	52,4	2 188	57,4	1 107	50,5	1 252	23,2	162	42,6	5 401
Weakly integrated	64,4	2 190	36,1	1 506	26,1	504	17,7	438	11,2	78	37,2	4 716
Strongly assimilated	8,9	301	4,3	180	4,7	90	3,8	93	2,3	16	5,4	680
Separated	0,7	23	4,5	188	8,5	165	24,7	612	58,3	407	11,0	1 395
Other	5,7	195	2,7	114	3,3	64	3,3	82	5,0	35	3,9	490
Total	100,0	3 401	100,0	4 176	100,0	1 930	100,0	2 477	100,0	698	100,0	12 682

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A7-8 : Outcome of acculturation by male/female distribution, Italian immigrants, 1991

Outcome of Acculturation	Female		Male		Total		Male/Female Ratio
	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	
Strongly integrated	42,8	2 580	42,4	2 821	42,6	5 401	1,09
Weakly integrated	32,6	1 965	41,4	2 751	37,2	4 716	1,40
Strongly assimilated	5,8	349	5,0	331	5,4	680	0,95
Separated	15,1	908	7,3	487	11,0	1 395	0,54
Other	3,8	229	3,9	261	3,9	490	1,14
Total	100,0	6 031	100,0	6 651	100,0	12 682	1,10

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A7-9 : Outcome of acculturation by marital status, Italian immigrants, 1991

Outcome of Acculturation	Single		Married		Divorced / Separated		Widowed		TOTAL	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	33,0	413	45,9	4 553	24,7	162	31,9	273	42,6	5 401
Weakly integrated	40,5	506	37,2	3 689	51,0	334	21,8	187	37,2	4 716
Strongly assimilated	15,4	192	3,8	376	12,7	83	3,4	29	5,4	680
Separated	2,0	25	10,1	998	4,3	28	40,1	344	11,0	1 395
Other	9,1	114	3,1	304	7,3	48	2,8	24	3,9	490
Total	100,0	1 250	100,0	9 920	100,0	655	100,0	857	100,0	12 682

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A7-10 : Outcome of acculturation by mother tongue, Italian immigrants, 1991

Outcome of Acculturation	English and/or French		Italian		Other heritage language		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	10,3	134	49,2	4 986	22,5	281	42,6	5 401
Weakly integrated	36,3	472	35,7	3 614	50,5	630	37,2	4 716
Strongly assimilated	34,7	451	0,9	90	11,1	139	5,4	680
Separated	0,5	7	13,4	1 359	2,3	29	11,0	1 395
Other	18,2	237	0,8	85	13,5	168	3,9	490
Total	100,0	1 301	100,0	10 134	100,0	1 247	100,0	12 682

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A7-11 : Outcome of acculturation by place of birth, Italian immigrants, 1991

Outcome of Acculturation	Italy		Elsewhere		TOTAL	
	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	48,4	5 011	16,7	390	42,6	5 401
Weakly integrated	35,9	3 715	42,8	1 001	37,2	4 716
Strongly assimilated	0,9	90	25,2	590	5,4	680
Separated	13,1	1 358	1,6	37	11,0	1 395
Other	1,6	170	13,7	320	3,9	490
Total	100,0	10 344	100,0	2 338	100,0	12 682

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A7-12 : Outcome of acculturation by province of residence, Italian immigrants, 1991

Outcome of Acculturation	Québec		Ontario		Prairie Provinces		British Columbia		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	50,5	1 495	41,8	3 395	10,3	203	32,9	308	42,6	5 401
Weakly integrated	32,5	963	37,6	3 057	14,5	287	43,7	409	37,2	4 716
Strongly assimilated	4,0	117	4,5	367	4,5	90	11,3	106	5,4	680
Separated	10,6	313	12,5	1 013	1,5	29	4,3	40	11,0	1 395
Other	2,4	72	3,6	295	2,6	51	7,7	72	3,9	490
Total	100,0	2 960	100,0	8 127	100,0	1 980	100,0	935	100,0	12 682

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A7-13 : Outcome of acculturation by years living in Canada, Italian immigrants, 1991

Outcome of Acculturation	0 - 10		11 - 20		21 - 30		31 - 40		41 plus		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	30,7	266	32,3	468	43,9	1 970	46,8	2 460	38,2	237	42,6	5 401
Weakly integrated	32,9	285	37,4	541	36,0	1 616	38,0	1 997	44,7	277	37,2	4 716
Strongly assimilated	16,6	144	12,6	182	4,1	184	2,7	143	4,4	27	5,4	680
Separated	6,1	53	10,6	154	13,1	589	10,6	559	6,5	40	11,0	1 395
Other	13,6	118	7,0	102	2,9	130	1,9	101	6,3	39	3,9	490
Total	100,0	866	100,0	1 447	100,0	4 489	100,0	5 260	100,0	620	100,0	12 682

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A7-14 : Outcome of acculturation by low income status, Italian immigrants, 1991

Outcome of Acculturation	Total income above LICO		Total income below LICO		Not applicable		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	42,7	4 642	42,2	758	4,8	1	42,6	5 401
Weakly integrated	38,3	4 165	29,9	538	61,9	13	37,2	4 716
Strongly assimilated	5,5	595	4,6	82	14,3	3	5,4	680
Separated	9,5	1 038	19,9	357	0,0		11,0	1 395
Other	4,0	433	3,5	63	19,0	4	3,9	500
Total	100,0	10 873	100,0	1 798	100,0	21	100,0	12 692

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A7-15 : Outcome of acculturation by occupational skill level, Italian immigrants, 1991

Outcome of Acculturation	Skill level 4		Skill level 3		Skill level 2		Skill level 1		Not applicable		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	23,4	377	39,4	1 117	43,4	1 130	53,4	758	48,0	2 019	42,6	5 401
Weakly integrated	58,2	938	48,6	1 377	42,5	1 108	31,5	448	20,1	845	37,2	4 716
Strongly assimilated	11,9	192	5,6	158	5,9	154	3,5	49	3,0	127	5,4	680
Separated	0,6	10	2,8	80	4,3	112	8,1	115	25,6	1 078	11,0	1 395
Other	6,0	96	3,7	104	3,9	102	3,5	50	3,3	138	3,9	490
Total	100,0	1 613	100,0	2 836	100,0	2 606	100,0	1 420	100,0	4 207	100,0	12 682

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A7-16 : Outcome of acculturation by highest level of education, Italian immigrants, 1991

Outcome of Acculturation	Elementary & Secondary		Post-secondary, non-university		University, undergraduate		University, graduate		Not applicable / not available		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	50,1	4 652	26,1	445	18,3	215	16,6	69	20,0	20	42,6	5 401
Weakly integrated	30,2	2 803	59,0	1 005	55,4	650	55,3	230	28,0	28	37,2	4 716
Strongly assimilated	2,5	228	9,0	153	15,4	181	20,0	83	35,0	35	5,4	680
Separated	14,7	1 368	1,1	19	0,6	7	0,0	0	1,0	1	11,0	1 395
Other	2,6	239	4,7	80	10,3	121	8,2	34	16,0	16	3,9	490
Total	100,0	9 290	100,0	1 702	100,0	1 174	100,0	416	100,0	100	100,0	12 682

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

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. The following conditions 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 Germanize (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 (see the discussion on chain migration in Chapter 7).

Poland became a sovereign state once again in 1918. Economic conditions in Poland at the end of World War I were still very poor. Hence the birth of the second wave of immigration—1918 to 1939. The state encouraged emigration as a means of easing the economic 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 are noteworthy. First, most came from villages and small towns. 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-World War 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	%
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 8.3.

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 Ontario³³. 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 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

8.3 Comparison between immigrants and born-in-Canada (1991 only)¹⁶

Since the remainder of the analysis in this chapter focuses on 1991 data it is important to establish whether the immigrants who arrived between the 1991 and 1996 Censuses altered the characteristics of the Polish population living in Canada to the point where they distort any comparisons that are made with the 1991 data. If major differences exist care must be taken whenever references to the general profile drawn in the previous section are made. The following table lists the indexes of dissimilarity for four key variables.

Table 8-3 : Indexes of dissimilarity for selected key characteristics, Polish immigrants, 1991 and 1996

Characteristic	Index of Dissimilarity
Sex	1,33
Marital Status	4,99
Highest level of education	5,81
Occupational skill level	2,76

Source: 1991 and 1996 Census Public Use Microdata File, CD-ROM

The results in Table 8-3 indicate that minor differences in the characteristics of the population are apparent when comparing at these two points in time. Some of the differences may be explained by the natural ageing of the population. For instance, there are fewer people with post-secondary education or less in 1996 than there were in 1991. In contrast, the proportion of Polish immigrants who have some form of post-secondary education has increased over the same time interval. It is natural to conclude that the increase in the second category is a consequence of the decrease in the first. In other words, some of the Polish immigrants recorded in the 1991 Census with post-secondary education or less completed some form of post-secondary education by 1996. These minor differences notwithstanding, the profile of the Polish immigrant population drawn from the 1996 data may be used for comparative purposes in the remainder of this analysis.

The following distributions of the outcomes of acculturation for the immigrant and non-immigrant population of Polish origin (Table 8-4) confirm many of the assumptions made in the discussion on their migration history in Canada²².

Table 8-4 : Outcome of acculturation, Polish, 1991

Outcome of Acculturation	Non-immigrant		Immigrant	
	count	%	count	%
Strongly integrated	364	2,3	3 010	50,0
Moderately integrated	726	4,5	177	2,9
Weakly integrated	1 259	7,8	1 614	26,8
Weakly assimilated	2 122	13,1	230	3,8
Moderately assimilated	12	0,1	28	0,5
Strongly assimilated	11 597	71,8	583	9,7
Separated	78	0,5	380	6,3
Marginalized	4	0,0	2	0,0
Total	16 162	100,0	6 024	100,0

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals, CD-ROM

The outcomes of acculturation for these two subgroups of the Polish population differ substantially as indicated by an index of dissimilarity for these two distributions of 73. A number of distinct features account for the difference. First, it is noteworthy that *strongly integrated* and *separated* are not important outcomes of acculturation for the non-immigrants. This suggests that those who were born in Canada have begun to move away from their ancestral heritage, perhaps as a result of the relatively high proportions of exogamy alluded to by Avery (1982), as discussed earlier. This hypothesis is further supported by the second major difference in the distributions—the outcome of acculturation is *strongly assimilated* for over 70% of the non-immigrants. Many of the texts that describe the immigration experience of the Poles who came to Canada (see Avery et. al., 1982; Radecki, 1979) make reference to the distinct efforts made by the first and second wave of migrants to become part of Canadian society. These results suggest rather strongly that the trend was continued by their children.

The third major difference, the presence of *separated* as a substantial outcome of acculturation for the immigrants of Polish ancestry, may be the result of the more recent arrivals (those who came to Canada towards the end of the 1981-1990 period). Unlike the Chinese or the South Asians, there is no evidence that those who are in the *separated*

portion of the continuum are necessarily the elderly or women. There are also no clearly defined and completely delineated Polish communities or neighbourhoods in which someone whose outcome is in the *separated* portion of the continuum may live without requiring contact with the host society (Balakrishnan and Hou, 1999). Therefore, this outcome is possibly a temporary result. An analysis of the interaction between outcome of acculturation and period of immigration will provide an indication of the nature of the relationship between these two characteristics.

Mother tongue was shown to be a significant determinant of acculturation in the analyses described in the preceding chapters. The data in Table 8-5 indicate that the same holds true for the population of Polish origin. Over 85% of the non-immigrants of Polish ethnic origin declared a mother tongue of either English and/or French. This compares with approximately the same proportion whose outcome of acculturation is in the *assimilated* portion of the continuum. This result is unlikely to be a coincidence. The data also show that over 70% of the Polish immigrants declared a mother tongue of Polish and that another 18% declared another heritage language as their mother tongue, which suggests that they retain some knowledge of their ethnic language independent of the length of time they have been living in Canada.

Table 8-5 : Mother tongue by immigrant status, Polish, 1991

Mother Tongue	Non-immigrant		Immigrant	
	count	%	count	%
English and/or French	13 948	86,3	704	11,7
Polish	1 382	8,6	4 241	70,4
Other heritage language	832	5,1	1 079	17,9
Total	16 162	100,0	6 024	100,0

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals, CD-ROM

As with most of the other ethnic groups in the study population, it is apparent that immigrants and non-immigrants are different with respect to their declared mother

tongues (index of dissimilarity = 74,6). The non-immigrants are predominately English and/or French speaking and the immigrants tend to declare Polish language as their mother tongue. Another interesting feature of the distribution for both subgroups of the population is that a substantial proportion declared another heritage language as their mother tongue. Of the 18% who declared a mother tongue other than Polish, English or French, 7% indicated that they speak Ukrainian, 4% indicated that they speak German and the remainder indicated a language that was not specifically coded in the PUMF. The distribution of “other heritage languages” mirrors somewhat the history of Poland.

Another interesting feature of the distribution in Table 8-5 is the proportion of the Polish immigrants who declared their mother tongue to be either English and/or French. Almost 40% of those immigrants arrived in Canada when they were under 10 years of age. Therefore, they spent their formative educational years in Canadian schools. Another 26% of them arrived in Canada between the ages of 20 and 29. This suggests that they may have migrated to Canada from another English or French speaking country. In fact, the data show that 50% of the Polish immigrants who declared a mother tongue of either English and/or French were born in the United States or the United Kingdom.

It was observed in Section 8.1 that the Polish immigrants who were part of the second wave (1918 to 1939) and the those who migrated as the first part of the third wave (1945 to 1956) tended to settle in Ontario. The data in Table 8-2 show a distinct concentration in Ontario for the total population of Polish origin. When immigrant status is taken into account the pattern becomes even more pronounced. While almost 40% of non-immigrants were living in Ontario at the time of the 1991 Census, over 60% of the Polish immigrants were living in that province. These results certainly support the

statements that the more recent waves of migrants tended to settle in Ontario. The province of residence may not have a direct impact on the outcome of acculturation. However, the likelihood of the existence of ethnic enclaves within the CMAs in the province most certainly has the potential to affect the outcome of acculturation (see Chapter 2). It has been shown that the likelihood of Polish ethnic enclaves is highest in the CMAs of Montréal and Québec (see Balakrishnan and Hou, 1999: 130-131). However, the coefficients of concentration (Gini coefficients) are among the lowest for the Poles when compared to the other groups in the study population. Therefore, it is not clear at this stage in the analysis whether spatial factors contribute to the outcome of acculturation for this ethnic group.

8.4 The bivariate perspective

It was shown in the previous section that the acculturation experience of Polish immigrants and non-immigrants differs and that mother tongue appears to play a key role as a determinant of acculturation. The focus of the analysis now shifts to establishing which of the characteristics included in the model are significant determinants of acculturation for Polish immigrants.

We see from the distribution shown in Table 8-4 that four outcomes of acculturation appear to dominate for the Polish immigrants – *strongly integrated*, *weakly integrated*, *strongly assimilated* and *separated*³⁹. Therefore, the analysis that follows focuses on the *integrated*, *assimilated* and *separated* portions of the continuum. It probes more deeply into the characteristics of the subsets of the immigrant population whose outcome is classified in one of the aforementioned categories. The tabular analysis examines the relationship between each of the independent variables and the significant

outcomes of acculturation. The interaction among all the independent variables is dealt with in the full statistical models.

Polish immigrants appear to conform to the profile that one would expect to see for a group with their particular immigration history. They tend to live in central Canada (over 70% live in Québec and Ontario). Their age structure differs somewhat from the Polish non-immigrants. Their mean age (47,5 years) is higher than that of their born-in-Canada homologues (27 years). Most were born in Poland and most, although not as many as one would expect, declared Polish to be their mother tongue.

With this profile one would expect that the outcomes of acculturation for Polish immigrants would be primarily in the *integrated* portion of the continuum with substantial representation in many of the other categories. In fact, the results in Table 8-4 show just that. However, at this stage in the analysis we know very little about the effects of the independent variables on the outcome of acculturation nor about how the independent variables interact to produce a given result.

Three distinct patterns emerge when we examine the distributions of age at immigration by outcome of acculturation (see Table A8-8). First, the outcome of acculturation for immigrants who arrived in Canada during the stage in their life course when they were the adult members of a family unit, between the ages of 25 and 44, is more likely to be *strongly integrated*. Second, those who arrived in Canada under the age of 25 are more likely to be either *weakly integrated* or *strongly assimilated*. Finally, the outcome of acculturation for those who arrived during the later stages in their lives (45 years of age and older) is more likely to be classified in the *separated* portion of the continuum when compared to the total Polish immigrant population. It is possible that

these immigrants are part of the most recent group, those who migrated between 1981 and 1990, or that they are the older members of the earlier parts of wave 3, although the latter option is less likely since many of them would be well into their 80s and 90s at the time of the census.

The results in Table A8-9 in the appendix to this chapter show that the proportions of males and females tend to be similar to the marginal proportions for three of the four notable outcomes of acculturation. Therefore, one may conclude at this stage in the analysis that the sex of the individual does not help to explain the outcome of acculturation. However, the results also show that the outcome of acculturation is *separated* more often for women when compared to men, suggesting that perhaps gender does have an impact. It will be possible to address this issue during the next stage of analysis.

It is unclear whether or not marital status has an impact on the outcome of acculturation for Polish immigrants (Table A8-10). The distribution by outcome of acculturation for the immigrants who are married mirrors that of the total Polish immigrant population. This is not surprising given that 60% of the Polish immigrants are married. However, according to the data from the 1991 Census, 24,5% of all husband/wife couples in which at least one of the partners is of Polish origin are exogamous unions (26,4% of the Polish immigrant men live in exogamous unions and 22,7% of the Polish immigrant women are married to partners who are not Polish). These proportions would argue for a result that places the outcome of acculturation in the *assimilated* portion of the continuum, which is clearly not the case. The dominant

outcomes of acculturation for the married Polish immigrants are in the *integrated* portion of the continuum.

Different patterns emerge for the remaining categories of marital status. Those who are single are more likely to be at the *strongly integrated* portion of the continuum whereas those who are either divorced or separated are more likely to be at the *weakly integrated* portion of the continuum. Finally, the outcome of acculturation for those who are widowed is more likely to be either *separated* or *weakly integrated*.

The results in Table A8-11 leave no doubt about the importance of language in the acculturation of immigrants³⁴. People who declare their mother tongue to be either English and/or French have demonstrated a shift in language to that of the host society. This shift results in an outcome of acculturation that is overwhelmingly at the *strongly assimilated* portion of the OA continuum. In contrast, those who reported their mother tongue to be Polish possess an important marker of their cultural origin. As expected, they tend to be at the *strongly integrated* portion of the continuum. The immigrants whose mother tongue is a heritage language other than Polish tend to be either at the *weakly integrated* or *strongly assimilated* portions of the continuum, suggesting the possibility that they may have been born in or emigrated from a country other than Poland. It was noted earlier that according to the 1996 Census almost 20% of the Polish immigrants were not born in Poland. Corresponding figures for the 1991 Census (on which this analysis is based) indicate that approximately 24% were born outside of Poland³⁵. It was also noted in the preceding comparison between Polish immigrants and non-immigrants that the other heritage languages (other than Polish) declared by the immigrants mirrored the history of the Polish people, confirming that Poles born in a

diaspora often adopted the language of the society in which they were born as their mother tongue. This is an indication that they have already undergone acculturation in a host society that is different from the society of their cultural origins.

The distribution of outcomes of acculturation by place of birth (Table A8-12) mirror those by mother tongue. Immigrants who were born in Poland are more likely to be at the *strongly integrated* portion of the continuum whereas those who were born elsewhere are more likely to be *strongly assimilated*. This result highlights once again the impact of being born in a diaspora on maintaining ties to the culture of origin for some ethnic groups³⁶ (see the discussion in Chapter 2 on the importance of place of birth in the analysis of the outcome of acculturation). Poland's turbulent history which resulted in parts of the country being incorporated into other states may also be a contributing factor. (See the preceding discussion on the distributions by place of birth.) People who were born in these territories may consider themselves to have some Polish roots but, like their compatriots who were born in a diaspora, they may also have adopted the culture of the host society (e.g. Germany, Hungary, Russia). Place of birth must be considered in the full model.

The distributions of outcome of acculturation by province of residence (Table A8-13) confirm the importance of access to resources and an existing community infrastructure (social clubs, religious organisations, community groups, community centres, etc.) in maintaining ties to ones cultural origins. Immigrants of Polish origin established communities in Ontario and Québec during the second wave of migration (1918 to 1939). This shifted the concentrations from the Prairie provinces to Central Canada. The distribution of the total Polish population in Québec by CMA shows that

93% live in Montreal. According to Balakrishnan and Hou, the Gini coefficient (defined in Chapter 2) for the Polish group in Montreal is 0,639 indicating that people belonging to this ethnic group are likely to live in the same or adjacent neighbourhoods (1999: 130-131). The concentrations of people of Polish origin living in Ontario are found primarily in Toronto (53%), Hamilton (11%) and the Kitchener-Waterloo and London areas (11%). The corresponding Gini coefficients are 0,619, 0,477, 0,423 and 0,467. When the analysis is conducted at the provincial level, the CMAs of Montréal and Toronto have an overwhelming influence on the results due to the population that they represent. Therefore, it is reasonable to attribute the essence of the Gini coefficients for these two CMAs to their respect provinces. Given this assumption, it is understandable that the outcome of acculturation for the Polish immigrants living in Ontario and Québec is more likely to be *strongly integrated*.

Two factors emerge in the analysis of the relationship between the outcome of acculturation and the number of years Polish immigrants have been living in Canada. First, when compared with the total Polish immigrant population, the outcome of acculturation for the immigrants who have been living in Canada 10 years or less is more likely to be *separated*. The data also show that a substantial proportion of the more recent immigrants are *strongly integrated*. Again, this confirms the assumption made earlier concerning the relationship between recency of immigration and the retention of strong ties to the culture of origin. Second, time is not necessarily a factor with respect to the other outcomes of acculturation. No clear pattern is obvious in the data in Table A8-14, suggesting that this characteristic may only be an intervening variable in the analysis. Nevertheless, it must be considered in the full model.

At this stage in the analysis income status, as measured by the LICO, does not appear to be a major factor in determining the outcome of acculturation (see Table A8-15) since no distinct patterns or dramatic shifts are evident in the results. However, final judgement will be reserved until the full model is considered.

The distribution of the outcome of acculturation by skill level (Table A8-16) suggests that the immigrants who work in occupations that are classified as either professional or management are more likely to be in the *strongly assimilated* portion of the OA continuum. A similar pattern was noted for some of the other ethnic groups. Virtually all of the professions falling in this category require higher levels of education, including advanced degrees and/or professional certification. These results suggest that education may also be a factor in determining the outcome of acculturation.

In contrast, the outcome of acculturation is more likely to be *strongly integrated* for the Polish immigrants who work in occupations that are classified as skill level 1. We know that virtually none of the immigrants who arrived during the second wave of migration (1918 to 1939) are still in the labour force. Therefore, the results in this table apply only to the third wave of immigrants—those who did not necessarily work in agriculture or related occupations. It is difficult to draw any meaningful conclusions from the simple bivariate relationship. The result may be due to possible interactions with other characteristics such as the age, the sex and the education of the individual.

Three points must be raised before discussing the relationship between the highest level of education and the outcome of acculturation. First, as mentioned earlier, it is almost certain that the study population does not include any immigrants who arrived during the first wave. Second, it is not relevant at this stage in the analysis whether or not

the immigrants acquired the educational level indicated in Table A8-17 before or after their arrival in Canada. Third, the “not applicable/not available” category applies only to those immigrants who were under the age of 15 at the time of the 1991 Census.

No distinct patterns emerge from the results in Table A8-17 other than for the Polish immigrants whose outcome is *separated* or *strongly integrated*. The immigrants with little education or those who are under 15 are more likely to be *separated*. Furthermore, those who are under 15 years of age are also more likely to be *strongly integrated*. It is unclear from these results whether the highest level of schooling has an impact on the outcome of acculturation.

8.5 The Multivariate Perspective

As indicated in previous chapters, bivariate or simple multivariate analyses provide limited information about the significance and impact of the independent variables in the model. The relationships are somewhat more complex and their exploration requires an analysis of the full model, taking into consideration the interaction among the independent variables. The following table presents the results of three logistic regression models, each of which includes the full list of independent variables being considered in this study. Model 1 compares the aggregated *assimilated* outcomes of acculturation with the aggregated *integrated* outcomes. Model 2 focuses on the relationship between *separated* and *integrated*. Model 3 completes the triangulation by comparing *separated* to *assimilated*.

Table 8-6 : Multivariate regression models, Polish immigrants, 1991

Variable	Assimilated to Integrated		Separated to Integrated		Separated to Assimilated		Variable	Assimilated to Integrated		Separated to Integrated		Separated to Assimilated	
	Exp(B)	Sig	Exp(B)	Sig	Exp(B)	Sig		Exp(B)	Sig	Exp(B)	Sig	Exp(B)	Sig
Age at immigration							Age at immigration						
0 to 14 years							0 - 10						
15 to 24 years	0.5066	0.000	4.3025	0.007	5.6763	0.006	11 - 20	1.9034	0.000	0.3072	0.000	0.1244	0.000
25 to 29 years	0.3282	0.000	5.9778	0.001	17.1550	0.000	21 - 30	1.5083	0.028	0.3134	0.000	0.1530	0.000
30 to 44 years	0.3021	0.000	11.1379	0.000	45.1452	0.000	31 - 40	1.3167	0.120	0.1778	0.000	0.0619	0.000
45 years and older	0.3461	0.000	33.7712	0.000	111.2852	0.000	41 plus	1.1986	0.358	0.1393	0.000	0.0763	0.000
Sex							Sex						
Male							Total income > LICO						
Female	1.2577	0.025	1.0525	0.679	1.0910	0.746	Total income < LICO	0.7015	0.011	1.6276	0.000	2.4253	0.002
Married status							Not applicable	0.4139	0.249	2.7557	0.173	1.1354	0.947
Single							Occupational skill level						
Married	1.0554	0.746	1.1432	0.566	1.9488	0.144	Skill level 4						
Divorced/Separated	1.7725	0.006	0.8302	0.550	1.3310	0.634	Skill level 3	1.3829	0.064	2.3657	0.060	1.5090	0.626
Widowed	1.1978	0.445	1.4554	0.206	2.9193	0.066	Skill level 2	1.1575	0.409	2.1176	0.100	2.3350	0.331
Married language							Skill level 1	0.9191	0.723	2.4745	0.050	4.2845	0.102
Polish							Not applicable	1.1784	0.363	4.4357	0.001	2.3386	0.306
English and/or French	20.0276	0.000	0.6639	0.279	0.0238	0.000	Elementary/secondary						
Other heritage language	2.8704	0.000	0.6848	0.091	0.3503	0.001	Post-secondary, non-univ.	1.6682	0.000	0.4726	0.000	0.2022	0.000
Place of birth							University, undergraduate	1.4022	0.024	0.1199	0.000	0.0340	0.000
Poland							University, graduate	1.1080	0.643	0.1741	0.000	0.0930	0.002
Elsewhere	2.7456	0.000	1.2637	0.313	0.1949	0.000	Not available	0.5374	0.044	3.6015	0.018	25.9801	0.000
Province of residence							Constant						
Ontario								0.0359	0.000	0.0072	0.000	0.1648	0.090
Quebec	0.7394	0.074	0.7417	0.150	1.1546	0.751	Nagelkerke - R ²	0.483		0.242		0.810	
Manitoba	1.4620	0.036	1.4301	0.117	1.1488	0.773							
Saskatchewan	1.9544	0.027	1.7379	0.276	1.6554	0.503							
Alberta	1.7832	0.000	0.8441	0.409	1.7301	0.179							
British Columbia	2.0634	0.000	0.8167	0.411	0.5954	0.250							

The highlights and trends for each model are summarised below. The implications of these results are discussed in Chapter 11 when cross-group analysis is possible.

We see from the coefficients in Model 1, *assimilated* compared to *integrated*, that all characteristics other than occupational skill level are statistically significant to the 0.05 level. The impact of the demographic characteristics in the determination of the outcome of acculturation may be summarised as follows. Those who arrive when they are 15 years of age and older are less likely than the youngest group to be *assimilated* as opposed to *integrated*. The outcome of acculturation for women is more likely to be in the *assimilated* as opposed to *integrated* portion of the continuum when compared to men. Finally, the outcome for those who are divorced or separated in contrast to never

married is more likely to be in the *assimilated* as opposed to *integrated* portion of the continuum.

The cultural characteristics show the impact of mother tongue and place of birth on the outcome of acculturation. The Polish immigrants who declared their mother tongue to be any language other than Polish are more likely to experience an outcome in the assimilated as opposed to integrated portion of the continuum. In fact, those who declared English and/or French to be their mother tongue are almost 20 times more likely to be assimilated as opposed to integrated. Similarly, the outcome of acculturation is more likely to be in the assimilated as opposed to integrated portion of the continuum for immigrants who were born in a diaspora.

The number of years the immigrants have been living in Canada presents a very interesting pattern. The outcome for all immigrants who have been in Canada more than 10 years is more likely to be in the assimilated as opposed to integrated portion of the continuum. Although the coefficients decrease for the subsequent categories, they still remain greater than 1, indicating that the likelihood of an outcome in the assimilated portion of the continuum is greater for those who have been in Canada more than 10 years.

The impact of the province of residence on the outcome of acculturation confirms what was shown in the bivariate analysis. Immigrants who live in Ontario or Québec are more likely to be *integrated* as opposed to *assimilated* than those living in other parts of Canada. The reasons for this have been discussed earlier in the chapter. Finally, the economic characteristics that are statistically significant show the following. The outcome of acculturation is less likely to be in the *assimilated* as opposed to *integrated*

portion of the continuum for immigrants who live in families in which the income is below the LICO and the likelihood of an outcome in the *assimilated* portion of the continuum increases for those with some form of post-secondary education.

The second model, *separated* compared to *integrated*, begins to give some insight into the determinants of acculturation when the outcome is in the *separated* portion of the continuum. The Nagelkerke R^2 statistic for this model (0,242) is low relative to the other two models. It is not entirely clear whether a different combination of independent variables would improve the fit. However, since the objective of this study is to examine the impact of a fixed set of characteristics and not to define a predictive model, the analysis may be pursued.

The results in Table 8-6 indicate that the individual's sex, marital status, mother tongue, place of birth and province of residence are not significant determinants of acculturation. The fact that a substantial number of characteristics are not statistically significant distinguishes the Polish group from the others in which *separated* is an important outcome of acculturation. Inter-group comparisons and analyses will be presented in Chapter 11.

We see from the coefficients in the second model that the likelihood of an outcome of acculturation in the *separated* as opposed to *integrated* portion of the continuum increases as the age at which the immigrant arrived in Canada increases. We also see that the likelihood of an outcome in the *separated* portion of the continuum decreases for immigrants who have been living in Canada longer.

Although the three "economic" characteristics are statistically significant at the aggregate level, we see that only occupational skill level 1 and "not applicable" are

significant at the detailed level. Since skill level 1 is marginally significant and the “not applicable” category refers to those who are not in the labour force, the entire characteristic will be considered not significant for this analysis. The results for the remaining two variables may be summarised as follows: Polish immigrants who live in a family whose income is below the LICO are more likely to experience an outcome of acculturation in the *separated* portion of the continuum; and any form of post-secondary education reduces the likelihood of an outcome in *separated* portion of the continuum.

Model 3, *separated* compared to *assimilated*, completes the picture for the Polish immigrants with an outcome in the *separated* portion of the continuum. Like in model 2, a number of characteristics are not statistically significant—sex, marital status, province of residence, income status and occupational skill level. Unlike model 2, the fit as measured by the Nagelkerke R^2 is substantially better. The main points are summarised in the following paragraphs.

The likelihood of an outcome in the *separated* as opposed to *assimilated* portion of the continuum increases as the age at which the immigrant arrives in Canada increases, confirming that this pattern is consistent regardless of which comparison is performed (against *integrated* or against *assimilated*). If the mother tongue is a language other than Polish the likelihood of an outcome of *separated* is reduced. Similarly, if the place of birth is not Poland the likelihood of an outcome of *separated* is reduced.

Immigrants who have been in Canada more than 10 years are less likely to experience an outcome of acculturation in the *separated* portion of the continuum. Finally, any post-secondary education reduces the likelihood of an outcome of

acculturation in the *separated* portion of the continuum. Again, this confirms the result that was found in model 2.

8.6 What do the results tell us about Polish immigrant acculturation?

As expected, the outcome of acculturation of Polish immigrants to Canada bears the marks of the different waves of migrants. This is most noticeable in the impact on the results of age at immigration and the number of years that the immigrants have been living in Canada. One is left with the distinct impression that a birth cohort analysis of the more recent Polish immigrants would show substantial changes over time in distribution of outcomes of acculturation. In fact, it is likely that such an analysis would show that the outcome *separated* is a temporary state for the Polish immigrants. This is a sharp contrast to what was observed for some of the other ethnic groups, such as the Chinese and South Asians. In those instances *separated* is an outcome that is dependent on the age and sex of the individual rather than the number of years that he or she has been living in Canada.

The results also show, once again, that the mother tongue declared by the individual is an important determinant of acculturation. The impact is very simple. Immigrants who declared their mother tongue to be one of the two official languages tend to be in the *assimilated* portion of the continuum whereas those who declare Polish to be their mother tongue tend to be in the *integrated* portion of the continuum. Finally, the level of education that an individual has attained has an impact on his or her outcome of acculturation. Polish immigrants who have post-secondary qualifications are more likely to be in the *assimilated* portion of the continuum.

The following table summaries the impact of each characteristic on the outcome of acculturation. It is noteworthy that only four of the independent variables are not determinants of acculturation.

Table 8-7 : Summary of determinants of acculturation for Polish immigrants

Characteristic	Model - Is it a determinant of acculturation			Comment
	<i>Assimilated vs Integrated</i>	<i>Separated vs Integrated</i>	<i>Separated vs Assimilated</i>	
Age at immigration	Yes	Yes	Yes	The likelihood of an OA of <i>separated</i> increases and <i>assimilated</i> decreases for those who arrived after the age of 15.
Sex	Yes	No	No	Women are more likely to be <i>assimilated</i> .
Marital status	Partial	No	No	
Mother tongue	Yes	No	Yes	The likelihood of <i>assimilated</i> increases and <i>separated</i> decreases if mother tongue is other than Polish
Place of birth	Yes	No	Yes	Those who are born in diaspora are more likely to be <i>assimilated</i> and less likely to be <i>separated</i> .
Province of residence	Partial	No	No	The likelihood of <i>assimilated</i> increases for those who live outside of Ontario and Québec.
Length of time in Canada	Partial	Yes	Yes	Those who have been in Canada more than 10 years are more likely to be <i>assimilated</i> and less likely to be <i>separated</i> .
Low income status	Partial	Partial	Partial	Those who are below LICO are less likely to be <i>assimilated</i> and more likely to be <i>separated</i> .
Occupational skill level	No	No	No	
Highest level of education	Partial	Yes	Yes	Individuals with post-secondary qualifications are more likely to be in the <i>assimilated</i> and less likely to be in the <i>separated</i> portions of the continuum.

Appendix A-8: Detailed tables

Table A8-8 : Outcome of acculturation by age at immigration, Polish immigrants, 1991

Outcome of Acculturation	0 to 14 years		15 to 24 years		25 to 29 years		30 to 44 years		45 years & older		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	31,3	470	46,1	587	59,6	659	63,2	1 106	47,8	188	50,0	3 010
Weakly integrated	34,9	524	32,2	410	24,8	274	19,8	346	15,3	60	26,8	1 614
Strongly assimilated	7,4	111	3,5	44	2,3	25	2,2	39	2,8	11	3,8	230
Separated	3,9	59	2,7	35	4,1	45	7,9	138	26,2	103	6,3	380
Other	22,5	338	15,5	198	9,3	103	6,9	120	7,9	31	13,1	790
Total	100,0	1 502	100,0	1 274	100,0	1 106	100,0	1 749	100,0	393	100,0	6 024

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A8-9 : Outcome of acculturation by male/female distribution, Polish immigrants, 1991

Outcome of Acculturation	Female		Male		Total		Male/Female Ratio
	%	n	%	n	%	n	
Strongly integrated	50,3	1 542	49,6	1 468	50,0	3 010	0,95
Weakly integrated	24,5	750	29,2	864	26,8	1 614	1,15
Strongly assimilated	4,1	127	3,5	103	3,8	230	0,81
Separated	7,0	216	5,5	164	6,3	380	0,76
Other	14,1	432	12,1	358	13,1	790	0,83
Total	100,0	3 067	100,0	2 957	100,0	6 024	0,96

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A8-10 : Outcome of acculturation by marital status, Polish immigrants, 1991

Outcome of Acculturation	Single		Married		Divorced / Separated		Widowed		TOTAL	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	55,1	679	51,7	1 874	36,2	187	41,5	270	50,0	3 010
Weakly integrated	22,5	277	26,1	947	35,4	183	31,8	207	26,8	1 614
Strongly assimilated	2,7	33	3,8	139	5,8	30	4,3	28	3,8	230
Separated	6,9	85	5,7	205	5,2	27	9,7	63	6,3	380
Other	12,8	158	12,7	459	17,4	90	12,7	83	13,1	790
Total	100,0	1 232	100,0	3 624	100,0	517	100,0	651	100,0	6 024

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A8-11 : Outcome of acculturation by mother tongue, Polish immigrants, 1991

Outcome of Acculturation	English and/or French		Polish		Other heritage language		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	9,2	65	58,9	2 500	41,2	445	50,0	3 010
Weakly integrated	13,2	93	28,4	1 203	29,5	318	26,8	1 614
Strongly assimilated	21,0	148	1,5	63	1,8	19	3,8	230
Separated	1,3	9	7,8	330	3,8	41	6,3	380
Other	55,3	389	3,4	145	23,7	256	13,1	790
Total	100,0	704	100,0	4 241	100,0	1 079	100,0	6 024

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A8-12 : Outcome of acculturation by place of birth, Polish immigrants, 1991

Outcome of acculturation	Poland		Elsewhere		TOTAL	
	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	59,3	2 720	20,2	290	50,0	3 010
Weakly integrated	26,1	1 198	29,0	416	26,8	1 614
Strongly assimilated	2,1	95	9,4	135	3,8	230
Separated	7,5	345	2,4	35	6,3	380
Other	5,1	232	38,9	558	13,1	790
Total	100,0	4 590	100,0	1 434	100,0	6 024

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A8-13 : Outcome of acculturation by province of residence, Polish immigrants, 1991

Outcome of acculturation	Quebec		Ontario		Manitoba		Saskatchewan		Alberta		British Columbia		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	56,2	377	52,9	1 977	50,3	175	24,3	26	43,3	279	33,9	176	50,0	3 010
Weakly integrated	21,9	147	26,0	970	22,4	78	49,5	53	31,2	201	31,8	165	26,8	1 614
Strongly assimilated	3,0	20	3,4	127	4,6	16	4,7	5	4,5	29	6,4	33	3,8	230
Separated	4,9	33	6,9	258	8,3	29	4,7	5	5,1	33	4,2	22	6,3	380
Other	14,0	94	10,8	403	14,4	50	16,8	18	15,8	102	23,7	123	13,1	790
Total	100,0	671	100,0	3 735	100,0	348	100,0	107	100,0	644	100,0	519	100,0	6 024

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A8-14 : Outcome of acculturation by years living in Canada, Polish immigrants, 1991

Outcome of acculturation	0 - 10		11 - 20		21 - 30		31 - 40		41 plus		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	68,1	1 692	33,6	177	34,1	212	35,1	379	42,0	550	50,0	3 010
Weakly integrated	14,2	352	28,5	150	36,5	227	37,2	402	36,9	483	26,8	1 614
Strongly assimilated	1,7	42	6,6	35	5,0	31	4,4	47	5,7	75	3,8	230
Separated	10,7	267	3,4	18	5,3	33	3,1	34	2,1	28	6,3	380
Other	5,3	133	27,9	147	19,1	119	20,2	218	13,2	173	13,1	790
Total	100,0	2 486	100,0	527	100,0	622	100,0	1 080	100,0	1 309	100,0	6 024

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A8-15 : Outcome of acculturation by low income status, Polish immigrants, 1991

Outcome of acculturation	Total income above LICO		Total income below LICO		Not applicable		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	47,6	2 174	57,9	833	13,0	3	50,0	3 010
Weakly integrated	28,8	1 316	19,9	286	52,2	12	26,8	1 614
Strongly assimilated	4,3	196	2,2	32	8,7	2	3,8	230
Separated	4,7	213	11,4	164	13,0	3	6,3	380
Other	14,6	664	8,6	123	13,0	3	13,1	790
Total	100,0	4 563	100,0	1 438	100,0	23	100,0	6 024

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A8-16 : Outcome of acculturation by occupational skill level, Polish immigrants, 1991

Outcome of acculturation	Skill level 4		Skill level 3		Skill level 2		Skill level 1		Not applicable		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	37,1	263	45,6	445	52,8	573	60,5	353	51,5	1 370	50,0	3 010
Weakly integrated	32,4	232	29,4	287	25,0	272	19,8	116	26,6	707	26,8	1 614
Strongly assimilated	4,6	33	4,7	46	4,2	46	2,4	14	3,4	91	3,8	230
Separated	0,8	6	5,0	49	5,1	55	8,2	48	8,4	222	6,3	380
Other	25,0	179	15,3	149	12,9	140	9,2	54	10,1	268	13,1	790
Total	100,0	713	100,0	976	100,0	1 088	100,0	587	100,0	2 638	100,0	6 024

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A8-17 : Outcome of acculturation by highest level of education, Polish immigrants, 1991

Outcome of acculturation	Elementary & Secondary		Post-secondary, non-university		University, undergraduate		University, graduate		Not applicable / not available		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	49,1	1 437	49,7	598	42,5	382	57,8	271	62,4	302	50,0	3 010
Weakly integrated	28,3	839	26,5	319	29,5	265	22,6	106	17,6	85	26,8	1 614
Strongly assimilated	4,1	121	3,5	42	4,8	43	2,8	13	2,3	11	3,8	230
Separated	8,4	248	4,6	55	1,1	10	2,6	12	11,4	55	6,3	380
Other	10,2	304	15,7	189	22,1	199	14,3	67	6,4	31	13,1	790
Total	100,0	2 989	100,0	1 203	100,0	899	100,0	469	100,0	484	100,0	6 024

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

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 homeland 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 were 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 Canada³⁷, half of whom were living in British Columbia (Government of Canada, 1946). 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	%
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. Three quarters 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 use of the aggregate classification as the level of analysis.

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		
	count	percent	% CMA	count	percent	% 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 points 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 group 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 38,1 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 pyramid 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 group 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, Uganda 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 over 90% 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 groups 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 is 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

9.3 Comparison between immigrants and born-in-Canada (1991 only)¹⁶

The profile presented in the previous section of the South Asian immigrant population living in Canada is based on data from the 1996 Census. Given that almost one third of the immigrants arrived in Canada between the 1991 and 1996 Censuses, it is important to establish whether or not this profile is representative of the South Asian population that was living in Canada at the time of the 1991 Census. The distribution of four key characteristics are examined for 1991 and 1996 to determine to what degree they differ. As with the other ethnic groups in the study population, the index of dissimilarity is used as a measure of difference.

Table 9-3 : Indexes of dissimilarity for selected key characteristics, South Asian Immigrants, 1991 and 1996

Characteristic	Index of Dissimilarity
Sex	3,48
Marital Status	5,89
Highest level of education	6,78
Occupational skill level	14,83

Source: 1991 and 1996 Census Public Use Microdata File, CD-ROM

The respective indexes of dissimilarity indicate little difference in the distributions of the immigrant population by sex and moderate difference when we consider marital status and the highest level of education. However, the distributions by occupational skill level show that differences exist between 1991 and 1996 that cannot be ignored. A closer examination of the distribution by occupational skill level for those two time periods shows that half of the difference is accounted for in the “not applicable” category—i.e. the individuals who are under the age of 15 or who are not in the labour force. The mean ages of all South Asian immigrants in 1991 and 1996, 37 and 38,1 years respectively, do not explain the growth in that category. However, a noticeable difference exists in the mean ages of the immigrants who fall in the “not applicable” category of occupational skill. In 1991 the South Asian immigrants who were not in the labour force were approximately 8 years younger than the corresponding group in 1996 (37 years and 45,4 years respectively). The growth appears to be among those who are 65 years of age and older. Some of this growth may be attributed to retirement from the labour force. However, it may also be attributed to an influx of elderly immigrants under the family reunification provisions of the Immigration Act. It is possible that the analytical results that focus on the outcome of acculturation *separated* may be understated since the subjects are the South Asian immigrants recorded in the 1991 Census. Nevertheless, the established line of analysis will be pursued.

To continue the analytical pattern set with the other ethnic groups that form the study population, the similarity or difference between immigrants and non-immigrants of South Asian origin with respect to acculturation will be addressed before proceeding with a more complex analysis of the outcomes. As in the other chapters dealing with specific

ethnic groups, the index of dissimilarity is used as a primary indicator of the differences in the distributions of characteristics between the immigrant and non-immigrant population subgroups. Although it is anticipated that the two population subgroups will be similar, given the substantial proportion who are immigrants and the general characteristics of the people who belong to these ethnic groups, some dissimilarities should be evident as a result of the differences in the context in which the individual underwent the socialisation process.

The distributions of the outcomes of acculturation for the immigrant and non-immigrant population (Table 9-4) offer empirical evidence of the degree to which the individuals belonging to these ethnic groups retain ties to their origins. The outcome of acculturation of the majority in both population sub-groups is *strongly integrated*. In fact, the outcome of acculturation is in the *integrated* portion of the OA continuum for about 70% of the non-immigrants and about 80% of the immigrants indicating that these individuals retain ties to their origins while simultaneously establishing links with the host society. As expected from previous discussion on the importance of the context in the socialisation process (see Chapter 2), a greater proportion of those who were born in Canada have *strongly assimilated* as an outcome of acculturation when compared to their immigrant counterparts (14,2% compared to 3,8%). This is most likely due to the fact that those who were born in Canada attended Canadian schools and underwent their primary socialisation experience in a Canadian context.

The similarities in the proportions with an outcome at the *separated* portion of the continuum²² requires clarification. In the first case, the South Asians who were born in Canada, the people whose outcome is classified at this point in the continuum, are pre-

school aged children whose social universe is limited to their family and their community (N.B. the mean age of the non-immigrants is 10,2 years). The *separated* individuals among the immigrants are at the other end of the age spectrum (the mean age of the South Asian immigrants is 37 years). They are probably elderly people whose contact with the general Canadian population is very limited. They live and socialise entirely within their community and family units and they are unlikely to be in the labour force. The aforementioned differences notwithstanding, the index of dissimilarity for the outcome of acculturation is only 14,5, indicating that the two distributions are not all that different.

Table 9-4 : Outcome of acculturation, South Asian, 1991

Outcome of Acculturation	Born in Canada		Immigrant	
	count	%	count	%
Strongly integrated	2 570	58,7	7 572	68,2
Moderately integrated	295	6,7	546	4,9
Weakly integrated	134	3,1	794	7,2
Weakly assimilated	453	10,4	937	8,4
Moderately assimilated	9	0,2	46	0,4
Strongly assimilated	621	14,2	419	3,8
Separated	288	6,6	783	7,1
Marginalized	5	0,1	7	0,1
Total	4 375	100,0	11 104	100,0

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals, CD-ROM

Three factors are noticeable when we examine the distributions by mother tongue of the two population sub-groups. First, the effect of obtaining a primary and possibly secondary education in Canada is clearly indicated by the fact that the majority of the South Asians who were born in Canada declared English and/or French to be their mother tongue. Second, the substantial proportion of South Asians who were born in Canada who declared a South Asian language as their mother tongue indicates that language retention appears to be fairly strong among the members of these ethnic groups. The third factor illustrates the heterogeneity of the aggregate group, both in terms of ethnic

composition and with respect to where the immigrants were born. Over one quarter of the immigrants declared English and/or French to be their mother tongue, reflecting the fact that they were born in an English speaking country (or region) or in a country (or region) in which it was possible to function with English as a mother tongue (e.g. England [6%]; Central America, South America, the Caribbean or Bermuda [40%]; South Africa [16%]; and India or Pakistan [33%]). The fact that 10% of the immigrants declared a mother tongue other than either of the two official languages or the languages usually associated with South Asian origins shows the linguistic diversity of this ethnic group. Unfortunately the data from the 1991 Census PUMF do not provide sufficient detail to determine exactly what languages these individuals speak.

Table 9-5 : Mother tongue by immigrant status, South Asian, 1991³⁸

Immigrant Status	Born in Canada		Immigrant	
	count	%	count	%
English and/or French	2 349	53,7	2 910	26,2
South Asian language	1 916	43,8	7 051	63,5
Other heritage language	110	2,5	1 143	10,3
Total	4 375	100,0	11 104	100,0

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals, CD-ROM

Three reasons serve to explain why the index of dissimilarity for the distributions by province of residence is only 8,1. First, it was noted in the discussion of the distributions by age and sex that many of the South Asians who are born in Canada are the children of immigrant parents. It is safe to assume that these children are still living in the same household with their parents. Hence by definition they must be living in the same province.

The second and third reasons are somewhat related. Kinship and family ties were shown to be important for the individuals who belong to these ethnic groups. Therefore, it is likely that immigrants who come to Canada will choose to live in close proximity to

family members who are already living in Canada. They may be elderly parents who have come to join their children and grandchildren. They may be other relatives who choose their destination on the basis of the support networks that exist—i.e. the presence of other family members who may be able to ease the transition from their homeland to Canada. The final reason, chain migration, is an extension of kinship and family ties. In their analysis of ethnic concentrations in Canada, Balakrishnan and Hou show that the South Asians have a strong tendency to live in common neighbourhoods (1999: 126-146). In effect, they form ethnic enclaves (as defined by Kobrin and Goldscheider, 1978) that are based on an extended definition of kinship ties. The coefficients that they calculated indicate that the South Asians are more likely than the other ethnic groups in the study population to live in ethnic enclaves (Kobrin and Goldscheider, 1978). This shows that the existence of a strong and well established local community serves to attract immigrants of that ethnic group to select a particular location as their destination. The motivation is the same as in the case of kinship ties—to ease the transition and adaptation into Canadian society.

9.4 The bivariate perspective

Unlike most of the other ethnic groups that form the study population, the differences with respect to acculturation between the immigrants and those who were born in Canada are not as dramatic. However, selecting individuals who are immigrants as the units of analysis is appropriate since many of those who were born in Canada are the children of immigrants and, as indicated earlier, they are still living in the same household. Hence they form part of the family unit and they fall under the influence of their parents. The preceding analysis also suggests that a variant of chain migration occurs within the South Asian population group and that language as characterised by the

declared mother tongue of the individual is likely to play an important role in the outcome of acculturation.

As shown in previous chapters, these are not the only independent variables that need to be considered in analysing the results of the acculturation process. Other independent variables, such as the age at which the individual came to Canada, his or her marital status, his or her level of education, the nature of his or her occupation, among others, need to be considered in order to complete the analysis. Furthermore, we need to explore the interaction between some of these variables. This section focuses on the bivariate relationship between each of the independent variables to be included in the full model and the dependent variable—the outcome of acculturation. Using the criteria established earlier³⁹, the following four outcomes of acculturation will be the focus of the bivariate analysis for the South Asian immigrants—*strongly integrated*, *weakly integrated*, *weakly assimilated* and *separated*.

The outcome of acculturation for all South Asian immigrants who were less than 45 years of age when they arrived in Canada (see Table A9-8) is predominately *strongly integrated*. Although it is also the most frequent result for the immigrants who arrived in Canada when they were 45 years of age and older, the outcome is *separated* for a substantial proportion of these individuals (34,3%), indicating that age at immigration has some bearing on acculturation. A noticeable proportion of those who arrived in Canada when they were less than 15 years of age (13,2%) have an outcome of *weakly assimilated*. This result is explained by the fact that these individuals entered the Canadian school system at an age when they were more susceptible to “acquiring” some aspects of Canadian culture, either through social activities and contacts or through

exposure to media and other forms influence (see Chapter 2). However, it is telling that the dominant outcome in the *assimilated* portion of the continuum is *weakly assimilated* for this population. I interpret this to be an indicator of the degree to which South Asians hold to their traditions and culture, regardless of the external influences of the larger society.

An analogous argument may be made when examining the distribution of the outcomes of acculturation for the cohort who arrived in Canada when they were 30 to 44 years of age. Although the proportion whose outcome is *strongly integrated* declines somewhat when compared to the younger groups, the shift appears to be primarily to the outcome *weakly integrated*. Bearing in mind that these people entered the labour force when they arrived in Canada, that they probably have children in the public school system and that the opportunities they have for contact and interaction with the larger Canadian society are numerous, the shift to the weaker end of the *integrated* portion of the continuum (as opposed to the *assimilated* portion of the continuum—as we have seen with some of the other ethnic groups) is a further indicator of the importance that the South Asian immigrants place on maintaining their culture and ties to their origins (Buchignani et al, 1985). It must also be acknowledged that many of these people may have close relatives living in their respective countries of origin, thereby strengthening the ties through kinship.

The sex of the individual appears to be a factor in the acculturation of South Asian immigrants. The results in Table A9-9 show that those whose outcome is either *strongly integrated* or *weakly assimilated* are more likely to be men whereas the individuals whose outcome is classified as *separated* are more likely to be women. We

have seen for some of the other ethnic groups, notably the Chinese (see Chapter 4) and the Italians (see Chapter 7), that the individuals whose outcome of acculturation is *separated* tend to be older, widowed, either not in the labour force or working at an unskilled occupation and, by virtue of the fact that they cannot function effectively in either English and/or French, they are totally dependent on their family or their community for support. It is likely that the same holds true for the South Asian immigrants whose outcome is *separated*. We already know that they arrived in Canada at a later stage in their lives. The other characteristics should manifest themselves as well once those variables are added to the analysis.

The data show that men are more likely than women to be *strongly integrated* and *weakly assimilated*. Although these two outcomes are very different, the underlying reason for the distribution is the same. According to the data on South Asian immigrants in the 1991 Census PUMF, 80% of the men compared to 66% of the women participate in the labour force. Once we control for age, we see that less than 50% of the South Asian immigrant women aged 45 to 64 participate in the labour force compared to almost 80% of the South Asian immigrant men. There is some evidence in the literature referred to in the first section of this chapter to show that women play an important role in the household and among the older groups they tend not to participate in the labour force. Hence, men experience greater opportunities for exposure to the host society, leading to these outcomes.

The proportion of South Asian immigrants whose outcome of acculturation is *strongly integrated* is highest for those who are married (see Table A9-10), reflecting the importance of the family in maintaining ethnic and cultural ties. The fact that most

unions are endogamous (only 10% of South Asian immigrant men and just under 7% of all South Asian immigrant women choose partners outside their ethnic group) further reinforces this finding. The data also show that the proportion for this outcome is lowest for the individuals who are widowed. A closer examination of the distribution of outcomes for the widowed shows that *separated* is an important result (38,8%), which leads to similar conclusions that were drawn from the analysis of the data for the Chinese immigrants. The individuals who are *separated* tend to be elderly women who are living as a member of an extended family in a single household.

The individuals who are either divorced or separated appear to exhibit acculturation patterns that demonstrate the influence of the host society. Although *strongly integrated* is still the majority outcome and marital dissolution is a rare event among South Asian immigrants (only 3,5% of the population were either divorced or separated at the time of the 1991 Census), the fact that many of these individuals are either *weakly integrated* or *weakly assimilated* indicates that they are adopting some of the “cultural behaviour” of the host society. This point notwithstanding, given the rarity of the event, this particular category of marital status may not be a significant determinant of acculturation.

Although the distribution of outcome of acculturation by mother tongue (Table A9-11) presents what appear to be interesting results, including mother tongue as an independent variable in the analysis appears to be problematic for the South Asian immigrants. The Cramer's V correlation coefficient between mother tongue and the language spoken in the home is 0,665. Since this statistic is above 0,6 , the risk of introducing a tautological error in the analysis is considered too great (see Chapter 3).

Therefore, mother tongue will be removed as an independent variable from the models that follow.

Given the hypothesis on the impact of place of birth on the outcome of acculturation presented in Chapter 2, one would expect that the likelihood of an outcome in the *assimilated* portion of the continuum would increase for those born in a diaspora. In effect, the results in Table A9-12 confirm this assumption, although the effect does not appear to be very dramatic. The only notable point in this distribution is that *separated* appears to be an important outcome only for those who were born in South Asia. There is insufficient evidence in these data to suggest a possible reason for this result.

Before we proceed with a discussion of the results in Table A9-13 it is important to note two points. First, over 97% of the South Asian immigrants in Québec live in the CMA of Montreal and 85% of those in Ontario live in the CMA of Toronto. Another 5% of those in Ontario live in the Ottawa-Hull metropolitan area. Second, the Prairie Provinces are aggregated in the table since the individual cells for Manitoba and Saskatchewan are too small. In fact, the results for the Prairie Provinces may almost be taken as the distribution for Alberta—more specifically, the distribution for the metropolitan areas of Calgary and Edmonton.

The province in which the South Asian immigrants live does not appear to be a very important determinant of acculturation (Table A9-13). We know from the previous discussion on the effect of spatial factors that the South Asians tend to concentrate in the same neighbourhoods in the CMAs in which they live (Balakrishnan and Hou, 1999). Hence, the similarity in the distributions of OA by province. The results for British Columbia suggest that the generalisation may not be entirely appropriate for all

provinces. The likelihood of an outcome of *strongly integrated* or *separated* is somewhat higher in British Columbia than in the other provinces. The explanation for this distribution of outcomes of acculturation lies, in part, in the history of South Asian migration to Canada. The first South Asian migrants to come to Canada were Sikhs from Punjab who settled in British Columbia. They were essentially agricultural workers and labourers in the primary industries such as forestry and mining. (See the discussion in the first section of this chapter.) This pattern of migration continued partly because the concept of chain migration applies to Sikhs as it does to the Italians. The Sikh community in British Columbia may be considered institutionally complete and self-sustaining, making it possible for some people to live entirely within its bounds—hence the proportion who are *separated*. The members of this community have also become heavily involved in the social, economic and political spheres of the host society⁴⁰, which also serves to explain why the proportion who are *strongly integrated* is highest in British Columbia. The only difference between these two outcomes is that in the latter case the individuals also place some importance on interacting with the larger society as well as retaining their own culture and ethnic origins.

The distribution of outcomes of acculturation by length of residence in Canada (Table A9-14) confirm that this immigrant population is relatively recent. All but one of the cells for the population living in Canada more than 30 years have counts less than 50, rendering further analysis for these particular categories very problematic. The data in this table also suggest a possible relationship between length of residence in Canada and the outcome of acculturation *separated*. A noticeable proportion of the immigrants who have been in Canada 10 years or less are *separated*. The final observation for this

distribution is that the outcome of acculturation shifts away from the *strongly integrated* point in the continuum towards *weakly assimilated* and to a lesser extent *weakly integrated* as the length of residence in Canada increases. Clearly individuals who have been living in Canada for a longer period of time have had greater opportunity to establish reasonably strong links with the host society. This is consistent with the concept of acculturation as defined by Redfield and his colleagues (Redfield et al 1936, 149).

Income status, as measured by the LICO, does not appear to influence the outcome of acculturation (Table A9-15). About 80% of the South Asian immigrants live in households whose income is above the LICO. Based on the results that were shown for the Italian immigrants (see Chapter 7) it is surprising that less than 10% those who are *separated* live in families with an income below the LICO. However, upon further reflection this result is reasonable. As noted in the first section of this chapter, the family unit (including grandparents) is an important feature of the South Asian culture. Therefore, many of the individuals whose outcome is *separated*—the elderly widows—are living as part of an extended family unit in which the income is above the LICO.

Before I proceed with a discussion on the relationship between occupational skill level and the outcome of acculturation, I would like to remind the reader of the role that this independent variable plays as a proxy measure of socio-economic status (see Chapter 2). The skill level of the occupation corresponds directly with the attributed socio-economic status of the occupation (Blishen et al, 1987). Therefore, the conclusions that are drawn with respect to occupational skill level may also be attributed to the socio-economic status of the individual.

The distribution of outcome of acculturation by occupational skill level (see Table A9-16) is entirely predictable. The immigrants whose occupations are classified at the higher skill levels (3 and 4) have a greater tendency towards outcomes at the *weakly integrated/weakly assimilated* boundary in the continuum than those with lower skilled occupations. Those with occupations at the lower skill levels (1 and 2) tend to be *strongly integrated* and a substantial proportion of those who are not in the labour force are *separated*. Many of the arguments made in preceding chapters concerning the relationship between skill level and outcome of acculturation apply to the South Asian immigrants as well. The higher skilled occupations generally require that the individual work alongside members of the host society. The opportunities for contact and exposure, some of which may lead to social interaction, are greater for these individuals. Hence they have a greater likelihood of an outcome at the boundary point in the continuum than their counterparts who are in lower skilled occupations.

The distribution of highest level of education by outcome of acculturation (Table A9-17) also describes predictable patterns although they are not as clear-cut as those for occupational skill level. The immigrants with secondary education or less are more likely than the other South Asian immigrants to be classified as *separated*. Also, as the level of education increases, so does the proportion who are classified as *weakly integrated*. What is difficult to explain is that the same holds true for the outcome of acculturation *strongly integrated*—the proportion increases as the level of education increases. Perhaps the relationship between this independent variable and the outcome of acculturation will be clarified in the multivariate modelling exercise that follows.

9.5 The multivariate perspective

Three logistic regression models are presented in Table 9-6 for the South Asian immigrants. The first compares the outcome *assimilated* to the outcomes in the *integrated* portion of the continuum. The second compares *separated* to *integrated* and the final model completes the triangulation by comparing *separated* to *assimilated*. It was shown earlier in this chapter that a potential tautology exists if the respondent's declared mother tongue is included in the analysis. Therefore, this characteristic has been removed as an independent variable from the models.

Table 9-6 : Multivariate regression models, South Asian immigrants, 1991

Variable						Variable					
		Assimilated to Integrated		Separated to Integrated				Assimilated to Integrated		Separated to Integrated	
		Exp(B)	Sig	Exp(B)	Sig			Exp(B)	Sig	Exp(B)	Sig
Age at immigration		0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	Years in Canada		0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
0 to 14 years						0 - 10					
15 to 24 years		0.6972	0.000	3.9986	0.000	11 - 20		1.4982	0.000	0.6073	0.000
25 to 29 years		0.7748	0.031	4.8135	0.000	21 - 30		5.1987	0.000	0.5718	0.019
30 to 44 years		0.8601	0.194	13.7389	0.000	31 - 40		3.9163	0.000	0.1758	0.032
45 years and older		1.3233	0.069	56.9482	0.000	41 plus		6.5652	0.011	3.9121	0.125
Sex						Income status		0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Male						Total income > LICO					
Female		1.1823	0.008	2.0198	0.000	Total income < LICO		0.7511	0.001	1.4584	0.001
Marital status		0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	Not applicable		1.1286	0.851	0.0069	0.690
Single						Educational skill level		0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Married		0.5921	0.000	0.6783	0.039	Skill level 4					
Divorced/Separated		0.8700	0.390	0.6332	0.182	Skill level 3		1.1113	0.297	1.9750	0.107
Widowed		0.5713	0.014	1.0224	0.923	Skill level 2		0.9090	0.326	2.7864	0.008
Place of birth						Skill level 1		0.7280	0.017	4.2064	0.000
South Asia						Not applicable		0.7867	0.044	5.1644	0.000
Elsewhere		1.7098	0.000	0.2541	0.000	Education		0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Province of residence		0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	Elementary/secondary					
Ontario						Post-secondary, non-univ.		1.4287	0.000	0.2356	0.000
Quebec		0.8407	0.127	1.0493	0.813	University, undergraduate		0.9939	0.943	0.1115	0.000
Manitoba		0.8830	0.536	0.9544	0.893	University, graduate		0.7780	0.068	0.0211	0.000
Saskatchewan		0.8397	0.612	0.8210	0.808	Not available		1.3786	0.035	2.7617	0.014
Alberta		0.4438	0.000	0.8101	0.237	Constant		0.1682	0.000	0.0034	0.000
British Columbia		0.2316	0.000	2.7837	0.000	Nagelkerke - R ²		0.149		0.474	0.757

Beginning with the first model, *assimilated* compared to *integrated*, the data indicate that all of the independent variables are statistically significant to the 0.05 level as aggregates. However, the analysis shows that many of the detailed coefficients are not statistically significant. Furthermore, the R² statistic for this model is relatively low,

indicating that a substantial proportion of the variation in the dependent variable is not explained by this combination of independent variables. Nevertheless, the coefficients show some interesting results with respect to the determinants of acculturation for the comparison made in this model.

The general trend is that the likelihood of an outcome in the *assimilated* as opposed to *integrated* portion of the continuum is lower for immigrants who arrived in Canada when they were 15 years of age and older. This is consistent with the results for the other ethnic groups in the study population. Factors such as being or having been married, living in Alberta or British Columbia, living in a family in which the income is below the LICO and working in lower skilled occupations (i.e. skill level 1) reduce the likelihood of an outcome of acculturation in the *assimilated* as opposed to *integrated* portion of the continuum. It must be noted that this generalisation implies that the comparison is made to the reference category for each characteristic.

Characteristics that increase the likelihood of an outcome in the *assimilated* as opposed to *integrated* portion of the continuum include place of birth, the number of years the immigrants has been living in Canada and educational attainment. Immigrants who were born in a country that is not classified as part of South Asia have, in some fashion, already undergone a process of acculturation before coming to Canada. Therefore, they are undergoing (at a minimum) a second process of acculturation upon immigration to Canada. This increases the likelihood that the retention of their ethnicity is reduced. The coefficients also show that the likelihood of an outcome in the *assimilated* portion of the continuum increases with the length of time the immigrants have been living in Canada and with non-university post-secondary education. (The

coefficients are not statistically significant for the other categories of post-secondary education.)

The results from the second and third models provide an insight into the characteristics that influence whether or not the outcome of acculturation is likely to be in the separated portion of the continuum. Therefore, they will be discussed together rather than independently. Two characteristics are not statistically significant: the individual's sex (from model 3—separated compared to assimilated) and the individual's marital status (also from model 3). Both models are reasonably robust, judging by the R^2 statistics. The effects of the remaining characteristics are described below.

The likelihood of an outcome in the *separated* portion of the continuum increases as the age at which the immigrant arrives in Canada increases. It also increases for South Asian immigrants who live in families in which the income is below the LICO and for those who are either not in the labour force or who work in lower skilled occupations (skill levels 1 and 2). The likelihood of an outcome in the *separated* portion of the continuum decreases for those who were born in a diaspora and who hold some form of educational qualifications beyond primary and secondary school certificates.

The coefficients for the province of residence do not provide as clear an indication of the impact of this characteristic on the outcome of acculturation as do the other characteristics. It is clear that *separated* is a more likely outcome for South Asian immigrants living in British Columbia, regardless of the frame of comparison (i.e. *assimilated* or *integrated*). However, the picture for those living in Alberta is not as easily interpreted. If the comparison is made with the possibility of an outcome in the *assimilated* portion of the continuum (model 3), we see that *separated* is a more likely

result. If we examine the results of model 2 we see that the coefficient is not statistically significant for the South Asian immigrants living in Alberta.

9.6 What do the results tell us about South Asian immigrants?

As suggested in the discussion on the immigration history of the South Asians in Canada, *separated* is an important outcome of acculturation. In fact, the profile of the individuals who are *separated* parallels that of the Chinese and to a lesser extent the Italians whose outcome is the same. They tend to be elderly women who arrived in Canada at a later stage of their lives and who have neither the education nor the occupational skills necessary to participate in the labour force. It appears that their role is restricted to the household and that their interactions are limited to family members and other members of the South Asian community.

The results also describe a community in which the members tend to maintain their cultural and ethnic origins. Although the discussion has shown that *assimilated* is a notable outcome of acculturation for this ethnic group, the fact that *weakly assimilated* is the dominant category, rather than *moderately* or *strongly assimilated*, indicates that individuals of South Asian origins tend to retain some form of attachment to their cultural and ethnic roots after migration.

The following table summarises the determinants of acculturation based on the results of the three models.

Table 9-7 : Summary of determinants of acculturation for South Asian immigrants

Characteristic	Model - Is it a determinant of acculturation			Comment
	<i>Assimilated vs Integrated</i>	<i>Separated vs Integrated</i>	<i>Separated vs Assimilated</i>	
Age at immigration	Partial	Yes	Yes	Immigrants who arrive later in life are more likely to be in the <i>separated</i> portion of the continuum.
Sex	Yes	Yes	No	Women are more likely to be <i>separated</i> or <i>assimilated</i> .
Marital status	Partial	Partial	No	This characteristic is not considered a determinant of acculturation.
Place of birth	Yes	Yes	Yes	Those born in South Asia tend to be <i>integrated</i> or <i>separated</i> . East Indians born in a diaspora also tend to be <i>integrated</i> or <i>separated</i> .
Province of residence	Partial	Partial	Partial	Not a meaningful determinant of acculturation.
Length of time in Canada	Yes	Partial	Partial	Likelihood of an OA <i>assimilated</i> increases with length of residence.
Low income status	Partial	Partial	Partial	Those who are below LICO are less likely to be <i>assimilated</i> and more likely to be <i>separated</i> .
Occupational skill level	Partial	Partial	Partial	Not significant for skill levels 2 and 3. For skill level 1, more likely to be <i>separated</i> and less likely to be <i>assimilated</i> .
Highest level of education	Partial	Yes	Partial	Those with post-secondary education are more likely to be <i>assimilated</i> and less likely to be <i>separated</i> .

Appendix A-9: Detailed tables

Table A9-8 : Outcome of acculturation by age at immigration, South Asian immigrants, 1991

Outcome of Acculturation	0 to 14 years		15 to 24 years		25 to 29 years		30 to 44 years		45 years & older		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	67,7	1 661	76,4	2 386	72,7	1 269	67,6	1 338	47,3	698	68,2	7 572
Weakly integrated	4,9	119	6,1	192	8,5	149	10,4	239	6,4	94	7,1	793
Weakly assimilated	13,2	324	6,5	202	8,2	143	8,2	189	5,3	79	8,4	937
Separated	1,7	42	2,7	83	2,0	35	5,1	117	34,3	506	7,1	783
Other	12,5	306	8,4	262	8,5	149	8,8	202	6,8	100	9,2	1 019
Total	100,0	2 452	100,0	3 125	100,0	1 745	100,0	2 305	100,0	1 477	100,0	11 104

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A9-9 : Outcome of acculturation by male/female distribution, South Asian immigrants, 1991

Outcome of Acculturation	Female		Male		Total		Male/Female Ratio
	%	n	%	n	%	n	
Strongly integrated	65,0	3 500	71,2	4 072	68,2	7 572	1,16
Weakly integrated	7,1	383	7,2	411	7,2	794	1,07
Weakly assimilated	8,1	438	8,7	499	8,4	937	1,14
Separated	10,1	542	4,2	241	7,1	783	0,44
Other	9,7	522	8,7	496	9,2	1 018	0,95
Total	100,0	5 385	100,0	5 719	100,0	11 104	1,06

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A9-10 : Outcome of acculturation by marital status, South Asian immigrants, 1991

Outcome of Acculturation	Single		Married		Divorced / Separated		Widowed		TOTAL	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	68,1	2 136	70,2	5 016	60,9	237	42,0	183	68,2	7 572
Weakly integrated	6,6	207	7,2	515	11,8	46	6,0	26	7,2	794
Weakly assimilated	11,9	372	7,0	499	11,3	44	5,0	22	8,4	937
Separated	2,7	84	7,2	513	4,4	17	38,8	169	7,1	783
Other	10,8	338	8,4	599	11,6	45	8,3	36	9,2	1 018
Total	100,0	3 137	100,0	7 142	100,0	389	100,0	436	100,0	11 104

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A9-11 : Outcome of acculturation by mother tongue, South Asian immigrants, 1991

Outcome of Acculturation	English and/or French		South Asian language		Other heritage language		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	46,7	1 359	79,0	5 569	56,3	644	68,2	7 572
Weakly integrated	7,8	228	6,2	436	11,4	130	7,2	794
Weakly assimilated	26,2	763	0,2	16	13,8	158	8,4	937
Separated	0,3	8	10,5	741	3,0	34	7,1	783
Other	19,0	552	4,1	289	15,5	177	9,2	1 018
Total	100,0	2 910	100,0	7 051	100,0	1 143	100,0	11 104

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A9-12 : Outcome of acculturation by place of birth, South Asian immigrants, 1991

Outcome of Acculturation	South Asia		Elsewhere		TOTAL	
	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	70,4	4 593	65,1	2 979	68,2	7 572
Weakly integrated	6,2	403	8,5	391	7,2	794
Weakly assimilated	7,0	455	10,5	482	8,4	937
Separated	10,0	653	2,8	130	7,1	783
Other	6,5	424	13,0	594	9,2	1 018
Total	100,0	6 528	100,0	4 576	100,0	11 104

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A9-13 : Outcome of acculturation by province of residence, South Asian immigrants, 1991

Outcome of Acculturation	Québec		Ontario		Prairie Provinces		British Columbia		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	68,3	558	65,8	4 196	71,4	982	72,4	1 836	68,2	7 572
Weakly integrated	8,3	68	7,6	484	7,5	103	5,5	139	7,2	794
Weakly assimilated	9,1	74	11,2	717	6,5	89	2,2	57	8,4	937
Separated	5,0	41	5,1	323	5,2	72	13,7	347	7,1	783
Other	9,3	76	10,3	656	9,4	129	6,2	157	9,2	1 018
Total	100,0	817	100,0	6 376	100,0	1 375	100,0	2 536	100,0	11 104

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A9-14 : Outcome of acculturation by years living in Canada, South Asian immigrants, 1991

Outcome of Acculturation	0 - 10		11 - 20		21 - 30		31 - 40		41 plus		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	68,5	3 791	71,7	3 103	53,8	615	68,4	34	50,0	9	68,2	7 572
Weakly integrated	7,2	399	6,2	268	10,4	119	7,6	6	5,6	1	7,1	793
Weakly assimilated	5,9	327	8,8	379	19,4	222	10,1	8	5,6	1	8,4	937
Separated	9,8	344	4,8	207	2,4	28	2,5	2	11,1	2	7,1	783
Other	8,6	474	8,6	372	13,9	159	11,4	9	27,8	5	9,2	1 019
Total	100,0	5 535	100,0	4 329	100,0	1 143	100,0	79	100,0	18	100,0	11 104

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A9-15 : Outcome of acculturation by low income status, South Asian immigrants, 1991

Outcome of Acculturation	Total income above LICO		Total income below LICO		Not applicable		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	67,6	5 921	70,6	1 639	57,1	12	68,2	7 572
Weakly integrated	7,2	627	7,0	162	23,8	5	7,2	794
Weakly assimilated	9,1	799	5,9	136	9,5	2	8,4	937
Separated	6,6	575	9,0	208	0,0		7,1	783
Other	9,6	838	7,7	178	9,5	2	9,2	1 018
Total	100,0	8 760	100,0	2 323	100,0	21	100,0	11 104

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A9-16 : Outcome of acculturation by occupational skill level, South Asian immigrants, 1991

Outcome of Acculturation	Skill level 4		Skill level 3		Skill level 2		Skill level 1		Not applicable		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	68,0	1 222	68,8	1 222	71,5	2 235	73,1	1 041	62,1	1 852	68,2	7 572
Weakly integrated	11,1	199	9,0	160	6,6	205	4,5	64	5,6	166	7,2	794
Weakly assimilated	10,7	192	10,1	179	8,5	265	5,2	74	7,6	227	8,4	937
Separated	0,4	8	1,7	31	4,2	130	10,1	144	15,8	470	7,1	783
Other	9,8	177	10,4	185	9,3	289	7,2	102	8,9	265	9,2	1 018
Total	100,0	1 798	100,0	1 777	100,0	3 124	100,0	1 425	100,0	2 980	100,0	11 104

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A9-17 : Outcome of acculturation by highest level of education, South Asian immigrants, 1991

Outcome of Acculturation	Elementary & Secondary		Post-secondary, non- university		University, undergraduate		University, graduate		Not applicable / not available		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	67,0	3 212	65,9	1 306	70,8	1 936	72,0	567	68,0	551	68,2	7 572
Weakly integrated	4,4	213	8,6	170	10,0	274	12,1	95	5,2	42	7,2	794
Weakly assimilated	6,6	314	11,1	220	9,2	251	7,6	60	11,4	92	8,4	937
Separated	14,7	703	1,3	26	0,7	19	0,1	1	4,2	34	7,1	783
Other	7,3	350	13,1	259	9,3	254	8,1	64	11,2	91	9,2	1 018
Total	100,0	4 792	100,0	1 981	100,0	2 734	100,0	787	100,0	810	100,0	11 104

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

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 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 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. 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 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 collapse 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 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 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	Count	%
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		
	count	percent	% CMA	count	percent	% 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 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 group, 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 10.4 and 10.5. 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 Ukraine. First, the boundaries of 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 Ukraine. The second reason is an artefact of the data used in this analysis. 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 Ukraine. Based on these criteria, 74% of the immigrant population of Ukrainian origin were actually born in 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 groups 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 groups 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 groups 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

10.3 Comparison between immigrants and born-in-Canada (1991 only)¹⁶

It was noted in the previous section that 15% of the immigrants of Ukrainian origin arrived in Canada between 1991 and 1996. Before continuing with an analysis based on data from the 1991 Census, we need to establish whether the substantial proportion of recent arrivals seriously affects the general profile of the Ukrainian immigrants in Canada. This will be accomplished by comparing the distribution of Ukrainian immigrants in 1991 and 1996 by selected key characteristics. The following table lists the indexes of dissimilarity for the sex, marital status, occupational skill level and education of Ukrainian immigrants in Canada in 1991 and 1996.

Table 10-3 : Index of dissimilarity for selected key characteristics, Ukrainian immigrants, 1991 and 1996

<u>Characteristic</u>	<u>Index of Dissimilarity</u>
Sex	0,04
Marital Status	4,58
Highest level of education	9,88
Occupational skill level	1,71

The indexes of dissimilarity in Table 10-3 indicate that the general profile of the Ukrainian immigrants did not change dramatically between 1991 and 1996. The major

difference, the educational qualifications of the immigrants, is due to normal demographic processes. (The difference in the highest level of education between 1991 and 1996 can be accounted for by the decrease in the proportion of Ukrainian immigrants who completed only elementary or secondary school and the corresponding increase in the proportion with post-secondary qualifications.) The proportion of immigrants with less than post-secondary qualification decreased and the proportion with post-secondary qualifications increased between 1991 and 1996, indicating that many of those who were still in elementary or high school in 1991 progressed to some form of post-secondary institution by 1996. I conclude from these results that the profile described in section 10.2 serves adequately as a basis of comparison in the analysis that follows.

To continue the analytical pattern set with the other ethnic groups that form the study population, the similarity or difference between immigrants and non-immigrants of Ukrainian origin with respect to acculturation will be addressed before we proceed with a more complex analysis of the outcomes. As in the other chapters dealing with specific ethnic groups, the index of dissimilarity is used as a primary indicator of the differences in characteristics between the immigrant and non-immigrant population subgroups. It is expected that the characteristics of Ukrainian immigrants will be very different from those of their born-in-Canada homologues. Given the educational and occupational differences between the current immigrants and those of the previous generation (described earlier in this chapter) and the apparent propensity of people of Ukrainian origins who are born in Canada to become part of the main-stream population, it is likely that the characteristics will be substantially different.

An analysis of the distributions in Table 10-4 shows quite clearly that the immigrants and non-immigrants are very different with respect to the outcome of acculturation. First, the index of dissimilarity between the two distributions is 60, indicating substantial differences between the two population sub-groups. Second, the dominant outcome of acculturation for the Ukrainians who were born in Canada is *strongly assimilated* (almost 60% of that population sub-group) whereas it is *strongly integrated* for about 45% of the immigrants. The first indicates a very weak retention of ethnic or cultural origins whereas the latter shows a very strong retention. Both indicate strong participation in the host society. This result confirms the statement made above concerning the propensity of the Ukrainians to become part of the Canadian mosaic.

Another noteworthy difference is evident at the boundary point in the continuum between the *assimilated* and *integrated* outcomes of acculturation. For those who were born in Canada the comparison between *weakly integrated* and *weakly assimilated* favours the latter, indicating that some loss of ethnic retention has occurred. The opposite is true for the immigrants of Ukrainian origin. Most who are classified at this point of the continuum tend to retain their ethnic or cultural origins.

The final point worth noting in this part of the analysis is that *separated* is an observable outcome of acculturation for the immigrants whereas it is essentially imperceptible for those who were born in Canada. As predicted earlier, the proportion of the Ukrainian immigrants whose outcomes of acculturation is *separated* is very low (4,9%). Nevertheless, it is observable, which leads to another point. Although the minimum threshold for an outcome to be considered in the analysis was set at 5% for this

study, the proportion of Ukrainian immigrants who are *separated* is deemed sufficiently close to that threshold to be included in subsequent analyses.

Table 10-4 : Outcome of acculturation, Ukrainian, 1991

Outcome of Acculturation	Born in Canada		Immigrant	
	CENSI	%	CENSI	%
Strongly integrated	2 388	8,3	1 048	44,4
Moderately integrated	769	2,7	82	3,5
Weakly integrated	3 239	11,3	687	29,1
Weakly assimilated	5 269	18,4	107	4,5
Moderately assimilated	8	0,0	7	0,3
Strongly assimilated	16 981	59,2	310	13,1
Separated	30	0,1	115	4,9
Marginalized	2	0,0	3	0,1
Total	28 686	100,0	2 359	100,0

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals, CD-ROM

The differences that were observed for the respective distributions of the outcomes of acculturation for the two sub-groups of the Ukrainian population living in Canada are also in evidence when we examine the declared mother tongue. As with many of the other ethnic groups analysed as part of the study population, we see that most (82%) of the individuals of Ukrainian origin who were born in Canada declared their mother tongue to be either English and/or French. This result reflects the fact that these individuals obtained their primary education in Canada and that they underwent their primary socialisation process in a context that promotes the use of one of the two official languages (see discussion in Chapter 2). In contrast, most of the immigrants declared either Ukrainian or another heritage language as their mother tongue (60% and 25% respectively). The data show that this duality reflects the respective places of birth of the immigrants. The distribution of the most common non-Ukrainian mother tongues reported by Ukrainian immigrants is⁴¹: 43% reported a heritage language not specifically coded in the 1991 PUMF (USSR – 54%, other European country not specifically coded – 29%); 38% reported Polish (Poland – 89%) and 15% reported German (USSR – 32%,

Germany – 26%, other European country not specifically coded – 16% and Poland – 12%). It should also be noted that another 14% of the immigrants declared either English and/or French to be their mother tongue. This too is a reflection of where they were born (e.g. the United States – 32%, the U.K. – 20%). The declared mother tongue may prove to be an interesting variable in the subsequent analysis.

Table 10-5 : Mother tongue by immigrant status, Ukrainian, 1991⁴²

Mother tongue	Born in Canada		Immigrant	
	count	%	count	%
English and/or French	23 642	82,4	340	14,4
Ukrainian	4 603	16,0	1 422	60,3
Other heritage language	441	1,5	597	25,3
Total	28 686	100,0	2 359	100,0

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals, CD-ROM

An analysis of the distribution of the Ukrainian immigrants and non-immigrants by province of residence shows the impact of the shift in migration patterns discussed earlier in this chapter. Many of the people of Ukrainian origin who were born in Canada live in the Prairie Provinces (56%), reflecting the rural pattern of settlement alluded to earlier. Fewer than 25% live in Ontario (the major concentrations are in Toronto – 31%, Hamilton – 8%, Thunderbay – 7%, St. Catharines-Niagara – 7% and non-CMAs – 26%) and approximately 18% live in British Columbia. The distribution for the Ukrainian immigrants clearly shows the shift towards the industrial centres in Ontario. Over 50% of the immigrants live in Ontario (primarily in Toronto – 52%, Hamilton – 9%, St. Catharines-Niagara – 6% and non-CMAs – 13%) and approximately 30% live in the Prairie Provinces. As noted earlier in this chapter, the importance of the spatial distribution in the acculturation of Ukrainian immigrants is not entirely clear at this stage in the analysis since they do not tend to live in ethnic enclaves or in clearly identified Ukrainian communities in urban centres (Balakrishnan and Hou, 1999).

10.4 The bivariate perspective

The analysis continues with an examination of the relationship between the outcomes of acculturation and the characteristics of the immigrants that are judged to be potential determinants of acculturation. The data show that the Ukrainian immigrants are a long-standing ethnic group in Canada with almost 60% arriving before 1961. They tend to live primarily in Ontario in the areas surrounding Toronto, although a substantial proportion live in the Prairie Provinces. The majority of the Ukrainian immigrants in Québec and Ontario live in Census Metropolitan Areas—Montreal for those living in Québec and Toronto, Hamilton and St. Catharines-Niagara for those living in Ontario. The situation is somewhat different for the immigrants living in the Prairie Provinces and British Columbia. Approximately 30% of those in the Prairie Provinces and 40% of those in British Columbia live outside the metropolitan areas. What impact do these characteristics have on the outcome of acculturation for the Ukrainian immigrants? Given their immigration history and their settlement patterns, is it reasonable to expect that the Ukrainians will retain stronger links to their ancestral origins? To what extent will language use and knowledge be a factor in determining the outcome of acculturation? These issues are explored in greater detail in this and the following sections of the chapter.

Using the criteria established earlier³⁹, the analysis will focus on four outcomes of acculturation—*strongly integrated*, *weakly integrated*, *strongly assimilated* and *separated*—with one caveat. As stated previously, the proportion of Ukrainian immigrants whose outcome of acculturation is *separated* (4,9%) is very close to the minimum threshold of 5%. Therefore, this outcome will be considered in the analyses in this and the following sections.

The overall distribution of outcomes of acculturation by the age at which the immigrant arrived in Canada (Table A10-8) show that *strongly assimilated* and *weakly integrated* are important outcomes for the youngest group (under 15 years of age), attesting to the impact of the context on the socialisation process alluded to earlier. This result is consistent with what was observed for the other ethnic groups in the study population. The fact that the outcome is *separated* for very few Ukrainian immigrants indicates that they generally retain their ethnic and cultural origins while simultaneously becoming active participants in the host society, with one notable exception. About one quarter of the immigrants who arrived when they were 45 years of age and older are classified as *separated*. The mean age for this group is over 70 and the mean age for those who are *separated* is 66. This result confirms a pattern that was observed for the other ethnic groups for whom *separated* is a significant outcome. It is primarily the elderly who fall into this category.

Sex does not appear to be a factor in determining the outcomes in the *integrated* portion of the OA continuum. The relative proportions of men and women whose outcome is in this segment of the continuum are quite similar (see Table A10-9). However, the balance shifts somewhat towards women for the outcomes *strongly assimilated* and *separated*. Simple demographic factors explain the reasons for the latter outcome. Women generally live longer than men and, as was shown earlier, the immigrants who are classified as *separated* tend to be among the older members of this population. Therefore, simple arithmetic logic shows that this is a plausible result. The reasons for the outcome *strongly assimilated* are not as clear. For those who are married, exogamy would only be an explanation if the proportions were higher for women than for

men, which is not the case. Slightly over 25% of the Ukrainian immigrant women who are in husband-wife couples are married to men of non-Ukrainian origin whereas the corresponding proportion for Ukrainian immigrant men is over 40%. Therefore, the answer must lie in other characteristics such as age, cultural patterns with respect to ethnic dominance in the household (e.g. is Ukrainian a patrilineally or matrilineally dominant origin?) and other exogenous factors. Perhaps the causes for this outcome will become clearer in the multivariate phase of the analysis.

The distribution of outcome of acculturation by marital status (Table A10-10) exhibits patterns that bear the influence of the age. Individuals who are single (never married) are, by definition, generally at the younger end of the age spectrum. This fact is certainly true for the Ukrainian immigrant population. The mean age for those who are single is 34 compared to 60 for those who are married, 56 for the individuals who are either separated or divorced and 76 for the widowed. The results in Table A10-10 indicate that the likelihood of an outcome of *strongly assimilated* increases for those who are single, when compared to the other marital statuses. By transitive logic, this suggests that those who are *strongly assimilated* tend to be among the younger members of the immigrants in this ethnic group. The analysis of the relationship between the outcome of acculturation and marital status reveals another interesting phenomenon. Marital dissolution appears to affect the outcome of acculturation. The likelihood of an outcome of *strongly integrated* decreases and the likelihood of an outcome of *weakly integrated* increases for those who are divorced or separated. This shows a weakening of the ethnic retention for these individuals.

Unlike what we saw with the South Asian immigrants (see Chapter 9), the correlation between the respondent's declared mother tongue and his or her declared home language is not very strong. The Cramer's V statistic (0,365) is well below the threshold of 0,600 established as the point beyond which the inclusion of mother tongue in the model would increase the possibility of introducing a tautological error beyond reasonable limits (see Chapter 3). Therefore, the analysis of this characteristic will be pursued.

Age also appears to be a factor in the distributions of outcome of acculturation by mother tongue (see Table A10-11). The Ukrainian immigrants who declared a mother tongue of either English and/or French are younger (mean age = 44) than those who declared either Ukrainian (mean age = 65) or another heritage language (mean age = 57). Based on the logic described above, it follows that *strongly assimilated* is the dominant outcome for the individuals who declared one of the two official languages in Canada as their mother tongue. Furthermore, the census definition of mother tongue—the language first learned in childhood and still understood—indicates that the individuals declaring the lingua franca as their mother tongue did not learn Ukrainian first or they no longer understand the language, demonstrating a distinct lack of retention of their ethnic ancestry, since language is one of the major instruments through which knowledge of an ethnic or cultural origin is transmitted and maintained.

The result is very different for the people who declared Ukrainian as their mother tongue. Almost 90% of these individuals are in the *integrated* portion of the continuum, signalling that a working knowledge of the heritage language associated with the origin is

an important factor in the retention of their ethnic origin. This result is the complement of the argument presented in the previous paragraph.

The outcome of acculturation for those who declared their mother tongue to be a heritage language other than Ukrainian is also predominately in the *integrated* portion of the continuum, although not to the same degree as the individuals who declared Ukrainian as a mother tongue (see section 10.3 for a list of the other heritage languages reported by the Ukrainian immigrants). Fewer are *strongly integrated* and a substantial proportion are *strongly assimilated*. This may be due, in part, to where they were born. As shown in previous chapters, people born in a diaspora, hence people who have already experienced acculturation at one point in their lives, do not necessarily retain ties to their ancestral origins with the same intensity as those who were born in the ancestral homeland. It may also be due to the migration pattern followed. For instance, it is possible for someone who was born in Ukraine but who migrated with his or her parents to Germany or to Austria or some other Western European country at a very early age (pre-school or during primary school) to have forgotten (or never learned) Ukrainian. Instead, he or she would learn the lingua franca of that country which then becomes his or her mother tongue.

The distributions of outcome of acculturation by places of birth (Table A10-12) add weight to the idea proposed in the preceding paragraph. Ukrainian immigrants who were born in Europe (excluding the U.K.)⁴³ tend to be either *strongly integrated* (49%) or *weakly integrated* (31%) whereas those who were born elsewhere tend to be *strongly assimilated* (53%). Clearly the individuals who were born in Europe, especially those born in Eastern Europe (who represent the majority), have a more recent experience with

and a stronger attachment to their ethnic and cultural roots. They spent part or all of their formative years in a country in which it was possible to retain many, if not all, of the aspects of their cultural origins. Hence the outcome of acculturation is more likely to be in the *integrated* portion of the continuum. With respect to those who were born elsewhere, their diasporic experience is likely to result in lower retention of their Ukrainian origins since they underwent acculturation in a host society that was more removed from their roots. This serves to explain why the outcome of acculturation for the majority of the Ukrainian immigrants born in a diaspora tends to be *strongly assimilated* once they migrate to Canada.

Three points must be noted in the distributions of outcome of acculturation by the province of residence (Table A10-13). First, the immigrants living in the Prairie provinces generally belong to the earlier cohorts—those who arrived in Canada before 1961. Based on the immigration history of the Ukrainians, these immigrant cohorts were older when they came to Canada, hence, they are more likely to retain many elements of their ethnic and cultural origins. Second, substantial proportions of the immigrants in Ontario and the Prairie provinces live outside the major CMAs. Third, over 90% of the Ukrainian immigrants in Québec live in Montréal.

The results in Table A10-13 illustrate the impact of a relatively concentrated community on the outcome of acculturation. Since over 90% of the Ukrainian immigrants in Québec live in Montréal, it is reasonable to conclude that the distribution of outcomes in Table A10-13 for the province apply to the CMA. Therefore, the Ukrainian immigrants living in Montréal tend to be *strongly integrated*. According to the coefficients calculated by Balakrishnan and Hou (1999:130-131), the relative

concentration of Ukrainians in a smaller number of neighbourhoods in Montréal tends to be high. This result suggests that relative concentration may contribute to the outcome of acculturation. It is interesting to note that the likelihood of an outcome of *separated* increases in Ontario and in the Prairie provinces, regions of Canada in which a substantial proportion of the immigrants live outside the major CMAs. Once again, this illustrates the importance of community in sustaining an ethnic existence. Finally, the results for British Columbia may indicate a spurious relationship or an outlier. The proportion of immigrants living in the two CMAs in British Columbia is under 60%. Almost all of these immigrants live in Vancouver. The Gini coefficient showing the relative concentration of Ukrainian in Vancouver is very low. This is consistent with the distribution of outcomes in Table A10-13. However, according to the logic applied to Ontario and the Prairie provinces, the fact that over 40% of the Ukrainian immigrants live outside of Vancouver should lead to a greater likelihood of an outcome of either *separated* or *strongly integrated*, neither of which is the case. The multivariate analysis will resolve this issue.

An examination of the distributions of outcomes by the length of residence in Canada (Table A10-14) clarifies some of the aforementioned confusion with respect to the individuals who are classified as *separated*. The results show that the outcome of acculturation is *separated* for 14% of the Ukrainian immigrants who have been living in Canada between 0 to 10 years. By comparison, it is under 6% for the other time intervals in the table. This indicates that a substantial proportion of the Ukrainian immigrants classified as *separated* fall in the category of recent arrivals who have not yet acquired

sufficient language skills in either English or French to classify them in the *integrated* portion of the continuum.

Table A10-14 also provides an interesting insight into the relationship between duration of residence in Canada and the relative distribution of outcomes in the *integrated* and *strongly assimilated* portions of the continuum. The proportion of immigrants whose outcome is *strongly assimilated* is highest among those who have been living in Canada between 11 and 20 years and it declines steadily as the length of residence increases. The pattern is reversed for the outcomes in the *integrated* portion of the continuum. Immigrant cohorts must be considered in order to understand this pattern. The immigrants who arrived between 1961 and 1980 (which corresponds to a length of residence between 11 and 30 years) did not migrate directly to Canada since there was very little emigration from Ukraine during this period. These individuals migrated to Canada from another country or region such as the United Kingdom or the United States. According to the analysis of the relationship between place of birth and the outcome of acculturation, *strongly assimilated* was a likely outcome for those born outside of the region that is assumed to approximate Ukraine. A comparable argument may be made for those who migrated before 1961 and the likelihood that they emigrated from Ukraine, hence they are more likely to be in the *integrated* portion of the continuum.

No major patterns emerge from the distributions of outcomes of acculturation by the income status of the Ukrainian immigrants (Table A10-15). The data show that the individuals who live in families in which the income is below the LICO are more likely to be *strongly integrated* and less likely to be *strongly assimilated* than those who live in families in which the income is above the LICO. However, if we examine the aggregated

category the data also show that over 70% of both income groups are in the *integrated* portion of the continuum. Given the distributions, it is unlikely that the income status will prove to be a significant determinant of acculturation.

The distributions of outcome of acculturation by occupational skill level (see Table A10-16) for the Ukrainian immigrants suggest that this characteristic is also not a determinant of acculturation. Slight variations exist between the different occupational skill levels. However, *strongly assimilated* is an important outcome for individuals whose occupations are classified at skill levels 2 through 4. It is also well above the marginal proportions for those in skill level 1, although not to the same degree as the higher skill levels. The proportion of the individuals in all skill levels whose outcome is in the *integrated* portion of the continuum ranges between 59% and 67%. The only notable feature in this table is that the proportion of the individuals who are at skill level 1 whose outcome is classified as *separated* is almost 10%. However, the cell size is too small for us to draw any meaningful conclusion from this fact.

The outcome of acculturation appears to be affected by the highest level of education (Table A10-17). The proportion who are *strongly assimilated* is lowest for the people with the least education. Correspondingly, the proportion who are *strongly integrated* is highest for the same educational cohort. It is also true that the individuals with the least education are among the oldest of the Ukrainian immigrants (mean age = 67). These three factors paint a profile of an older, less educated cohort who have retained ties to their ethnic and cultural origins while functioning within the host society. This corresponds exactly to the profile of the earlier cohorts of Ukrainian immigrants

described earlier in this chapter. They were relatively poorly educated people who worked primarily in agriculture or in unskilled trades.

The data in this table also confirm a pattern observed with some of the other ethnic groups in the study population. The likelihood of an outcome of *strongly assimilated* appears to be higher for those who hold some form of post-secondary qualifications. (The corresponding proportion who are *strongly integrated* is lower.) These results suggest that education may be an important characteristic in determining the outcome of acculturation for Ukrainian immigrants.

10.5 The multivariate perspective

As in previous chapters, three logistic regression models are presented for the Ukrainian immigrants in Table 10-6. The first compares the outcome *assimilated* to the outcomes in the *integrated* portion of the continuum. The second compares *separated* to *integrated* and the final model completes the triangulation by comparing *separated* to *assimilated*. The results of the logistic regressions show that relatively few of the characteristics included as independent variables in this analysis are, in effect, significant determinants of acculturation. The results also indicate that for those characteristics that are significant, many of the conclusions that were drawn on the basis of the bivariate analysis hold true once all the independent variables are considered simultaneously. Unfortunately the Nagelkerke R^2 values are not as high as for some of the other ethnic groups. However, they are still respectable for logistic modelling.

Table 10-6 : Multivariate regression models, Ukrainian immigrants, 1991

Variable	Assimilated to Integrated		Separated to Integrated		Separated to Assimilated		Variable	Assimilated to Integrated		Separated to Integrated		Separated to Assimilated	
	Exp(B)	Se	Exp(B)	Se	Exp(B)	Se		Exp(B)	Se	Exp(B)	Se	Exp(B)	Se
Age at immigration	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	Age in Canada	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
0 to 14 years							0 - 10						
15 to 24 years	0.5213	0.001	3.9079	0.009	7.3436	0.004	11 - 20	1.3307	0.330	0.1387	0.000	0.0550	0.007
25 to 29 years	0.3738	0.000	4.1757	0.011	25.5212	0.000	21 - 30	1.3976	0.298	0.1613	0.000	0.0637	0.009
30 to 44 years	0.2751	0.000	12.4324	0.000	113.1254	0.000	31 - 40	1.3807	0.281	0.1013	0.000	0.0322	0.000
45 years and older	0.2558	0.002	43.0837	0.000	392.5249	0.000	41 plus	1.1745	0.628	0.1385	0.000	0.0959	0.011
Sex							Income distribution						
Male							Total income > LICO						
Female	1.1053	0.509	1.9535	0.006	1.6316	0.307	Total income < LICO	0.7954	0.234	0.5363	0.019	0.6500	0.397
Marital status							Not applicable	0.3169	0.799	0.8275	0.911	136.9193	0.936
Single							Occupational status						
Married	0.9115	0.707	1.0327	0.948	1.2833	0.791	Unemployed	0.422		0.366		0.001	
Divorced/Separated	0.8361	0.577	1.4202	0.570	1.0984	0.938	Skill level 4						
Widowed	1.3294	0.380	1.5314	0.430	1.4950	0.684	Skill level 3	1.1399	0.613	4.1796	0.200	0.9435	0.969
Mother tongue							Skill level 2	1.1816	0.522	2.0195	0.537	0.6608	0.794
Ukrainian							Skill level 1	0.9245	0.832	5.1651	0.742	2.0793	0.656
English and/or French	23.2166	0.000	0.0019	0.451	0.0000	0.465	Not applicable	0.7989	0.402	5.4648	0.112	1.4565	0.797
Other heritage language	6.7467	0.000	0.7541	0.272	0.1375	0.000	Elementary/secondary						
Place of birth							Post-secondary, non-univ.	1.4970	0.040	0.7414	0.390	0.4651	0.229
Europe, excl. U.S.							University, undergraduate	1.3149	0.219	0.1327	0.002	0.0787	0.018
Elsewhere	3.1175	0.000	0.7861	0.769	0.0872	0.024	University, graduate	1.4551	0.791	0.1922	0.042	0.0880	0.098
Province of residence							Not available	1.0246	0.961	3.8671	0.118	14.3050	0.066
Ontario							Constant	0.0566	0.000	0.0083	0.000	0.2930	0.507
Quebec	0.7060	0.268	0.2790	0.054	2.0197	0.526	Nagelkerke - R ²	0.488		0.301		0.780	
Manitoba	0.8919	0.646	2.0413	0.024	2.9459	0.110							
Saskatchewan	0.4854	0.079	3.1542	0.011	12.1542	0.006							
Alberta	1.0186	0.926	1.5152	0.189	3.2366	0.070							
British Columbia	1.9825	0.002	0.7243	0.569	0.9493	0.956							

Although the results for each model are presented independently, an attempt will be made in the discussion to draw some general conclusions concerning the determinants of acculturation. Only three characteristics are significant in the first model, *assimilated to integrated*; age at immigration, the declared mother tongue and the place of birth. The province residence is significant at the overall level but on closer examination we see that only the coefficient for British Columbia has a significance level below 0.05.

The likelihood of an outcome of acculturation of *assimilated* decreases when compared to *integrated* as the age at immigration increases. This is consistent with the results of the analysis of Table A10-8 presented in the previous section. Model 1 also confirms the observations made with respect to the declared mother tongue. The likelihood of an outcome of *assimilated* as compared to *integrated* is substantially higher when the declared mother tongue is either one of the two official languages in Canada or

when it is a heritage language other than Ukrainian. The likelihood of an outcome of *assimilated* as opposed to *integrated* is also over 3 times higher if the immigrant was born outside of Continental Europe and almost 2 times higher if he or she lives in British Columbia.

A greater number of the characteristics are significant in the second model—*separated* to *integrated*. This may be due to the fact that the differences between these outcomes are more extreme. The likelihood of an outcome in the *separated* as opposed to *integrated* portion of the continuum increases dramatically as the age at immigration increases. For instance, individuals who immigrated when they were 45 years of age and older are 43 times as likely to be *separated* as opposed to *integrated* when compared with the youngest immigrant cohort. The results also show that women are twice as likely as men to be *separated* as opposed to *integrated*. In examining this model we also see that Ukrainian immigrants living in Québec are much less likely to be *separated* whereas those living in the Prairie Provinces are more likely to be *separated* when compared to the immigrants living in Ontario.

The next characteristic, the length of residence in Canada, shows that those who have been living in Canada more than 10 years are also less likely to be *separated*. The reader will recall that it was proposed in the previous section that the individuals whose outcome of acculturation is *separated* may not have been in Canada long enough to acquire the necessary language skills to interact effectively with the larger society. These coefficients support that notion.

Education appears to be marginally significant in the results presented in the second model. The coefficients for education indicate a result that is consistent with that

of the other ethnic groups in the study population. Immigrants who have higher levels of education are less likely to be *separated*. This is eminently reasonable since the likelihood of someone with post-secondary qualifications not being able to function in either English and/or French when living in Canada is very low.

Only three characteristics are shown to be fully significant determinants of acculturation in the final model; age at immigration, place of birth and the number of years the immigrant has been living in Canada. A fourth characteristic, the declared mother tongue, is partial significant. The reader is reminded that people who are classified as *assimilated* exhibit little to no retention of their ethnic or cultural origins and they participate as full members of the host society. The conditions are exactly the opposite for those who are classified as *separated*. This factor may explain some of the extreme coefficients that are calculated for the significant characteristics.

When comparing these two outcomes the coefficients indicate that individuals who immigrated later in life are much more likely to be *separated* when compared to *assimilated*. In fact, the increase in the coefficients are almost geometric. The results also show that the immigrants who were born outside Europe (presumably outside the territory that approximates present day Ukraine) are less likely to be *separated*. Finally, those who declared a mother tongue other than Ukrainian, English or French are less likely to be *separated*.

10.6 What do the results tell us about Ukrainian immigrant acculturation?

Similar to the other ethnic groups in the study population, only the age at which the immigrant arrived in Canada is a significant determinant of acculturation in all models. Those who arrived at a later stage in their lives are more likely to be either *integrated* or *separated*. In contrast, those who arrived when they were among the

younger cohorts demonstrate the impact of the context of the socialisation process. Their outcome is more likely to be *assimilated*.

All of the other characteristics are either partial determinants of acculturation, depending on context and specific conditions, or they have no bearing on the outcome of acculturation for the Ukrainian immigrants. For instance, the sex of the individual is only significant when the outcome is likely to be *separated*. The results show that this outcome is more likely for elderly women, a pattern that we observed for the other ethnic groups for whom *separated* is a significant outcome. Similarly, if the individual declares English, French or a heritage language other than Ukrainian to be his or her mother tongue the outcome is more likely to be *assimilated*.

Spatial factors such as the province of residence and the place of birth are important on a selective basis. Ukrainian immigrants who were born outside of continental Europe are more likely to be *assimilated*, once again confirming the impact of being born in a diaspora. Those who live in British Columbia are also more likely to be *assimilated* whereas the outcome of acculturation *separated* is more likely to be encountered in the Prairie Provinces, suggesting that a legacy exists from earlier waves of migration. The following table summarises the determinants of acculturation based on the results of the three models.

Table 10-7 : Summary of determinants of acculturation for Ukrainian immigrants

Characteristic	Model - Is it a determinant of acculturation			Comment
	<i>Assimilated vs Integrated</i>	<i>Separated vs Integrated</i>	<i>Separated vs Assimilated</i>	
Age at immigration	Yes	Yes	Yes	The likelihood of <i>assimilated</i> is inversely proportional to age at immigration. The likelihood of <i>separated</i> is directly proportional to age at immigration.
Sex	No	Yes	No	Women are more likely to be either <i>separated</i> .
Marital status	No	No	No	
Mother tongue	Yes	No	Partial	<i>Integrated</i> and <i>separated</i> tend to speak Ukrainian. <i>Assimilated</i> tend to speak English, French or a heritage language other than Ukrainian.
Place of birth	Yes	No	Yes	The immigrants who are born in a diaspora are more likely to be <i>assimilated</i> and less likely to be <i>separated</i> .
Province of residence	Partial	Partial	No	
Length of time in Canada	No	Yes	Yes	The likelihood of an outcome in the <i>separated</i> portion of the continuum is small for any immigrant who has been in Canada more than 10 years.
Low income status	No	No	No	
Occupational skill level	No	No	No	
Highest level of education	No	Partial	No	

Appendix A-10: Detailed tables

Table A10-8 : Outcome of acculturation by age at immigration, Ukrainian immigrants, 1991

Outcome of acculturation	0 to 14 years		15 to 24 years		25 to 29 years		30 to 44 years		45 years & older		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	30,6	234	45,3	248	60,4	229	54,6	251	45,8	66	44,4	1 048
Weakly integrated	35,2	292	32,0	173	23,2	88	23,0	106	18,1	26	29,1	687
Strongly assimilated	21,4	177	13,2	72	7,1	27	5,9	27	4,9	7	13,1	310
Separated	1,2	10	3,3	18	3,2	12	8,3	38	25,7	37	4,9	115
Other	11,6	96	6,2	34	6,1	23	8,3	38	5,6	8	8,4	199
Total	100,0	429	100,0	347	100,0	379	100,0	460	100,0	144	100,0	2 359

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A10-9 : Outcome of acculturation by male/female distribution, Ukrainian immigrants, 1991

Outcome of acculturation	Female		Male		Total		Male/Female Ratio
	%	n	%	n	%	n	
Strongly integrated	42,5	516	46,5	532	44,4	1 048	1,03
Weakly integrated	29,2	355	29,0	332	29,1	687	0,94
Strongly assimilated	14,3	174	11,9	136	13,1	310	0,78
Separated	6,0	73	3,7	42	4,9	115	0,58
Other	7,9	96	9,0	103	8,4	199	1,07
Total	100,0	1 214	100,0	1 145	100,0	2 359	0,94

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A10-10 : Outcome of acculturation by marital status, Ukrainian immigrants, 1991

Outcome of acculturation	Single		Married		Divorced / Separated		Widowed		TOTAL	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	38,5	115	46,1	628	28,7	56	49,6	249	44,4	1 048
Weakly integrated	17,7	53	30,7	419	36,4	71	28,7	144	29,1	687
Strongly assimilated	27,8	83	12,1	165	13,3	26	7,2	36	13,1	310
Separated	3,7	11	4,2	57	4,6	9	7,6	38	4,9	115
Other	12,4	37	6,9	94	16,9	33	7,0	35	8,4	199
Total	100,0	299	100,0	1 363	100,0	195	100,0	502	100,0	2 359

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A10-11 : Outcome of acculturation by mother tongue, Ukrainian immigrants, 1991

Outcome of acculturation	English and/or French		Ukrainian		Other heritage language		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	12,1	41	58,1	826	30,3	181	44,4	1 048
Weakly integrated	12,9	44	30,4	432	35,3	211	29,1	687
Strongly assimilated	49,7	169	3,2	45	16,1	96	13,1	310
Separated	0,0		5,6	80	5,9	35	4,9	115
Other	25,3	86	2,7	39	12,4	74	8,4	199
Total	100,0	340	100,0	1 422	100,0	597	100,0	2 359

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A10-12 : Outcome of acculturation by place of birth, Ukrainian immigrants, 1991

Outcome of acculturation	Europe, excluding the U.K.		Elsewhere		TOTAL	
	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	49,1	1 016	11,0	32	44,4	1 048
Weakly integrated	31,0	641	15,8	46	29,1	687
Strongly assimilated	7,6	157	52,6	153	13,1	310
Separated	5,5	113	0,7	2	4,9	115
Other	6,8	141	19,9	58	8,4	199
Total	100,0	2 068	100,0	291	100,0	2 359

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A10-13 : Outcome of acculturation by province of residence, Ukrainian immigrants, 1991

Outcome of acculturation	Québec		Ontario		Prairie Provinces		British Columbia		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	60,1	101	48,2	589	40,8	309	23,1	49	44,4	1 048
Weakly integrated	20,8	35	26,7	326	34,6	262	30,2	64	29,1	687
Strongly assimilated	10,1	17	11,1	135	12,8	97	28,8	61	13,1	310
Separated	1,8	3	5,2	64	5,8	44	1,9	4	4,9	115
Other	7,1	12	8,8	107	6,1	46	16,0	34	8,4	199
Total	100,0	168	100,0	1 221	100,0	758	100,0	212	100,0	2 359

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A10-14 : Outcome of acculturation by years living in Canada, Ukrainian immigrants, 1991

Outcome of acculturation	0 - 10		11 - 20		21 - 30		31 - 40		41 plus		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	42,3	115	23,9	48	29,1	57	48,4	237	49,3	371	44,4	1 048
Weakly integrated	19,5	53	21,9	44	25,5	50	27,9	148	33,8	392	29,1	687
Strongly assimilated	16,5	43	34,8	70	21,4	42	13,6	72	7,0	81	13,1	310
Separated	14,0	38	4,0	8	5,6	11	3,4	18	3,5	40	4,9	115
Other	7,7	21	15,4	31	18,4	36	6,8	36	6,5	75	8,4	199
Total	100,0	272	100,0	201	100,0	196	100,0	331	100,0	1 159	100,0	2 359

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A10-15 : Outcome of acculturation by low income status, Ukrainian immigrants, 1991

Outcome of acculturation	Total income above LICO		Total income below LICO		Not applicable		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	42,4	786	52,1	260	25,0	2	44,4	1 048
Weakly integrated	30,6	566	23,6	118	37,5	3	29,1	687
Strongly assimilated	14,1	261	9,4	47	25,0	2	13,1	310
Separated	4,6	86	5,6	28	12,5	1	4,9	115
Other	8,3	153	9,2	46	0,0		8,4	199
Total	100,0	1 852	100,0	499	100,0	8	100,0	2 359

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A10-16 : Outcome of acculturation by occupational skill level, Ukrainian immigrants, 1991

Outcome of acculturation	Skill level 4		Skill level 3		Skill level 2		Skill level 1		Not applicable		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	35,1	95	34,5	110	30,7	87	42,7	56	51,7	700	44,4	1 048
Weakly integrated	32,5	88	32,6	104	28,6	81	21,4	28	28,5	386	29,1	687
Strongly assimilated	21,8	59	19,4	62	27,9	79	15,3	20	6,6	90	13,1	310
Separated	0,4	1	2,5	8	2,5	7	9,9	13	6,3	86	4,9	115
Other	10,3	28	11,0	35	10,2	29	10,7	14	6,9	93	8,4	199
Total	100,0	271	100,0	319	100,0	283	100,0	131	100,0	1 355	100,0	2 359

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

Table A10-17 : Outcome of acculturation by highest level of education, Ukrainian immigrants, 1991

Outcome of acculturation	Elementary & Secondary		Post-secondary, non-university		University, undergraduate		University, graduate		Not applicable / not available		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Strongly integrated	48,1	726	36,1	131	38,5	125	42,5	45	36,8	21	44,4	1 048
Weakly integrated	30,2	455	27,0	98	28,9	94	29,2	31	15,8	9	29,1	687
Strongly assimilated	8,3	125	21,5	78	22,5	73	17,0	18	28,1	16	13,1	310
Separated	5,9	89	4,4	16	0,9	3	1,9	2	8,8	5	4,9	115
Other	7,5	113	11,0	40	9,2	30	9,4	10	10,5	6	8,4	199
Total	100,0	1 508	100,0	363	100,0	325	100,0	106	100,0	57	100,0	2 359

Source: 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File, Individuals

11 ACCULTURATION – AN INFORMED PERSPECTIVE

Up to this point in the study, the analysis focussed on the acculturation experience of immigrants belonging to one of seven ethnic groups. Each group was examined independently and conclusions were drawn about the intragroup outcome of acculturation. The focus of the study now shifts to a more general perspective. This chapter begins with a synthesis of the results presented in the preceding seven “ethnic” chapters. The first section summarises the outcomes of acculturation for the study population, demonstrating that the experience differs for the seven ethnic groups. The process of generalising the results is initiated in the second section in which I present an analysis of the determinants of acculturation for the study population. The third section reviews the research questions that shaped this study and the general conclusions that were drawn as a result of the analysis. This chapter concludes with a proposal for a generalised theory of acculturation.

11.1 The outcomes of acculturation

One of the underlying hypotheses of this research project is that ethnic and cultural origins have a bearing on the results of the acculturation process for immigrants coming to Canada. An observable difference in the distribution of outcomes of acculturation for immigrants from selected ethnic origins would confirm that the immigrant’s ethnic origins, as declared in the census, have an impact on the outcome of acculturation. The following table summarises the distributions of the dominant outcomes of acculturation described in the preceding chapters for each of the seven ethnic groups that form the study population. It can be seen that the dominant outcomes vary by ethnic origin and that the ranking of outcomes differs from one ethnic origin to the next. This result is not surprising given the ethno-cultural diversity of the study

population. It may be argued that the differences in the distributions of outcome of acculturation are due to random effects induced by the large samples used in this study. This argument does not hold for the following reasons. The methodology employed to determine the outcome of acculturation described in Chapter 3 is sensitive to socio-cultural differences in the subjects. If the sample population were socio-culturally homogeneous, the outcomes of acculturation would be uniform. If the population were socio-culturally heterogeneous and if they did not exhibit any retention of ties to their ethno-cultural heritage, the outcome would be uniformly *assimilated*. However, we have seen in the preceding analytical chapters that the population is heterogeneous. We also see that the outcomes of acculturation vary according to the results in Table 11-1. Furthermore, an analysis of the rankings in this table shows that there is a distinct clustering of the ethnic groups in the study population according to similarities in outcomes. The first cluster consists of the Dutch and the Germans—both are of Western European origins. The second cluster includes the Italians, the Poles and the Ukrainians—groups that originate in Southern and Eastern Europe. The final two groups, the Chinese and the South Asians, each form a separated cluster, assuming that it is legitimate to have a cluster of one. Therefore, these results cannot be attributed to random effects⁴⁴.

Table 11-1: Ranking of outcomes of acculturation exceeding 5% of the immigrants by ethnic group, 1991 Census

OUTCOME OF ACCULTURATION	Chinese	Dutch	German	Italian	Polish	South Asian	Ukrainian
Strongly Integrated	1	2	2	1	1	1	1
Moderately Integrated						5	
Weakly Integrated	3	1	1	2	2	3	2
Weakly Assimilated		3	4			2	
Moderately Assimilated							
Strongly Assimilated		4	3	4	3		3
Separated	2			3	4	4	4

These results illustrate a number of interesting patterns for immigrant acculturation. First, *assimilated* is not an important outcome of acculturation for the Chinese immigrants and it is of “weak” importance for the South Asians. Both ethnic groups share certain characteristics that help to explain this distribution of outcomes. When we examine the Gini coefficients referred to earlier for these two groups (Balakrishnan and Hou, 1999: 130-131) we see that both have a higher tendency to live in ethnic enclaves or in relatively concentrated areas within the CMAs. This affords the immigrants belonging to these two groups greater exposure to other members of their community and to ad hoc activities that serve to reinforce their tie to their ethnic origins. We also know from the brief descriptions of the history of these two groups in Canada (see Chapters 4 and 9) that the communities in which the Chinese and South Asians live in Canada tend to be institutionally complete. Therefore, the residents in these communities are able to function in a milieu in which the ethnic and cultural experience can be maintained—socially as well as economically. Finally, both groups also share the distinction of being the more recent immigrants to Canada when compared to the remainder of the study population.

Second, it is no coincidence that *strongly integrated* is the top ranked outcome for the same ethnic groups for whom *separated* was observable. A sense of attachment to the respective ethno-cultural origins, a distinctive ethnic language that is taught and used and a physical community to which individuals can turn for support and for social interaction are all factors that contribute to an outcome in the *integrated* and *separated* portions of the continuum. Each of the groups in the study population possesses more than one of these characteristics. The immigrant's ability to function in either English and/or French is what determines whether the outcome is *strongly integrated* or *separated*, all other characteristics being equal.

Third, the dominant outcome of acculturation for the Dutch and the Germans tends to be *weakly integrated* with *strongly assimilated* not far behind. It was shown earlier that many of the immigrants from these two ethnic groups are functional in either English or French when they arrive in Canada. Also the Dutch and the Germans tend to be more dispersed in the CMAs in which they live⁴⁵ (Balakrishnan and Hou, 1999: 130-131). Therefore, immigrants from these two ethnic groups have greater opportunities to interact directly with the host society in social and commercial activities. Furthermore, their language abilities in English and/or French facilitate these interactions.

Fourth, the outcome *strongly integrated* is ranked either first or second for all groups in the study population. This ranking reflects the fact that the subjects of analysis are immigrants. We know from the analyses presented in Chapters 4 to 10 that the acculturation experience differs between immigrants and non-immigrants of the same ethnic group. However, this difference has not been explored in this study. In future

iterations of this analysis it will be interesting to establish whether or not this pattern holds true for the first and subsequent generations who are born in Canada.

Fifth, an outcome of acculturation in the assimilated portion of the OA continuum does not necessarily imply a complete loss of attachment to, or retention of, the ethnic and cultural origins of the individual. *Assimilated* encompasses outcomes that range from *strongly assimilated*, indicating a complete loss of ethnic retention, to *weakly assimilated*, indicating some retention of the individual's ethnic or cultural heritage, albeit with greater emphasis placed on the cultural attributes of the host society. The rankings in Table 11-1 show that *strongly assimilated* is not an important outcome of acculturation for the Chinese and the South Asians and that it is in either third or fourth place for the other groups in the study population. They also show that *weakly assimilated* is observable for only three of the seven groups—the Dutch, the Germans and the South Asians. These two factors combined are a strong indication that the immigrants in these ethnic groups tend to retain their ethnic and cultural origins⁴⁶.

11.2 The Determinants of Acculturation

The preceding seven chapters offered a descriptive analysis of the characteristics that contribute to the outcome of acculturation for each of the ethnic groups that form the study population. One of the hypotheses of this research project is that the determinants of acculturation are influenced by the characteristics of the ethnic group. The corresponding null hypothesis, that no relationship exists between the immigrant's ethnic origin and the determinants of acculturation, can be rejected on the basis of the results presented in Table 11-2.

Table 11-2 : Determinants of acculturation for the study population

Characteristic	Chinese	Dutch	German	Italian	Polish	South Asian	Ukrainian
Age at immigration	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sex	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
Marital status	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No
Mother tongue	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	N/A	Partial
Place of birth	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Province of residence	Partial	No	Partial	Partial	No	Partial	No
Length of time in Canada	Partial	No	No	No	Yes	Partial	Yes
Status with respect to LICO	No	No	No	Partial	Partial	Partial	No
Occupational skill level	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Partial	No
Highest level of education	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Partial	No

Each cell in Table 11-2 indicates whether or not a given characteristic is a statistically significant determinant of acculturation. A value of “yes” indicates that the characteristic is fully significant for the first model, *assimilated* compared to *integrated*, for the Dutch and the Germans or fully significant for at least two of the three models for the groups for whom *separated* is an measurable outcome—Chinese, Italian, Polish, South Asian and Ukrainian⁴⁷. “Partial” denotes that some of the categories of the characteristic are significant for the majority of the models. The value “no” indicates that the characteristic is not statistically significant and “N/A” indicates that the characteristic was not included as an independent variable in the models. It can be seen that only age at immigration and place of birth are significant determinants for all ethnic groups in the study population. Each characteristic is discussed separately in the following paragraphs. The following table is offered to the reader as a reminder of the hypotheses proposed for each characteristic in Chapter 2.

Table 11-3 : Summary of the hypotheses for the characteristics of the immigrant

Characteristic	Hypotheses
Age at immigration	The outcome of acculturation for the immigrants who arrived in Canada when they were older is more likely to be <i>separated</i> whereas those who arrived when they were young children are more likely to be <i>assimilated</i> .
Sex	The likelihood of an outcome of acculturation in the <i>integrated</i> or <i>separated</i> portions of the continuum will be greater for women and an outcome in the <i>assimilated</i> portion of the continuum will be greater for men.

Characteristic	Hypotheses
Marital status	The likelihood of an outcome of acculturation of <i>assimilated</i> will be greater for people who are divorced or separated and who belong to ethnic groups in which the dominant religion does not recognise divorce or separation. The outcome of acculturation is more likely to be in the <i>integrated</i> portion of the continuum for people who are married and who were older when they arrived in Canada. The likelihood of an outcome of acculturation of <i>separated</i> will be higher for those who are widowed.
Mother tongue	The likelihood that the outcome of acculturation will be either <i>integrated</i> or <i>separated</i> , depending on the individual's incorporation into the host society, will be greater for immigrants who declare a mother tongue that is usually associated with their ethnic origin. If the individual declares his or her mother tongue to be either a heritage language that is not usually associated with his or her ethnic origin, English and/or French, the likelihood is greater that <i>assimilated</i> will be the outcome of acculturation.
Place of birth	The likelihood that the outcome of acculturation will be <i>integrated</i> increases for immigrants who were born in the country or region usually associated with their ethnic origin. Immigrants belonging to groups that tend to form relatively strong communities, such as the South Asians, the Chinese and the Italians, are more likely to experience an outcome in the <i>integrated</i> portion of the continuum, regardless of their place of birth. The outcome of acculturation for immigrants who belong to other groups in the study population and who are born in a diaspora is more likely to be in the <i>assimilated</i> portion of the continuum.
Province of residence	The outcome of acculturation for individuals who live in CMAs in which their ethnic group tends to be more concentrated in fewer neighbourhoods (i.e. higher Gini coefficient) is likely to be in the <i>integrated</i> portion of the continuum. Conversely, those who live in CMAs in which their ethnic group is more dispersed are more likely to be <i>assimilated</i> .
Years in Canada	The likelihood of an outcome of acculturation in the <i>assimilated</i> portion of the continuum will increase in proportion to the number of years the immigrant has been living in Canada.
Income status	The outcome of acculturation will be <i>separated</i> for the people living in below-LICO circumstances.
Occupational skill level	The outcome of acculturation for immigrants who are in higher skilled occupations is more likely to be at the <i>integrated</i> or <i>assimilated</i> portion of the continuum, depending on the ethnic origin. The outcome for those who belong to groups in which there is a stronger tendency towards ethnic retention will be in the <i>integrated</i> portion of the continuum whereas it will be in the <i>assimilated</i> portion for the others. Conversely, the likelihood of an outcome of acculturation in the <i>separated</i> portion of the continuum increases for those in lower skilled occupations, or for those who are not in the labour market.
Highest level of education	The likelihood of an outcome of acculturation in the <i>assimilated</i> or <i>integrated</i> portions of the continuum will be higher for immigrants with higher levels of education, depending on the ethnic group to which they belong. Similarly, those with lower levels of education are more likely to experience an outcome in <i>separated</i> portion of the continuum.

Each of the characteristics that was included as an independent variable in the models is discussed in general terms in the following paragraphs. However, a word of explanation on the structure and content of the figures that follow will be useful before proceeding with the general discussion. The ten figures that accompany the discussion of

the characteristics provide a graphic representation of the results of the logistic regression models that were presented in the preceding analytical chapters. The nodes in the figures correspond to the aggregate groupings of the outcomes of acculturation that were included in the models. The notation is very simple. The node labelled “A” corresponds to the outcome *assimilated*; the node labelled “I” corresponds to *integrated*; and the node labelled “S” corresponds to *separated*. The coefficients that are statistically significant according to the Wald statistic are indicated next to the category of the independent variable to which they apply. A notation of “N/S” indicates that the coefficient is not significant. The arrows linking the nodes indicate the direction of the comparison. If the coefficient is greater than 1, the result is in the direction of the arrow. If it is less than 1, the result is in the opposite direction. Therefore, a coefficient of 1,6 between the first two nodes, “A” and “I”, indicates that the outcome is 1,6 times more likely to be *assimilated* as opposed to *integrated*.

The age at which the immigrants arrive in Canada and the place of birth are the only determinants that are statistically significant for all ethnic groups in the study population (see Figure 11-1)⁴⁸. It was shown in the previous chapters that the outcome of acculturation for immigrants who arrived in Canada when they were under the age of 15 is more likely to be in the *assimilated* portion and it is less likely to be in the *separated* portion of the OA continuum. This result is consistent with the hypothesis proffered in Chapter 2 as well as with existing literature on the topic. It has been suggested in other texts that the lives and identities of students are shaped and influenced during primary and secondary schooling. This may be as a result of the student/teacher relationship or it may be due to some of the less formal activities in which young people participate while

they are attending school (for examples see Government of Ontario, 1994; Guppy and Davies, 1998). In the context of this study, the results of the socialisation process referred to in these texts manifest themselves in an outcome of acculturation in the *assimilated* portion the continuum for that segment of the immigrant population.

The consistency in the direction and statistical significance of the coefficients in Figure 11-1 are notable. Although the study was conducted on immigrants belonging to a sample of ethnic groups, it is likely that the observations concerning the impact of age at immigration on the outcome of acculturation can be generalised to immigrants in Canada from all ethnic groups.

Figure 11-1 : Regression coefficients for age at immigration

H₀: (No relationship exists between age at immigration and the outcome of acculturation)
 CAN BE REJECTED FOR ALL GROUPS
 REFERENCE CATEGORY: 0 to 14 years of age

The respondent's declared mother tongue and whether or not he or she was born in a diaspora are also important determinants of acculturation, although the impact may not be universal (as indicated by the number of cases in which the significance is "partial" as opposed to complete). It was proposed in Chapter 2 that whether the

outcome of acculturation will be *integrated* or *assimilated* for immigrants born in a diaspora will be determined by their ethnic origin. This hypothesis may be rejected on the basis of the analysis. In general, immigrants who were born in a diaspora are more likely to be classified in the *assimilated* portion of the continuum, regardless of their ethnic origin.

Figure 11-2 : Regression coefficients for place of birth

H_0 : (No relationship exists between place of birth and the outcome of acculturation
 CAN BE REJECTED FOR ALL GROUPS
 REFERENCE CATEGORY: Heritage country

These immigrants have one thing in common—they and their ancestors all experienced at least one process of acculturation before coming to Canada. Although the effect may vary from one ethnic group to another, the fact remains that these immigrants are more removed from their ancestral origins by virtue of where they were born.

Whether or not they actively adopted elements and behaviours of the host society in which they were born, they were certainly exposed to ethnic, cultural, social and economic features that were different from their ethnicity. Again, this is not to suggest that all immigrants who are born in a diaspora necessarily loose all connection with their ethnic or ancestral origins. The coefficients in the individual models show that the effect differs depending on the ethnic group and on the strength of the community in which they were born. For example, South Asians who were born in Africa tend to retain strong ties to their ethnic and cultural roots, in spite of the fact that they were raised in a diaspora. This is due to the characteristics of the members of the ethnic groups that make up the collective category South Asian. It is also worth noting that the likelihood of an outcome of acculturation in the *separated* portion of the continuum is reduced for immigrants who are born in a diaspora. The same logic applies.

As predicted in Chapter 2, immigrants who are born in the country or region of the world usually associated with their ethnic origin are more likely to experience an outcome of acculturation in the *integrated* portion of the continuum. This result confirms the impact of “memory” on the acculturation process. These immigrants have more recent memories of their ethnic and cultural heritage. Therefore, they are more likely to retain elements of their origins. They are also more likely to speak or to have a working knowledge of the heritage language associated with their origins.

The respondent’s declared mother tongue plays an equally important role in the outcome of acculturation. Language was shown to be an important marker of ethnic retention and a primary mechanism for the intergenerational transmission and promulgation of ethnic and cultural values (see the discussion on the derivation of the

outcome of acculturation in Chapter 3). The results of this analysis provide strong empirical evidence of the importance of language in ethnic retention. As predicted in Chapter 2, in all cases in which the declared mother tongue was either English, French or a heritage language not usually associated with the ethnic origin the likelihood of an outcome in the *assimilated* portion of the continuum is substantially greater than when the mother tongue was the heritage language usually associated with the origin (see Figure 11-3). Furthermore, the likelihood of an OA in the *separated* portion of the continuum is substantially reduced for these individuals⁴⁹.

Figure 11-3 : Regression coefficients for mother tongue

H_0 : (No relationship exists between mother tongue and the outcome of acculturation) CAN BE REJECTED FOR ALL GROUPS
REFERENCE CATEGORY: Heritage language associated with the group

The implications of the result described in the preceding paragraph are far-reaching. Instruction in the heritage language usually associated with the ethnic origin at an early age and its continued use by the individuals concerned are major contributing factors in ethnic retention (Isajiw, 1984:12; Reitz, 1985: 105-123). This assumes that

ethnic retention is the desired result. In instances where ethnic retention is not a desired outcome, learning and adopting the language of the host society greatly facilitates the transition to the culture of the host society.

The hypothesis was put forward in Chapter 2 that the likelihood of an outcome of acculturation in the *integrated* or *separated* portions of the continuum will be greater for women and an outcome in the *assimilated* portion of the continuum will be greater for men. In those instances where the individual's sex is a significant determinant of acculturation, the results are not consistent with the direction of the research hypothesis.

Figure 11-4 : Regression coefficients for the individual's sex

H_0 : (No relationship exists between sex and the outcome of acculturation) CAN BE ONLY REJECTED FOR THE DUTCH
 REFERENCE CATEGORY: Male
 Polish and Ukrainian are NOT SIGNIFICANT

We see that the outcome of acculturation for women is more likely to be *assimilated* as opposed to *integrated*, except for the Dutch. At first glance this result appears to run counter to expectations. We know from the descriptions in the previous chapters that a large proportion of the immigrants belonging to the groups in the study

population arrived when they were adults. We also know from existing literature on the subject that women are generally viewed as the dominant influence in the household with respect to maintaining the traditions and the customs associated with an ethnic origin (see Amott and Matthaei, 1991; Basaravajappa and Verma, 1990; Gunderson, 1998; Gee, 1987). Therefore, what factors may explain this apparent contradiction?

The first part of the explanation lies in the labour force participation of the immigrant women who are part of the study population. The participation rates of this segment of the study population range from a low of 61% for the Ukrainian immigrants to a high of 71% for the Italian and South Asian immigrants. Although many of these women work in lower skilled occupations (according to the scale adopted in this study), they nevertheless are exposed to and must interact directly with the host society on a regular basis.

Another important part of the explanation was dealt with earlier in this chapter. The composition of the aggregate category *assimilated* encompasses a range of outcomes that includes those who retained some aspect of their ethnic origins (*weakly assimilated*) and some who have completely abandoned their origins (*strongly assimilated*). In examining the distributions more closely we see that the proportion of Chinese and South Asian immigrant women whose outcome of acculturation is *weakly assimilated* is approximately twice as high as those whose outcome is *strongly assimilated*. The proportions are reversed for the other ethnic groups.

It was noted on a number of occasions in the analytical chapters dealing with the ethnic groups and in Chapter 2 that women, especially elderly women, had a greater likelihood of experiencing an outcome of acculturation in the *separated* portion of the

continuum. In effect, this result holds true for all groups in which *separated* is a measurable outcome and the individual's sex is a significant determinant of acculturation.

References were made in the analytical chapters that exogamy may be a factor in the outcome of acculturation. The following table lists the proportion of all married males and females in each ethnic group who are in exogamous unions.

**Table 11-4 : Proportion of immigrants
who are in exogamous unions,
expressed as a percent, 1991**

Ethnic Origin	Male	Female	Average
South Asian	10,1	6,6	8,4
Chinese	8,5	8,6	8,5
Italian	26,6	11,7	19,1
Polish	26,4	22,7	24,5
Dutch	36,2	26,8	31,5
Ukrainian	42,7	26,1	34,4
German	36,4	34,9	35,7

Chinese and South Asian immigrants are least likely to enter into exogamous unions of any of the ethnic groups in the study population. The relationship between exogamy and an outcome in the *assimilated* portion of the continuum is very clear. The models presented in the preceding chapters show that the likelihood of an outcome in the *assimilated* portion of the continuum increases for those groups for whom the incidence of exogamy is relatively high and it decreases for the groups with lower proportions of exogamy. In most instances, choosing a marriage partner from a different ethnic group is a signal of weaker ties to the individual's ethnic origins. Exceptions are possible, such as instances when one partner adopts the culture and customs of the other partner. The effect in such cases is that the dominant ethnic culture and customs will be transmitted to

the children. Since the data used in this study are for individuals rather than families, it is not possible to determine the prevalence of such cases.

The points noted in the previous paragraph notwithstanding, the importance of marital status as a determinant of acculturation is very limited (see Figure 11-5). It is only substantively significant for the two ethnic groups for whom *separated* is not an important outcome of acculturation, the Dutch and the Germans. The coefficients show that anyone from these two groups who is, or who has been, married is more likely than someone who is single to be in the *assimilated* portion of the continuum. This result corresponds to their rankings with respect to the incidence of exogamy. Although the relationship cannot be stated scientifically on the basis of these results, the apparent correspondence is striking. It was proposed in Chapter 2 that the likelihood of an outcome of acculturation in the *separated* portion of the continuum would be higher for the immigrants who are widowed. This result is confirmed for the Chinese and the Italians. However, the coefficients for the other five groups in the study population are not statistically significant. Therefore, it is not possible to draw a general conclusion concerning the relationship between widowed and *separated*.

Figure 11-5 : Regression coefficients for marital status

H_0 : (No relationship exists between marital status and the outcome of acculturation) CAN BE REJECTED FOR DUTCH AND GERMAN

REFERENCE CATEGORY: Single (never married)

Chinese, Italian, Polish, South Asian and Ukrainian are NOT STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT

Where immigrants live is only important in a discussion on acculturation in so far as it provides an indication of the influence that the ethnic community and the immediate proximity to a large population mass has on the process. Reference was made on numerous occasions in this study to the analysis conducted by Balakrishnan and Hou

(1999) in which they use a Gini coefficient to classify ethnic groups within the major CMAs in Canada by the degree to which members of the same group are clustered in selected neighbourhoods. The degree of clustering is indicated by the size of the coefficient. A higher coefficient indicates a more densely clustered group. The effect of residential patterns on acculturation was hypothesised to result in an outcome in the *integrated* portion of the continuum for immigrants living in a CMA in which their ethnic group has a relatively high Gini coefficient. Although the coefficients in Figure 11-6 apply to provincial patterns of residence, it was shown in the analytical chapters that the immigrants tend to live in the major CMAs for which the Gini coefficients have been calculated. Given the concordance between province of residence and the CMA, it is possible to draw some general conclusions with respect to the aforementioned hypothesis. The results in the following figure are not conclusive with respect to this hypothesis. Therefore it is not possible to fully reject the null hypothesis. Also, no definite conclusion may be drawn on the basis of these results on the converse of that hypothesis—immigrants living in a CMA in which their ethnic group has a low Gini coefficient are more likely to experience an outcome of acculturation in the *assimilated* portion of the continuum.

Figure 11-6 : Regression coefficients for province of residence

H_0 : (No relationship exists between province of residence and the outcome of acculturation) CAN BE REJECTED FOR CHINESE, GERMAN & SOUTH ASIAN
REFERENCE CATEGORY: Ontario
 Dutch, Polish and Ukrainian are NOT STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT

When we focus on the immigrants whose outcome of acculturation is in the *separated* portion of the continuum the results of the models are inconclusive. In fact, it is reasonable to conclude from these models that macro-geographic factors such as the

Province or CMA of residence do not have any effect on the outcome of acculturation for those who are in the *separated* portion of the continuum.

The analysis conducted in this study is cross-sectional in nature rather than longitudinal. Nevertheless, the length of time that immigrants have been living in Canada is included as an independent variable. Therefore, it is possible to draw some inferences about the impact of duration of residence on the outcome of acculturation by comparing the results for “arrival cohorts” within a given ethnic group. It was proposed in Chapter 2 that the likelihood of an outcome of acculturation in the *assimilated* portion of the continuum would increase in proportion to the number of years the immigrant has been living in Canada. In effect, the coefficients presented in the preceding sections show that corresponding null hypothesis (that no relationship exists between the outcome of acculturation *assimilated* and the number of years the immigrant has been living in Canada) can be rejected for only two of the groups in the study population, the Chinese and the South Asians (see Figure 11-7), indicating that length of residence in Canada is important in determining the outcome of acculturation for the non-European groups. Length of residence does not appear to be as important a determinant of acculturation for the European groups. In fact, if we base ourselves on the results for the Polish group, we see that the critical point is whether or not the immigrant has been living in Canada more than 10 years. It appears to make little difference beyond that point.

Figure 11-7 : Regression coefficients for the number of years the immigrant has been living in Canada

H_0 : (No relationship exists between the number of years an immigrant has been living in Canada and the outcome of acculturation) CAN BE REJECTED FOR CHINESE AND SOUTH ASIAN
 REFERENCE CATEGORY: 0 to 10 years
 Dutch, German and Italian are NOT STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT

Whether or not an individual lives in a family in which the income is below the LICO is not necessarily a direct determinant of acculturation for all outcomes in the continuum. However, it is an indicator of circumstances that may contribute to an outcome in the *separated* portion of the continuum. In fact, the hypothesis that

individuals who live in a below-LICO setting are more likely to experience an outcome of acculturation in the *separated* portion of the continuum was presented in Chapter 2. This proves to be the case (i.e. the corresponding null hypothesis can be rejected) for most ethnic groups in which *separated* is a rated outcome of acculturation (Chinese, Italian, Polish and South Asian), with the exception of the Ukrainians.

Figure 11-8 : Regression coefficients for low income status

H_0 : (No relationship exists between LICO and the outcome of acculturation) CAN BE REJECTED FOR CHINESE, ITALIAN, POLISH AND SOUTH ASIAN

REFERENCE CATEGORY: Income status is $\geq$ LICO

Dutch, German and Ukrainian are NOT STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT

It was suggested in the analytical chapters that the profile of the immigrants who fall in this category of acculturation tends to be elderly women who are widows, We may now add that some of them are living in economically strained circumstances, although this is not necessarily the case. While some of them may be living alone with

few sources of income other than what they “inherit” and what they receive through government sources or they may be living in collective dwellings that are run by the ethnic community (see Lampert 1999 for an example of the Chinese), others may be living in situations that are not necessarily captured under the LICO concept. For instance, they may have sources of income that are not reported in the census (e.g. service in kind or other goods and services obtained through the informal economy), or they may be living in a household with other families (economic or census) and they may not incur any shelter costs. Although living in economically difficult circumstances may be a genuine result for some these individuals, the relationship between LICO and the outcome of acculturation may be spurious or misleading for others. Therefore, caution must be exercised in interpreting these results and no generalisations can be made.

Contrary to what was proposed in Chapter 2, the occupational skill level of the immigrant does not contribute significantly to the outcomes in the *assimilated* and *integrated* portions of the continuum for all ethnic groups in the study population. This characteristic is a significant determinant for some outcomes for the Chinese, the South Asians and the Italians. In the case of the Chinese and the South Asians, the two ethnic groups that are considered to be visible minorities (according to the definition referred to in Chapter 2), those who work in lower skilled occupations, hence occupations that are rated lower according to the Blishen socio-economic index for occupations in Canada (Blishen et al., 1987: 465-488), are less likely to experience an outcome in the *assimilated* portion of the continuum. However, the reader is reminded that occupational skill level presents some serious limitations as an independent variable in this analysis (see discussion in Chapter 2). First, the grouping of occupations is too heterogeneous,

especially in the lower skill ranges. Second, it is possible that disparities between ethnic groups with respect to income exist within occupations. Third, the data do not provide any information on whether the academic qualifications were obtained within or outside Canada. Therefore, it would not be wise to generalise from these results.

This point notwithstanding, it has been shown in other studies that immigrants who belong to visible minority groups do not enjoy the same returns to human capital variables (such as age, education and labour market attachment) as their Caucasian counterparts (Basavarajappa and Jones, 1999: 254; Breton et al, 1990; Esses et al, 1999; Li, 1998; McDade, 1988; Neuwirth, 1999; Pendakur and Pendakur, 1995; Piché et al, 1999). All of the research in these studies focuses on income as opposed to occupation or occupational skill level as the dependent variable, thereby overcoming some of the limitations referred to above. This is an approach that should be explored in future research on acculturation.

Figure 11-9 : Regression coefficients for occupational skill level, skill level 4 is the reference category

H_0 : (No relationship exists between occupational skill and the outcome of acculturation) CANNOT BE REJECTED

REFERENCE CATEGORY: Skill level 4

Dutch, German, Polish and Ukrainian are NOT STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT

In examining whether or not the highest level of education is a determinant of acculturation, one must also consider that language ability in either English or French and the individual's occupation are indirectly linked to his or her education. Although the two variables are statistically independent, a transitive relationship to other characteristics

exists. For instance, it is clear that someone who obtained part or all of his or her education in Canada must have a working knowledge of English and/or French. It is also generally the case that some occupations require certain minimum levels of education.

No general conclusion may be drawn from the data concerning the relationship between higher levels of education and an outcome of acculturation in the *assimilated* portion of the continuum. Contrary to what was proposed in Chapter 2, the coefficients for most of the groups in the study population are not statistically significant and in the one instance where they are significant (the Polish group), they do not consistent with the direction of the research hypothesis.

Figure 11-10 : Regression coefficients for highest level of education

H_0 : (No relationship exists between highest level of education and the outcome of acculturation) CAN BE REJECTED
 FOR CHINESE, GERMAN, POLISH AND SOUTH ASIAN
 REFERENCE CATEGORY: Less than high school diploma
 Dutch, Italian and Ukrainian are NOT STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT

In contrast, the likelihood of an outcome in the *separated* portion of the continuum increases substantially for people who hold no post-secondary qualifications⁵⁰. The immigrants included in this category of outcome arrived in Canada with little formal education and they did not attend school in Canada. As was shown in the migration

history for these groups, those who worked were generally employed in unskilled occupations in which contact with the host society was either non-existent or certainly very minimal. Therefore, they had little opportunity to acquire a working knowledge of either English or French. Furthermore, most had no access to formal language training in either English or French.

Pre-school-aged immigrant children belonging to the ethnic groups for whom *separated* is a measurable outcome present a different set of circumstances. They live in a context in which all communication is conducted in the heritage language that is most closely associated with their origins. Their contact with people outside the family unit and the ethnic community is limited. In general, they are not able to communicate effectively in either English or French. Therefore, their outcome of acculturation is also *separated*, although it is most certainly a temporary state.

11.3 The research questions revisited

The first question addressed by this research is “What are the determinants of acculturation?”. The following list summarises the key determinants of acculturation and the conditions under which they are significant.

- ◆ The age at which the immigrant arrives in Canada, his or her knowledge of either English and/or French, his or her declared mother tongue and his or her place of birth are key determinants of acculturation, regardless of the ethnic group (as long as no tautological error is introduced as a result of a correlation between mother tongue and home language). These characteristics shape the nature of the interactions that the immigrant is able to undertake during acculturation. They also determine the ease with which the immigrant may

undergo acculturation and they most certainly influence the impact of the acculturation process.

- ◆ The individual's sex is an important determinant for outcomes in the *separated* portion of the continuum, especially in the context of the full model.
- ◆ Residential patterns are indicators of the extra-familial context in which acculturation occurs for selected ethnic groups. Although this was not assessed directly in this analysis, it has been shown in other studies on this topic that residential patterns have a bearing on acculturation (see Balakrishnan and Hou, 1999; Breton et al, 1990; Herberg, 1989). Therefore, one must consider this a determinant of acculturation, albeit in a different form than the version included as an independent variable in this analysis.
- ◆ Education and occupation are important factors for the members of the non-Caucasian groups in the study population since they are the catalysts that enable the immigrant to participate economically in the host society. However, indicators other than the characteristics used in this study (e.g. income, source of the educational qualifications, etc.) should be considered in future research on this topic.
- ◆ The outcome of acculturation is not necessarily stable over time. In fact, it is likely to change for the immigrants who arrive at a relatively young age. However, there is evidence to show that this does not necessarily apply to immigrants who arrive at a later stage in their life course.

The second research question was designed to explore the homogeneity of the ethnic groups and the process of acculturation. Simply stated, do the determinants of the outcome of acculturation affect the immigrants of all ethnic groups equally? It is clear from the preceding discussion that the answer is “no”. The summary in Table 11-2 shows very clearly that none of the groups share exactly the same determinants of acculturation.

11.4 The genesis of a theory of acculturation

Existing theories dealing with aspects of immigrant adaptation approach the topic from a variety of perspectives. The proponents of the contact theory promoted the concept that continued contact inevitably led to the assimilation of the subordinate group into the dominant culture. This view held that assimilation was the outcome of a process of acculturation (Park and Burgess, 1921; Park, 1930). Others, such as Gordon (1964), Glazer and Moynihan (1963) and Schermerhorn (1970), equated acculturation with cultural assimilation. The basic premise of these theoretical perspectives is that a minority group acculturates into a majority group. They recognise that this may be a two way process and that changes may be affected in the receiving group. Nevertheless, as with Park and his colleagues of the Chicago School, the outcome is considered to be a movement towards the dominant (majority) culture. While this may have been true when immigration was primarily from European sources, it is no longer valid now that immigration patterns have changed towards Asia, Africa and Latin America as source regions (Beaujot, 1999: 104-106). The ethnic and cultural differences between the current stream of immigrants and the host society are more extreme. More current work on the subject recognises that not all ethnic groups adapt in the same fashion (Alba, 1990; Lieberman and Waters, 1988; Jasso and Rosenzweig, 1988; Jasso and Rosenzweig, 1990).

These authors accept that degrees of assimilation may exist. Nevertheless, they still employ the terminology of assimilation.

All the social scientists referred to in the previous paragraphs developed their theoretical perspectives in the United States—a context in which cultural pluralism was not considered to be desirable. Canadian work on this topic was pioneered by Richmond (1974). He proposed a model in which assimilation was a degree of acculturation rather than the inverse. Kalbach and Richard (1990) and Richard (1991) added precision to the model proposed by Richmond by including a broader range of factors that contribute to acculturation. They also introduced the notion that acculturation may incorporate cultural assimilation, behavioural assimilation and integration.

More recently, Neuwirth (1999) proposed a theoretical framework that includes economic and social integration as “... factors in the overall integration of immigrants from non-traditional source countries” (Neuwirth, 1999: 62). Two points must be noted. First, by referring to non-traditional source countries Neuwirth recognises the shift in sources of immigration in Canada referred to earlier in this section. The label “non-traditional” is often used as a pseudonym for “non-European”. Clearly, current and projected immigration trends in Canada point to the growing importance of non-traditional countries as sources of immigrants (Beaujot, 1999: 104-106). Second, the basic terminology refers to integration, yet the accompanying text alludes to acculturation in the sense in which it is used in this study. In effect, Neuwirth’s proposal provides an excellent platform on which to build a more generalised theory of acculturation since it addresses many of the shortcomings of previous work on this topic.

In his seminal work on developing a theory of acculturation, Berry (1990) approached the subject from a social-psychological perspective that defined it as a strategy that individuals employ in adapting to different circumstances. It has been shown in this study that acculturation may also be considered the result of a process over which the individuals have limited influence. This opens the door for an alternative theory of acculturation—one that focuses on the outcomes rather than the strategies. Although the continuum proposed by Berry when categorising strategies is equally applicable when classifying outcomes, the criteria that define the dimensions of the model need to be adapted to reflect the change in focus from strategy to outcome. This dimension of the model must consider the degree of ethnic retention on the part of the individual rather than the relative importance an individual places on his or her ethnic heritage. Similarly, the importance that an individual places on being part of the larger society must be replaced by a measure of the characteristics that enable the individual to participate actively in the larger society. These changes in optic transform the framework into one that measures objective characteristics rather than subjective intentions and behaviours.

One point that is problematic in the current literature on the subject is the lack of consistency in the terminology and in the concepts. Some authors use the terms “acculturation” and “assimilation” interchangeably. Others define “acculturation” as a specific form of “assimilation”. Yet others introduce the term “integration” to distinguish how immigrants and minorities adapt in a society that professes to be multi-cultural as opposed to a society that considers itself to be a melting-pot. The framework proposed in this study resolves that confusion by clearly defining the concept of acculturation as a

superordinate grouping of different forms of adaptation. The individual forms of adaptation include the broad subordinate categories of integration, assimilation, separation and marginalisation. This framework makes it possible to apply the concepts universally, regardless of the context in which the subjects are acculturating. In other words, this framework provides an elegant structure under which it is possible to generalise the concept of acculturation and it clearly defines the differences between the possible outcomes.

There is increasing recognition in more recent literature on the subject that immigrant adaptation is not limited to social factors but that it also includes economic criteria (see among others Basaravajappa and Jones, 1999; Breton et al, 1990; DeVoretz, 1995; Neuwirth, 1999; Piché et al, 1999). The analytical framework employed in this study demonstrates that a generalised theoretical model of acculturation must incorporate elements of the social (including demographic), political and economic spheres of the life of the immigrant and that it must consider the interrelationships and interactions between them. For instance, it was shown that an immigrant's age on arrival and his or her academic and professional qualifications has a direct bearing on the outcome of acculturation, taking contextual factors such as local policies, practices and socio-economic barriers into account. Although these may be statistically independent characteristics, they are not conceptually independent.

The penultimate point to consider in a generalised theory of acculturation is that the ethnic and cultural differences of the immigrant must be respected. It was shown in this study that the outcomes of acculturation differ by ethnic group. The acculturation experience is influenced by the characteristics of the immigrant as well as exogenous

factors such as the nature and organisation of the ethnic community to which the immigrant belongs. A generalised theory of acculturation must take into account the impact of the structures and institutions on the adaptation of the immigrants since these form an important part of the social, political and economic context. It must also take into account the relationships that the immigrant has to these institutions.

Finally, any theory dealing with the acculturation of immigrants must respect the fact that the context in which immigration takes place does not remain static. A quick scan of the changes in immigration policy in Canada over the past 50 years shows that the criteria that define the categories and classes of immigrants have changed to reflect different socio-economic conditions in Canada and abroad (see Hawkins 1988). The factors affecting immigration are not limited to the Canadian or the North American context. Economic restructuring such as the North American Free Trade Agreement and the forming of the European Union, localised political conflicts such as those in Europe, Asia and Africa, environmental disasters such as those in South and Central America and changing social conditions that result from all of the above have an impact on the flows of immigrants and on the socio-economic characteristics of the immigrants. The intensity of these changes is likely to increase rather than diminish over the foreseeable future (Beaujot, 1999). Therefore, any theory dealing with acculturation must be sufficiently flexible and adaptable to accommodate these changes in context.

12 CONCLUSION

This dissertation began with a statement of the importance of immigration in the Canadian context and the need to study the acculturation of immigrants. It was also noted in the Introduction that the study of immigrant acculturation requires a complex analytical model and it has not been addressed in current social science research due to an absence of agreed to measures. These issues have been dealt with in this study. First, a methodology to extract measures of the outcome of acculturation from census data was developed and implemented. Second, the measures of the outcome of acculturation were introduced as the dependent variable in a complex analytical model that includes a range of socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the immigrant as independent variables. This model made it possible to isolate the determinants of acculturation and to assess their relative impact on the immigrants from a range of ethnic groups.

Two fundamental research hypotheses formed the basis of the analysis. The first posited that the outcome of acculturation will vary for immigrants from different ethnic groups. If this hypothesis is not rejected, it would confirm that the acculturation of immigrants is influenced by their ethnic origins. The second stated that the determinants of acculturation will vary for immigrants from different ethnic groups. This hypothesis was designed to probe more deeply into the factors that influence acculturation for the immigrants from different ethnic groups. Again, if not rejected, this would isolate the significant determinants of acculturation for immigrants from different ethnic groups. The analysis in this study shows that both hypotheses are not rejected. Furthermore, patterns that reflect the clustering of ethnic groups by similar characteristics are evident in the distributions of the outcomes of acculturation for the groups in the study population. Therefore, it can be stated that the outcome of acculturation is affected by

the ethnic origins of the immigrant and that the determinants of acculturation vary for immigrants from different ethnic origins.

As tempting as it may be to use the mathematical notation QED at this point, it would be wrong to do so. The results of this analysis have general applicability up to a point. However, they suffer from certain limitations. For instance, the seven ethnic groups that formed the study population include five European origins and two non-Caucasian origins. Given that the balance in immigration in Canada is shifting towards Asian, African and Latin American sources, it is not entirely clear at this stage whether the study population is truly representative of future waves of immigrants. In fact, it may be postulated that it is not.

Also, the analysis in this study is cross-sectional in nature. By virtue of the data that are used to derive the outcome of acculturation, it focuses on one time-point—1991. It was noted in the introduction and in the theoretical chapter that acculturation is an ongoing process and that the outcome of acculturation will vary over time. Therefore, it is possible that the outcome of acculturation for a given immigrant may be *strongly integrated* in 1991 and *weakly assimilated* in 2001. By extension, it is also possible that the significant determinants of acculturation may change for this individual over this period of time as his or her needs and abilities to adapt evolve. In the same general theme, this study focuses only on immigrants. If acculturation is an ongoing process, does it end with immigrants? The answer is rather obvious. Acculturation continues for the first, second, third and all subsequent generations. It will take on different dimensions and it certainly has different consequences with respect to the eventual

outcomes for non-immigrants. However, the basic parameters (the individual's ethnic origin[s] and the determinants of acculturation) remain the same.

The following research agenda addresses many of the limitations enumerated above. Most of the items are not presented in any particular sequence since they tend to be relatively independent, with the exception of the first point.

- The first step must be to expand the range of subjects to include immigrants from groups other than the seven that are part of the study population. This would serve to further validate the model and to fully generalise the results. For instance, the inclusion of immigrants from Somalia, Ethiopia, Vietnam and some Latin American countries would shed some light on the acculturation experiences of some of the newer immigrants to Canada, many of whom arrived under substantially different circumstances than the bulk of the European migrants. Since these groups tend to be smaller, this level of analysis would require the full census data base rather than the three percent sample that is found on the public use microdata file in order to overcome the problems of sampling error.
- It has been hypothesised in this study that the family context has some bearing on the outcome of acculturation. By analysing the outcomes of acculturation and the determinants of acculturation for the children against those of the parents it would be possible to determine the extent and the nature of the influence of the family context on the result. It would also be possible to determine the degree to which the socialisation process in the host society influences the outcome of acculturation. Access is required to census data on

the families and the individual members in order to conduct this level of analysis.

- The fact that the length of time the immigrant has been living in Canada is a significant determinant of acculturation for some of the groups in the study population suggests that future analyses on this topic should explore the longitudinal dimension. It was observed in this study that acculturation is an ongoing process and that the determinants and the outcomes will change over time. Once again, census data are not suitable for this type of analysis since they are cross-sectional in nature. Ideally, it would be helpful to conduct a longitudinal survey in which appropriate objective and subjective data are collected on the acculturation experience of a number of cohorts of immigrants at specified time intervals. Such a survey would also serve to further validate the model design and the methodology used in the current study, since it would be possible to specifically test the variables selected as determinants of acculturation.
- Although the selection of characteristics that were deemed to be potential determinants of acculturation was founded on existing theoretical work on the topic, it would be presumptuous and incorrect for me to assume the current set to be exhaustive. Additional determinants of acculturation must be explored. For instance, the spatial dimension of the analysis should be expanded to include finer levels of geography. It would also be useful to add a measure of institutional completeness to the indexes of ethnic concentration calculated by Balakrishnan and Hou (1999) since the ethnic community plays a role in the

acculturation process. It was suggested on a number of occasions in this study that a relationship exists between exogamy and acculturation. This characteristic should also be included directly in the model. It is again doubtful that census data are sufficient to provide the additional detail required to explore other determinants of acculturation. It may be necessary to rely on survey data that are able to probe more deeply into the relevant characteristics of the immigrants.

- Only one characteristic, the knowledge of one of either English and/or French, was used to determine whether or not the immigrant was able to participate in the host society. This variable was used to classify the outcome of acculturation either in the *integrated-assimilated* or the *separated-marginalized* portions of the continuum. It is acknowledged by the author that this is a limitation of the methodology applied in this study. Unfortunately, this limitation was necessary due to the nature of the primary source of data that supported the analysis. However, future iterations of this research must explore other alternatives for this aspect of the methodology, such as direct inquiry, the use of labour market variables and an assessment of residential patterns, to name a few.
- The current study focuses on the Canadian context. As a multicultural society (Pryor, 1995), Canada presents one type of environment in which immigrants must acculturate. However, it would be useful to consider other contexts that present different socio-cultural and economic environments and different approaches to immigrant absorption. For instance, Israel operates a range of

state-sponsored absorption centres in which immigrants are housed, given language training, exposed to dealing with the administrative and social services in the country and provided with employment assistance. It would be useful to learn what impact such an environment has on the acculturation experience of immigrants. Again, this is only one of a range of options to be considered. Others options include the countries in the European Union, the United States and Australia.

- Reference was made at various points in this study to socio-economic barriers that some immigrants must face. I alluded to the impact of the physical characteristics of the immigrant on the outcome of acculturation in Chapter 2. There are numerous studies that suggest that immigrants who are visibly and/or culturally different from the main-stream society encounter barriers that may not be present for the remainder of the population (see Basaravajappa and Jones, 1999; Piché et al., 1999; Richmond, 1994). Many of these authors allude to the presence of racism in Canadian society. Although race and racism are not valid analytical concepts in sociology or demography, it is possible to develop an analytical model to study the impact of barriers based on physical and/or cultural characteristics on the adaptation of immigrants. This may be accomplished by examining the returns to education, income disparities and the correspondence between educational qualifications and the individual's occupation in Canada.
- Finally, the ethnic origin variable that is collected in the census is central to the derivation of the outcome of acculturation and the analysis conducted in

this study. There is evidence to suggest that the introduction of “Canadian” as one of the examples in the question on ethnic origin is resulting in a dramatic increase in the number of respondents who declare this to be their ancestry, thereby casting some doubt on the utility of this variable in future analysis on acculturation (see Chapter 3). The introduction of variables in the census that would allow a more direct derivation of the outcome of acculturation would help to overcome this problem, although this is only a partial solution. Some means of classifying immigrants by their ethno-cultural characteristics is still required since it has been shown that the outcome of acculturation varies by ethnic origin. Assuming that such an approach is feasible and acceptable, the policy and program ramifications need to be assessed.

The analysis presented in this study has shown that acculturation is a complex process that is affected by the characteristics of the immigrant as well as the context in which acculturation occurs. It has also demonstrated that it is possible to derive an indicator of acculturation that may be used in future analysis on this topic. In essence, the foundation has been built and it is ready to be exploited.

APPENDIX A: THE REGRESSION MODELS

Chinese immigrants, 1991, Assimilated to Integrated

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

		Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	37.892	10	.000
	Block	37.892	10	.000
	Model	3328.269	30	.000

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	3154.401	.262	.587

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	4.460	8	.813

Contingency Table for Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

		Contrast assimilated to integrated = Integrated		Contrast assimilated to integrated = Assimilated		Total
		Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected	
Step 1	1	1093	1091.747	2	3.253	1095
	2	1089	1089.950	6	5.050	1095
	3	1087	1087.584	7	6.416	1094
	4	1091	1088.198	5	7.802	1096
	5	1082	1082.697	10	9.303	1092
	6	1060	1062.785	14	11.215	1074
	7	1077	1080.043	18	14.957	1095
	8	1077	1071.752	19	24.248	1096
	9	914	910.212	181	184.788	1095
	10	421	426.005	693	687.995	1114

Classification Table^a

		Predicted		
		Contrast assimilated to integrated		Percentage Correct
Observed		Integrated	Assimilated	
Step 1	Contrast assimilated to integrated	9760	231	97.7
		391	584	59.1
Overall Percentage				94.3

a. The cut value is .500

Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step	IAGE5			23.262	4	.000	
1	IAGE5(1)	-.667	.147	20.534	1	.000	.513
	IAGE5(2)	-.691	.190	13.175	1	.000	.501
	IAGE5(3)	-.666	.182	13.374	1	.000	.514
	IAGE5(4)	-.709	.253	7.888	1	.005	.492
	SEXP(1)	.187	.096	3.778	1	.052	1.205
	MARSTAT			2.674	3	.445	
	MARSTAT(1)	.061	.136	.200	1	.654	1.063
	MARSTAT(2)	.401	.266	2.259	1	.133	1.493
	MARSTAT(3)	-.147	.396	.138	1	.710	.863
	MTHNGDUM			1252.503	2	.000	
	MTHNGDUM(1)	4.492	.127	1252.012	1	.000	89.278
	MTHNGDUM(2)	3.387	.142	567.634	1	.000	29.573
	POBCHDUM(1)	1.015	.104	96.031	1	.000	2.759
	PROVP			18.412	5	.002	
	PROVP(1)	-.455	.178	6.496	1	.011	.635
	PROVP(2)	-.824	.367	5.034	1	.025	.439
	PROVP(3)	-1.549	.573	7.300	1	.007	.212
	PROVP(4)	-.263	.153	2.963	1	.085	.769
	PROVP(5)	-.142	.116	1.493	1	.222	.868
	YRSCAN			38.004	4	.000	
	YRSCAN(1)	.370	.115	10.310	1	.001	1.448
	YRSCAN(2)	1.004	.174	33.232	1	.000	2.728
	YRSCAN(3)	.494	.316	2.449	1	.118	1.639
	YRSCAN(4)	-.659	.589	1.249	1	.264	.518
	INCSTP			14.812	2	.001	
	INCSTP(1)	-.455	.131	12.117	1	.000	.634
	INCSTP(2)	-1.148	.654	3.082	1	.079	.317
	OCCUP			10.252	4	.036	
	OCCUP(1)	-.230	.160	2.071	1	.150	.794
	OCCUP(2)	-.320	.156	4.235	1	.040	.726
	OCCUP(3)	-.566	.207	7.493	1	.006	.568
	OCCUP(4)	-.077	.174	.197	1	.657	.926
	SCHOOL			6.157	4	.188	
	SCHOOL(1)	.170	.138	1.513	1	.219	1.186
	SCHOOL(2)	.282	.127	4.940	1	.026	1.326
	SCHOOL(3)	.370	.245	2.281	1	.131	1.448
	SCHOOL(4)	-.037	.208	.031	1	.859	.964
	Constant	-4.466	.224	399.009	1	.000	.011

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: INCSTP, OCCUP, SCHOOL.

Chinese immigrants, 1991, Separated to Integrated

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

		Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	1351.254	10	.000
	Block	1351.254	10	.000
	Model	4462.464	30	.000

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	7767.753	.302	.482

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	18.113	8	.020

Classification Table^a

Observed			Predicted		
			Contrast separated to integrated		Percentage Correct
			Integrated	Separated	
Step 1	Contrast separated to integrated	Integrated	9519	472	95.3
		Separated	1168	1247	51.6
	Overall Percentage				86.8

a. The cut value is .500

Contingency Table for Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

		Contrast separated to integrated = Integrated		Contrast separated to integrated = Separated		Total
		Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected	
Step 1	1	1236	1237.872	5	3.128	1241
1	2	1233	1230.354	8	10.646	1241
	3	1224	1216.235	17	24.765	1241
	4	1197	1198.228	49	47.772	1246
	5	1174	1156.040	68	85.960	1242
	6	1107	1103.055	136	139.945	1243
	7	998	1031.884	243	209.116	1241
	8	886	906.264	353	332.736	1239
	9	654	643.638	591	601.362	1245
	10	282	267.420	945	959.580	1227

Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	IAGE5			632.215	4	.000	
	IAGE5(1)	1.444	.215	45.207	1	.000	4.239
	IAGE5(2)	2.128	.223	91.102	1	.000	8.400
	IAGE5(3)	2.395	.218	120.770	1	.000	10.972
	IAGE5(4)	3.790	.223	290.175	1	.000	44.274
	SEXP(1)	.281	.062	20.700	1	.000	1.325
	MARSTAT			60.629	3	.000	
	MARSTAT(1)	.368	.106	12.021	1	.001	1.444
	MARSTAT(2)	.324	.192	2.862	1	.091	1.383
	MARSTAT(3)	1.218	.162	56.479	1	.000	3.382
	MTHNGDUM			42.806	2	.000	
	MTHNGDUM(1)	-1.243	.240	26.764	1	.000	.288
	MTHNGDUM(2)	-.631	.149	17.937	1	.000	.532
	POBCHDUM(1)	-.151	.086	3.115	1	.078	.860
	PROVP			16.126	5	.006	
	PROVP(1)	.225	.115	3.788	1	.052	1.252
	PROVP(2)	.263	.205	1.646	1	.200	1.300
	PROVP(3)	.261	.254	1.057	1	.304	1.299
	PROVP(4)	.101	.093	1.187	1	.276	1.106
	PROVP(5)	.255	.068	14.176	1	.000	1.290
	YRSCAN			26.603	4	.000	
	YRSCAN(1)	-.223	.072	9.587	1	.002	.800
	YRSCAN(2)	-.295	.126	5.520	1	.019	.744
	YRSCAN(3)	.403	.148	7.398	1	.007	1.496
	YRSCAN(4)	-.058	.308	.035	1	.851	.944
	INCSTP			18.021	2	.000	
	INCSTP(1)	.280	.066	18.002	1	.000	1.323
	INCSTP(2)	.047	.536	.008	1	.931	1.048
	OCCUP			112.615	4	.000	
	OCCUP(1)	1.224	.155	61.981	1	.000	3.401
	OCCUP(2)	1.170	.152	59.250	1	.000	3.222
	OCCUP(3)	1.518	.161	89.145	1	.000	4.565
	OCCUP(4)	1.494	.148	101.508	1	.000	4.453
	SCHOOL			624.865	4	.000	
	SCHOOL(1)	-1.856	.113	267.508	1	.000	.156
	SCHOOL(2)	-2.174	.119	334.562	1	.000	.114
	SCHOOL(3)	-3.287	.459	51.286	1	.000	.037
	SCHOOL(4)	1.143	.226	25.477	1	.000	3.135
	Constant	-4.981	.249	401.183	1	.000	.007

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: INCSTP, OCCUP, SCHOOL.

Chinese immigrants, 1991, Separated to Assimilated

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

		Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	206.118	10	.000
	Block	206.118	10	.000
	Model	3272.953	30	.000

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	744.895	.621	.892

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	4.729	8	.786

Contingency Table for Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

		Contrast Separated to Assimilated = Assimilated		Contrast Separated to Assimilated = Separated		Total
		Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected	
Step 1	1	337	336.777	0	.223	337
	2	334	331.669	3	5.331	337
	3	239	238.352	98	98.648	337
	4	29	31.541	308	305.459	337
	5	8	9.027	329	327.973	337
	6	3	3.889	334	333.111	337
	7	3	1.818	331	332.182	334
	8	1	.991	336	336.009	337
	9	0	.623	339	338.377	339
	10	1	.312	337	337.688	338

Classification Table^a

			Predicted		
			Contrast Separated to Assimilated		Percentage Correct
Observed			Assimilated	Separated	
Step 1	Contrast Separated to Assimilated	Assimilated	872	83	91.3
		Separated	52	2363	97.8
Overall Percentage					96.0

a. The cut value is .500

Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step	IAGE5			79.117	4	.000	
1	IAGE5(1)	2.557	.438	34.004	1	.000	12.892
	IAGE5(2)	2.764	.485	32.515	1	.000	15.863
	IAGE5(3)	3.556	.467	57.998	1	.000	35.039
	IAGE5(4)	4.412	.516	73.144	1	.000	82.399
	SEXP(1)	-.065	.216	.091	1	.762	.937
	MARSTAT			2.620	3	.454	
	MARSTAT(1)	.482	.324	2.215	1	.137	1.619
	MARSTAT(2)	.223	.549	.165	1	.684	1.250
	MARSTAT(3)	.717	.568	1.591	1	.207	2.048
	MTHNGDUM			397.781	2	.000	
	MTHNGDUM(1)	-5.644	.308	336.476	1	.000	.004
	MTHNGDUM(2)	-3.855	.263	214.374	1	.000	.021
	POBCHDUM(1)	-1.290	.232	30.839	1	.000	.275
	PROVP			17.866	5	.003	
	PROVP(1)	.963	.408	5.576	1	.018	2.619
	PROVP(2)	1.972	.716	7.584	1	.006	7.184
	PROVP(3)	1.187	1.001	1.405	1	.236	3.277
	PROVP(4)	1.022	.354	8.350	1	.004	2.778
	PROVP(5)	.392	.244	2.584	1	.108	1.480
	YRSCAN			30.027	4	.000	
	YRSCAN(1)	-.915	.247	13.692	1	.000	.400
	YRSCAN(2)	-1.894	.391	23.517	1	.000	.151
	YRSCAN(3)	-.543	.618	.772	1	.380	.581
	YRSCAN(4)	1.563	2.091	.559	1	.455	4.771
	INCSTP			3.719	2	.156	
	INCSTP(1)	.468	.249	3.542	1	.060	1.596
	INCSTP(2)	1.591	3.366	.223	1	.636	4.909
	OCCUP			17.234	4	.002	
	OCCUP(1)	1.174	.459	6.557	1	.010	3.235
	OCCUP(2)	1.339	.437	9.394	1	.002	3.814
	OCCUP(3)	1.801	.508	12.559	1	.000	6.057
	OCCUP(4)	1.715	.443	14.976	1	.000	5.555
	SCHOOL			103.957	4	.000	
	SCHOOL(1)	-1.883	.337	31.138	1	.000	.152
	SCHOOL(2)	-2.747	.336	66.673	1	.000	.064
	SCHOOL(3)	-4.041	.933	18.760	1	.000	.018
	SCHOOL(4)	.967	.487	3.940	1	.047	2.631
	Constant	-.495	.575	.741	1	.389	.610

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: INCSTP, OCCUP, SCHOOL.

Dutch immigrants, 1991 Census, Assimilated to Integrated

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

		Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	13.944	10	.176
	Block	13.944	10	.176
	Model	1954.297	30	.000

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	2626.025	.345	.548

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	19.375	8	.013

Contingency Table for Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

		Contrast assimilated to integrated = Integrated		Contrast assimilated to integrated = Assimilated		Total
		Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected	
Step 1	1	424	431.731	17	9.269	441
1	2	453	449.966	9	12.034	462
	3	452	447.985	10	14.015	462
	4	450	444.370	11	16.630	461
	5	446	440.804	16	21.196	462
	6	430	428.894	36	37.106	466
	7	398	411.137	64	50.863	462
	8	382	385.256	80	76.744	462
	9	212	196.978	250	265.022	462
	10	68	77.877	415	405.123	483

Classification Table^a

			Predicted		
			Contrast assimilated to integrated		Percentage Correct
Observed			Integrated	Assimilated	
Step 1	Contrast assimilated to integrated	Integrated	3541	174	95.3
		Assimilated	296	612	67.4
Overall Percentage					89.8

a. The cut value is .500

Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	IAGE5			112.149	4	.000	
	IAGE5(1)	-1.258	.146	74.667	1	.000	.284
	IAGE5(2)	-1.351	.189	50.890	1	.000	.259
	IAGE5(3)	-1.520	.187	66.048	1	.000	.219
	IAGE5(4)	-1.487	.323	21.222	1	.000	.226
	SEXP(1)	-.215	.110	3.833	1	.050	.807
	MARSTAT			8.352	3	.039	
	MARSTAT(1)	.396	.185	4.584	1	.032	1.486
	MARSTAT(2)	.546	.243	5.046	1	.025	1.726
	MARSTAT(3)	.776	.293	7.020	1	.008	2.174
	MTHNGDUM			685.781	2	.000	
	MTHNGDUM(1)	3.114	.120	674.628	1	.000	22.506
	MTHNGDUM(2)	1.172	.258	20.716	1	.000	3.230
	POBDUDUM(1)	1.310	.148	77.873	1	.000	3.707
	PROVP			8.271	5	.142	
	PROVP(1)	-.158	.262	.365	1	.546	.854
	PROVP(2)	.086	.298	.083	1	.774	1.089
	PROVP(3)	.193	.444	.188	1	.665	1.212
	PROVP(4)	.240	.157	2.348	1	.125	1.271
	PROVP(5)	.326	.131	6.220	1	.013	1.385
	YRSCAN			11.290	4	.023	
	YRSCAN(1)	.259	.223	1.355	1	.244	1.296
	YRSCAN(2)	.557	.232	5.755	1	.016	1.746
	YRSCAN(3)	.065	.229	.080	1	.777	1.067
	YRSCAN(4)	.075	.272	.076	1	.783	1.078
	INCSTP			3.923	2	.141	
	INCSTP(1)	-.059	.182	.106	1	.744	.942
	INCSTP(2)	1.336	.688	3.774	1	.052	3.802
	OCCUP			4.847	4	.303	
	OCCUP(1)	-.253	.166	2.322	1	.128	.776
	OCCUP(2)	-.032	.172	.034	1	.854	.969
	OCCUP(3)	.113	.244	.214	1	.644	1.120
	OCCUP(4)	-.197	.193	1.038	1	.308	.821
	SCHOOL			5.926	4	.205	
	SCHOOL(1)	-.092	.132	.480	1	.488	.913
	SCHOOL(2)	.151	.159	.908	1	.341	1.163
	SCHOOL(3)	-.226	.262	.743	1	.389	.798
	SCHOOL(4)	.724	.441	2.691	1	.101	2.063
	Constant	-2.442	.307	63.098	1	.000	.087

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: INCSTP, OCCUP, SCHOOL.

German immigrants, 1991 Census, Assimilated to Integrated

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

		Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	32.944	10	.000
	Block	32.944	10	.000
	Model	5795.925	30	.000

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	9301.130	.359	.523

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	34.348	8	.000

Contingency Table for Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

		Contrast assimilated to integrated = Integrated		Contrast assimilated to integrated = Assimilated		Total
		Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected	
Step 1	1	1231	1258.078	71	43.922	1302
	2	1242	1234.407	56	63.593	1298
	3	1233	1227.336	73	78.664	1306
	4	1205	1206.326	98	96.674	1303
	5	1148	1171.460	153	129.540	1301
	6	1131	1129.953	173	174.047	1304
	7	1116	1077.365	187	225.635	1303
	8	781	758.676	523	545.324	1304
	9	309	323.218	995	980.782	1304
	10	167	176.028	1138	1128.972	1305

Classification Table^a

			Predicted		Percentage Correct
			Contrast assimilated to integrated		
Observed			Integrated	Assimilated	
Step 1	Contrast assimilated to integrated	Integrated	8878	685	92.8
		Assimilated	1022	2445	70.5
Overall Percentage					86.9

a. The cut value is .500

Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	IAGE5			215.018	4	.000	
	IAGE5(1)	-.809	.076	114.343	1	.000	.445
	IAGE5(2)	-1.124	.093	146.118	1	.000	.325
	IAGE5(3)	-1.174	.093	160.151	1	.000	.309
	IAGE5(4)	-1.002	.146	47.245	1	.000	.367
	SEXP(1)	.231	.056	16.760	1	.000	1.260
	MARSTAT			15.264	3	.002	
	MARSTAT(1)	.226	.091	6.164	1	.013	1.253
	MARSTAT(2)	.451	.116	15.020	1	.000	1.570
	MARSTAT(3)	.307	.140	4.776	1	.029	1.359
	MTHNGDUM			2722.478	2	.000	
	MTHNGDUM(1)	3.456	.071	2354.597	1	.000	31.688
	MTHNGDUM(2)	.844	.082	105.966	1	.000	2.327
	POBGEDUM(1)	.379	.073	26.760	1	.000	1.461
	PROVP			89.380	5	.000	
	PROVP(1)	-.836	.110	57.790	1	.000	.433
	PROVP(2)	-.375	.129	8.419	1	.004	.687
	PROVP(3)	.178	.168	1.129	1	.288	1.195
	PROVP(4)	.097	.084	1.351	1	.245	1.102
	PROVP(5)	.193	.068	7.935	1	.005	1.212
	YRSCAN			14.811	4	.005	
	YRSCAN(1)	.068	.099	.467	1	.494	1.070
	YRSCAN(2)	-.044	.098	.201	1	.654	.957
	YRSCAN(3)	-.242	.100	5.883	1	.015	.785
	YRSCAN(4)	-.262	.127	4.270	1	.039	.770
	INCSTP			10.484	2	.005	
	INCSTP(1)	-.052	.083	.399	1	.528	.949
	INCSTP(2)	-1.207	.378	10.200	1	.001	.299
	OCCUP			2.405	4	.662	
	OCCUP(1)	-.082	.088	.870	1	.351	.922
	OCCUP(2)	-.064	.092	.495	1	.482	.938
	OCCUP(3)	.024	.131	.033	1	.857	1.024
	OCCUP(4)	-.118	.093	1.600	1	.206	.889
	SCHOOL			18.881	4	.001	
	SCHOOL(1)	.158	.071	4.885	1	.027	1.171
	SCHOOL(2)	.250	.079	10.009	1	.002	1.284
	SCHOOL(3)	-.058	.110	.276	1	.599	.944
	SCHOOL(4)	.435	.202	4.620	1	.032	1.545
	Constant	-2.175	.151	207.560	1	.000	.114

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: INCSTP, OCCUP, SCHOOL.

Italian immigrants, 1991 Census, Assimilated to Integrated

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

		Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	22.069	10	.015
	Block	22.069	10	.015
	Model	3027.934	30	.000

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	4180.678	.236	.499

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	21.791	8	.005

Contingency Table for Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

		Contrast assimilated to integrated = Integrated		Contrast assimilated to integrated = Assimilated		Total
		Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected	
Step 1	1	1130	1126.021	1	4.979	1131
	2	1110	1109.598	8	8.402	1118
	3	1166	1164.236	10	11.764	1176
	4	1086	1091.602	19	13.398	1105
	5	1112	1113.859	18	16.141	1130
	6	1104	1102.799	23	24.201	1127
	7	1096	1096.332	31	30.668	1127
	8	1033	1054.925	94	72.075	1127
	9	910	871.399	217	255.601	1127
	10	426	442.228	679	662.772	1105

Classification Table^a

			Predicted		
			Contrast assimilated to integrated		Percentage Correct
Observed			Integrated	Assimilated	
Step 1	Contrast assimilated to integrated	Integrated	9973	200	98.0
		Assimilated	569	531	48.3
	Overall Percentage				93.2

a. The cut value is .500

Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	IAGE5			85.301	4	.000	
	IAGE5(1)	-.726	.113	41.461	1	.000	.484
	IAGE5(2)	-1.081	.143	56.937	1	.000	.339
	IAGE5(3)	-1.172	.147	63.668	1	.000	.310
	IAGE5(4)	-.961	.253	14.387	1	.000	.382
	SEXP(1)	.104	.085	1.495	1	.221	1.110
	MARSTAT			19.575	3	.000	
	MARSTAT(1)	-.021	.122	.030	1	.862	.979
	MARSTAT(2)	.487	.171	8.112	1	.004	1.627
	MARSTAT(3)	.579	.239	5.859	1	.015	1.785
	MTHNGDUM			722.831	2	.000	
	MTHNGDUM(1)	2.907	.121	575.960	1	.000	18.309
	MTHNGDUM(2)	1.239	.148	70.582	1	.000	3.454
	POBITDUM(1)	1.641	.125	171.923	1	.000	5.161
	PROVP			119.258	5	.000	
	PROVP(1)	-.772	.112	47.829	1	.000	.462
	PROVP(2)	.263	.280	.884	1	.347	1.301
	PROVP(3)	1.032	.455	5.157	1	.023	2.808
	PROVP(4)	.638	.169	14.320	1	.000	1.892
	PROVP(5)	.690	.129	28.410	1	.000	1.993
	YRSCAN			23.605	4	.000	
	YRSCAN(1)	.077	.138	.311	1	.577	1.080
	YRSCAN(2)	-.450	.141	10.223	1	.001	.637
	YRSCAN(3)	-.446	.153	8.508	1	.004	.640
	YRSCAN(4)	-.331	.241	1.889	1	.169	.718
	INCSTP			15.539	2	.000	
	INCSTP(1)	-.509	.129	15.513	1	.000	.601
	INCSTP(2)	-.229	.607	.142	1	.706	.795
	OCCUP			1.434	4	.838	
	OCCUP(1)	-.072	.132	.301	1	.584	.930
	OCCUP(2)	-.067	.135	.244	1	.621	.935
	OCCUP(3)	.079	.174	.203	1	.652	1.082
	OCCUP(4)	.031	.152	.043	1	.836	1.032
	SCHOOL			2.918	4	.572	
	SCHOOL(1)	.037	.114	.105	1	.746	1.038
	SCHOOL(2)	.172	.118	2.106	1	.147	1.188
	SCHOOL(3)	.131	.173	.570	1	.450	1.140
	SCHOOL(4)	.336	.325	1.071	1	.301	1.399
	Constant	-3.212	.224	204.823	1	.000	.040

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: INCSTP, OCCUP, SCHOOL.

Italian immigrants, 1991 Census, Separated to Integrated

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

		Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	246.863	10	.000
	Block	246.863	10	.000
	Model	3052.122	30	.000

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	5464.273	.232	.445

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	6.604	8	.580

Contingency Table for Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

		Contrast separated to integrated = Integrated		Contrast separated to integrated = Separated		Total
		Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected	
Step 1	1	1157	1156.322	0	.678	1157
	2	1155	1153.821	2	3.179	1157
	3	1146	1148.324	11	8.676	1157
	4	1114	1114.548	18	17.452	1132
	5	1083	1085.696	35	32.304	1118
	6	1108	1113.083	60	54.917	1168
	7	1051	1062.524	102	90.476	1153
	8	1005	998.904	155	161.096	1160
	9	849	827.547	279	300.453	1128
	10	505	512.111	733	725.889	1238

Classification Table^a

			Predicted		Percentage Correct
			Contrast separated to integrated		
Observed			Integrated	Separated	
Step 1	Contrast separated to integrated	Integrated	9946	227	97.8
		Separated	866	529	37.9
Overall Percentage					90.6

a. The cut value is .500

Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step	AGE5			627.623	4	.000	
1	AGE5(1)	1.343	.231	33.747	1	.000	3.829
	AGE5(2)	2.017	.236	73.154	1	.000	7.513
	AGE5(3)	3.066	.229	179.503	1	.000	21.462
	AGE5(4)	4.345	.253	294.746	1	.000	77.093
	SEXP(1)	.548	.077	51.066	1	.000	1.730
	MARSTAT			28.198	3	.000	
	MARSTAT(1)	.388	.254	2.320	1	.128	1.473
	MARSTAT(2)	.238	.333	.507	1	.476	1.268
	MARSTAT(3)	.919	.271	11.499	1	.001	2.507
	MTHNGDUM			20.393	2	.000	
	MTHNGDUM(1)	-1.780	.420	17.982	1	.000	.169
	MTHNGDUM(2)	-.765	.341	5.022	1	.025	.465
	POBITDUM(1)	-.752	.310	5.879	1	.015	.472
	PROVP			83.488	5	.000	
	PROVP(1)	-.408	.085	22.955	1	.000	.665
	PROVP(2)	-.338	.358	.892	1	.345	.713
	PROVP(3)	-4.872	12.492	.152	1	.697	.008
	PROVP(4)	-1.484	.302	24.156	1	.000	.227
	PROVP(5)	-1.298	.188	47.540	1	.000	.273
	YRSCAN			40.991	4	.000	
	YRSCAN(1)	.302	.233	1.677	1	.195	1.352
	YRSCAN(2)	.431	.218	3.900	1	.048	1.538
	YRSCAN(3)	.024	.222	.012	1	.914	1.024
	YRSCAN(4)	-.531	.289	3.377	1	.066	.588
	INCSTP			11.451	2	.003	
	INCSTP(1)	.296	.088	11.362	1	.001	1.345
	INCSTP(2)	-4.058	14.000	.084	1	.772	.017
	OCCUP			104.545	4	.000	
	OCCUP(1)	.796	.346	5.295	1	.021	2.216
	OCCUP(2)	1.003	.341	8.629	1	.003	2.727
	OCCUP(3)	1.346	.342	15.447	1	.000	3.841
	OCCUP(4)	1.845	.333	30.757	1	.000	6.330
	SCHOOL			37.745	4	.000	
	SCHOOL(1)	-1.224	.251	23.762	1	.000	.294
	SCHOOL(2)	-1.446	.419	11.933	1	.001	.235
	SCHOOL(3)	-4.834	3.022	2.558	1	.110	.008
	SCHOOL(4)	.842	1.083	.604	1	.437	2.320
	Constant	-6.188	.491	158.609	1	.000	.002

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: INCSTP, OCCUP, SCHOOL.

Italian immigrants, 1991 Census, Separated to Assimilated

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

		Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	122.716	10	.000
	Block	122.716	10	.000
	Model	2886.414	30	.000

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	537.429	.686	.918

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	9.408	8	.309

Contingency Table for Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

		Contrast Separated to Assimilated = Assimilated		Contrast Separated to Assimilated = Separated		Total
		Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected	
Step 1	1	251	250.999	0	.001	251
	2	250	249.981	0	.019	250
	3	250	249.700	0	.300	250
	4	234	237.959	16	12.041	250
	5	98	92.270	152	157.730	250
	6	13	12.916	237	237.084	250
	7	0	3.289	249	245.731	249
	8	3	1.678	252	253.322	255
	9	0	.939	252	251.061	252
	10	1	.280	237	237.720	238

Classification Table^a

			Predicted		Percentage Correct
			Contrast Separated to Assimilated		
Observed			Assimilated	Separated	
Step 1	Contrast Separated to Assimilated	Assimilated	1032	68	93.8
		Separated	38	1357	97.3
	Overall Percentage				95.8

a. The cut value is .500

Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	IAGE5			109.105	4	.000	
	IAGE5(1)	2.080	.388	28.668	1	.000	8.002
	IAGE5(2)	4.128	.502	67.491	1	.000	62.030
	IAGE5(3)	4.818	.491	96.251	1	.000	123.675
	IAGE5(4)	4.509	.601	56.275	1	.000	90.823
	SEXP(1)	.755	.265	8.124	1	.004	2.127
	MARSTAT			14.861	3	.002	
	MARSTAT(1)	.653	.530	1.515	1	.218	1.921
	MARSTAT(2)	-1.262	.726	3.021	1	.082	.283
	MARSTAT(3)	.879	.685	1.648	1	.199	2.408
	MTHNGDUM			105.243	2	.000	
	MTHNGDUM(1)	-6.360	.627	102.923	1	.000	.002
	MTHNGDUM(2)	-2.503	.612	16.712	1	.000	.082
	POBITDUM(1)	-2.645	.587	20.280	1	.000	.071
	PROVP			49.569	5	.000	
	PROVP(1)	.902	.363	6.170	1	.013	2.464
	PROVP(2)	-.116	.909	.016	1	.898	.890
	PROVP(3)	-7.587	32.852	.053	1	.817	.001
	PROVP(4)	-2.885	.645	20.025	1	.000	.056
	PROVP(5)	-2.387	.484	24.348	1	.000	.092
	YRSCAN			3.402	4	.493	
	YRSCAN(1)	-.232	.526	.194	1	.659	.793
	YRSCAN(2)	-.377	.533	.500	1	.479	.686
	YRSCAN(3)	-.690	.534	1.671	1	.196	.502
	YRSCAN(4)	.044	.819	.003	1	.957	1.045
	INCSTP			20.049	2	.000	
	INCSTP(1)	1.582	.354	20.006	1	.000	4.863
	INCSTP(2)	-10.362	51.610	.040	1	.841	.000
	OCCUP			16.196	4	.003	
	OCCUP(1)	1.250	.585	4.571	1	.033	3.492
	OCCUP(2)	1.356	.590	5.289	1	.021	3.882
	OCCUP(3)	1.472	.610	5.821	1	.016	4.357
	OCCUP(4)	2.182	.587	13.816	1	.000	8.863
	SCHOOL			30.743	4	.000	
	SCHOOL(1)	-1.497	.433	11.981	1	.001	.224
	SCHOOL(2)	-2.512	.603	17.357	1	.000	.081
	SCHOOL(3)	-7.501	12.005	.380	1	.532	.001
	SCHOOL(4)	2.046	1.298	2.483	1	.115	7.734
	Constant	-2.730	.933	8.563	1	.003	.065

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: INCSTP, OCCUP, SCHOOL.

Polish immigrants, 1991 Census, Assimilated to Integrated

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

		Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	40.625	10	.000
	Block	40.625	10	.000
	Model	1813.548	30	.000

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	2937.876	.275	.483

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	8.279	8	.407

Contingency Table for Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

		Contrast assimilated to integrated = Integrated		Contrast assimilated to integrated = Assimilated		Total
		Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected	
Step 1	1	563	560.816	5	7.184	568
	2	551	551.976	11	10.024	562
	3	549	551.260	15	12.740	564
	4	553	548.162	11	15.838	564
	5	542	543.243	22	20.757	564
	6	534	533.993	29	29.007	563
	7	507	517.333	57	46.667	564
	8	478	478.341	86	85.659	564
	9	390	373.116	170	166.884	560
	10	134	142.752	435	426.248	569

Classification Table^a

			Predicted		
			Contrast assimilated to integrated		Percentage Correct
Observed			Integrated	Assimilated	
Step 1	Contrast assimilated to integrated	Integrated	4645	156	96.8
		Assimilated	368	473	56.2
Overall Percentage					90.7

a. The cut value is .500

Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step	AGE5			65.515	4	.000	
1	AGE5(1)	-.680	.141	23.369	1	.000	.507
	AGE5(2)	-1.114	.170	42.841	1	.000	.328
	AGE5(3)	-1.197	.164	53.029	1	.000	.302
	AGE5(4)	-1.061	.278	14.517	1	.000	.346
	SEXP(1)	.229	.102	5.014	1	.025	1.258
	MARSTAT			11.446	3	.010	
	MARSTAT(1)	.054	.166	.105	1	.746	1.055
	MARSTAT(2)	.572	.210	7.456	1	.006	1.773
	MARSTAT(3)	.181	.237	.582	1	.445	1.198
	MTHNGDUM			521.623	2	.000	
	MTHNGDUM(1)	2.997	.135	496.548	1	.000	20.028
	MTHNGDUM(2)	1.054	.138	58.105	1	.000	2.870
	POBPODUM(1)	1.010	.118	73.600	1	.000	2.746
	PROVP			44.611	5	.000	
	PROVP(1)	-.302	.169	3.198	1	.074	.739
	PROVP(2)	.380	.199	3.644	1	.056	1.462
	PROVP(3)	.670	.303	4.906	1	.027	1.954
	PROVP(4)	.578	.149	15.117	1	.000	1.783
	PROVP(5)	.724	.153	22.533	1	.000	2.063
	YRSCAN			14.586	4	.006	
	YRSCAN(1)	.644	.180	12.766	1	.000	1.903
	YRSCAN(2)	.411	.187	4.846	1	.028	1.508
	YRSCAN(3)	.275	.177	2.420	1	.120	1.317
	YRSCAN(4)	.181	.197	.847	1	.358	1.199
	INCSTP			7.498	2	.024	
	INCSTP(1)	-.355	.140	6.416	1	.011	.701
	INCSTP(2)	-.882	.766	1.326	1	.249	.414
	OCCUP			5.277	4	.260	
	OCCUP(1)	.324	.175	3.425	1	.064	1.383
	OCCUP(2)	.146	.177	.681	1	.409	1.158
	OCCUP(3)	-.084	.238	.126	1	.723	.919
	OCCUP(4)	.164	.181	.826	1	.363	1.178
	SCHOOL			23.869	4	.000	
	SCHOOL(1)	.512	.131	15.253	1	.000	1.668
	SCHOOL(2)	.338	.149	5.116	1	.024	1.402
	SCHOOL(3)	.103	.221	.215	1	.643	1.108
	SCHOOL(4)	-.821	.308	4.071	1	.044	.537
	Constant	-3.328	.265	158.307	1	.000	.036

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: INCSTP, OCCUP, SCHOOL.

Polish immigrants, 1991 Census, Separated to Integrated

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

		Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	208.048	10	.000
	Block	208.048	10	.000
	Model	538.990	30	.000

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	2177.994	.099	.242

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	9.527	8	.300

Contingency Table for Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

		Contrast separated to integrated = Integrated		Contrast separated to integrated = Separated		Total
		Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected	
Step 1	1	517	518.296	2	.704	519
	2	514	515.016	4	2.984	518
	3	515	511.349	3	6.651	518
	4	511	509.875	10	11.125	521
	5	501	500.746	16	16.254	517
	6	498	493.985	20	24.015	518
	7	474	481.429	43	35.571	517
	8	475	466.680	43	51.320	518
	9	436	443.021	82	74.979	518
	10	360	360.556	157	156.444	517

Classification Table^a

			Predicted		
			Contrast separated to integrated		Percentage Correct
	Observed		Integrated	Separated	
Step 1	Contrast separated to integrated	Integrated	4777	24	99.5
		Separated	351	29	7.6
Overall Percentage					92.8

a. The cut value is .500

Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	IAGE5			105.415	4	.000	
	IAGE5(1)	1.459	.540	7.295	1	.007	4.303
	IAGE5(2)	1.788	.544	10.816	1	.001	5.978
	IAGE5(3)	2.410	.533	20.426	1	.000	11.138
	IAGE5(4)	3.520	.547	41.437	1	.000	33.771
	SEXP(1)	.051	.124	.171	1	.679	1.052
	MARSTAT			4.273	3	.233	
	MARSTAT(1)	.134	.233	.329	1	.566	1.143
	MARSTAT(2)	-.186	.311	.357	1	.550	.830
	MARSTAT(3)	.375	.297	1.602	1	.206	1.455
	MTHNGDUM			3.600	2	.165	
	MTHNGDUM(1)	-.410	.378	1.172	1	.279	.664
	MTHNGDUM(2)	-.379	.224	2.865	1	.091	.685
	POBPODUM(1)	.234	.232	1.020	1	.313	1.264
	PROVP			7.755	5	.170	
	PROVP(1)	-.299	.208	2.069	1	.150	.742
	PROVP(2)	.358	.228	2.459	1	.117	1.430
	PROVP(3)	.553	.507	1.188	1	.276	1.738
	PROVP(4)	-.169	.205	.682	1	.409	.844
	PROVP(5)	-.203	.246	.675	1	.411	.817
	YRSCAN			82.727	4	.000	
	YRSCAN(1)	-1.180	.288	16.824	1	.000	.307
	YRSCAN(2)	-1.160	.233	24.708	1	.000	.313
	YRSCAN(3)	-1.727	.243	50.506	1	.000	.178
	YRSCAN(4)	-1.971	.265	55.329	1	.000	.139
	INCSTP			16.905	2	.000	
	INCSTP(1)	.487	.123	15.806	1	.000	1.628
	INCSTP(2)	1.014	.744	1.854	1	.173	2.756
	OCCUP			22.928	4	.000	
	OCCUP(1)	.861	.458	3.531	1	.060	2.366
	OCCUP(2)	.750	.456	2.708	1	.100	2.118
	OCCUP(3)	.906	.462	3.846	1	.050	2.475
	OCCUP(4)	1.490	.448	11.059	1	.001	4.436
	SCHOOL			80.745	4	.000	
	SCHOOL(1)	-.750	.168	19.810	1	.000	.473
	SCHOOL(2)	-2.121	.338	39.431	1	.000	.120
	SCHOOL(3)	-1.748	.321	29.714	1	.000	.174
	SCHOOL(4)	1.281	.540	5.635	1	.018	3.602
	Constant	-4.938	.671	54.187	1	.000	.007

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: INCSTP, OCCUP, SCHOOL.

Polish immigrants, 1991 Census, Separated to Assimilated

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

		Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	137.994	10	.000
	Block	137.994	10	.000
	Model	1046.819	30	.000

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	467.401	.576	.810

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	5.387	8	.716

Contingency Table for Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

		Contrast Separated to Assimilated = Assimilated		Contrast Separated to Assimilated = Separated		Total
		Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected	
Step 1	1	122	121.997	0	.003	122
	2	122	121.975	0	.025	122
	3	122	121.901	0	.099	122
	4	121	121.572	1	.428	122
	5	117	119.657	5	2.343	122
	6	115	111.748	7	10.252	122
	7	81	79.598	41	42.402	122
	8	29	31.072	93	90.928	122
	9	10	9.428	110	110.572	120
	10	2	2.053	123	122.947	125

Classification Table^a

			Predicted		Percentage Correct
			Contrast Separated to Assimilated		
Observed			Assimilated	Separated	
Step 1	Contrast Separated to Assimilated	Assimilated	782	49	94.2
		Separated	46	334	87.9
	Overall Percentage				92.2

a. The cut value is .500

Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	IAGE5			53.412	4	.000	
	IAGE5(1)	1.736	.636	7.448	1	.006	5.676
	IAGE5(2)	2.842	.663	18.358	1	.000	17.155
	IAGE5(3)	3.810	.670	32.353	1	.000	45.145
	IAGE5(4)	4.712	.782	36.323	1	.000	111.285
	SEXP(1)	.087	.269	.105	1	.746	1.091
	MARSTAT			3.947	3	.267	
	MARSTAT(1)	.667	.456	2.137	1	.144	1.949
	MARSTAT(2)	.286	.601	.226	1	.634	1.331
	MARSTAT(3)	1.071	.582	3.384	1	.066	2.919
	MTHNGDUM			65.108	2	.000	
	MTHNGDUM(1)	-3.737	.468	63.645	1	.000	.024
	MTHNGDUM(2)	-1.049	.317	10.983	1	.001	.350
	POBPODUM(1)	-1.635	.334	24.028	1	.000	.195
	PROVP			4.186	5	.523	
	PROVP(1)	.144	.454	.100	1	.751	1.155
	PROVP(2)	.139	.482	.083	1	.773	1.149
	PROVP(3)	.504	.753	.448	1	.503	1.655
	PROVP(4)	.548	.408	1.802	1	.179	1.730
	PROVP(5)	-.518	.451	1.322	1	.250	.595
	YRSCAN			44.108	4	.000	
	YRSCAN(1)	-2.085	.503	17.173	1	.000	.124
	YRSCAN(2)	-1.878	.516	13.221	1	.000	.153
	YRSCAN(3)	-2.782	.463	36.146	1	.000	.062
	YRSCAN(4)	-2.573	.528	23.705	1	.000	.076
	INCSTP			9.550	2	.008	
	INCSTP(1)	.886	.287	9.544	1	.002	2.425
	INCSTP(2)	.127	1.916	.004	1	.947	1.135
	OCCUP			4.779	4	.311	
	OCCUP(1)	.411	.843	.238	1	.626	1.509
	OCCUP(2)	.848	.872	.945	1	.331	2.335
	OCCUP(3)	1.455	.891	2.667	1	.102	4.284
	OCCUP(4)	.850	.829	1.049	1	.306	2.339
	SCHOOL			64.831	4	.000	
	SCHOOL(1)	-1.599	.374	18.274	1	.000	.202
	SCHOOL(2)	-3.382	.556	36.991	1	.000	.034
	SCHOOL(3)	-2.375	.770	9.520	1	.002	.093
	SCHOOL(4)	3.257	.804	16.399	1	.000	25.980
	Constant	-1.803	1.063	2.874	1	.090	.165

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: INCSTP, OCCUP, SCHOOL.

South Asian immigrants, 1991 Census, Assimilated to Integrated

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

		Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	64,707	10	,000
	Block	64,707	10	,000
	Model	881,052	28	,000

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	7314,483	,082	,149

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	13,933	8	,084

Contingency Table for Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

		Contrast assimilated to integrated = Integrated		Contrast assimilated to integrated = Assimilated		Total
		Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected	
Step 1	1	1006	1009,163	26	22,837	1032
	2	989	988,397	44	44,603	1033
	3	968	967,571	65	65,429	1033
	4	948	948,503	83	82,497	1031
	5	949	930,068	82	100,932	1031
	6	914	910,058	118	121,942	1032
	7	845	878,412	182	148,588	1027
	8	849	847,479	182	183,521	1031
	9	806	795,557	234	244,443	1040
	10	637	635,793	385	386,207	1022

Classification Table^a

			Predicted		
			Contrast assimilated to integrated		Percentage Correct
Observed			Integrated	Assimilated	
Step 1	Contrast assimilated to integrated	Integrated	8853	58	99,3
		Assimilated	1325	76	5,4
Overall Percentage					88,6

a. The cut value is ,500

Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	IAGE5			32,129	4	,000	
	IAGE5(1)	-,361	,103	12,326	1	,000	,697
	IAGE5(2)	-,255	,118	4,661	1	,031	,775
	IAGE5(3)	-,151	,116	1,689	1	,194	,860
	IAGE5(4)	,280	,154	3,300	1	,069	1,323
	SEXP(1)	,167	,063	7,102	1	,008	1,182
	MARSTAT			36,271	3	,000	
	MARSTAT(1)	-,524	,091	32,898	1	,000	,592
	MARSTAT(2)	-,139	,162	,739	1	,390	,870
	MARSTAT(3)	-,560	,228	6,036	1	,014	,571
	POBSADUM(1)	,536	,063	73,276	1	,000	1,710
	PROVP			210,825	5	,000	
	PROVP(1)	-,174	,114	2,332	1	,127	,841
	PROVP(2)	-,124	,201	,384	1	,536	,883
	PROVP(3)	-,175	,345	,257	1	,612	,840
	PROVP(4)	-,812	,118	47,342	1	,000	,444
	PROVP(5)	-1,463	,109	180,467	1	,000	,232
	YRSCAN			309,648	4	,000	
	YRSCAN(1)	,404	,079	26,248	1	,000	1,498
	YRSCAN(2)	1,648	,098	281,937	1	,000	5,199
	YRSCAN(3)	1,365	,317	18,586	1	,000	3,916
	YRSCAN(4)	1,882	,738	6,507	1	,011	6,565
	INCSTP			10,829	2	,004	
	INCSTP(1)	-,286	,087	10,742	1	,001	,751
	INCSTP(2)	,121	,642	,035	1	,851	1,129
	OCCUP			14,900	4	,005	
	OCCUP(1)	,106	,101	1,086	1	,297	1,111
	OCCUP(2)	-,095	,097	,964	1	,326	,909
	OCCUP(3)	-,317	,133	5,694	1	,017	,728
	OCCUP(4)	-,240	,119	4,058	1	,044	,787
	SCHOOL			33,294	4	,000	
	SCHOOL(1)	,357	,085	17,442	1	,000	1,429
	SCHOOL(2)	-,006	,085	,005	1	,943	,994
	SCHOOL(3)	-,251	,138	3,323	1	,068	,778
	SCHOOL(4)	,321	,153	4,422	1	,035	1,379
	Constant	-1,782	,142	157,239	1	,000	,168

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: INCSTP, OCCUP, SCHOOL.

South Asian immigrants, 1991 Census, Separated to Integrated

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

		Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	395,141	10	,000
	Block	395,141	10	,000
	Model	2204,349	28	,000

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	3236,891	,203	,474

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	24,919	8	,002

Contingency Table for Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

		Contrast separated to integrated = Integrated		Contrast separated to integrated = Separated		Total
		Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected	
Step 1	1	968	968,748	1	,252	969
	2	970	973,968	5	1,032	975
	3	961	962,489	4	2,511	965
	4	966	964,954	4	5,046	970
	5	958	958,219	10	9,781	968
	6	958	961,812	22	18,188	980
	7	930	934,496	39	34,504	969
	8	916	901,614	52	66,386	968
	9	822	810,882	139	150,118	961
	10	462	473,770	507	495,230	969

Classification Table^a

			Predicted		
			Contrast separated to integrated		Percentage Correct
Observed			Integrated	Separated	
Step 1	Contrast separated to integrated	Integrated	8749	162	98,2
		Separated	432	351	44,8
	Overall Percentage				93,9

a. The cut value is ,500

Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step	IAGE5			370,597	4	,000	
1	IAGE5(1)	1,386	,390	12,605	1	,000	3,999
	IAGE5(2)	1,571	,419	14,092	1	,000	4,814
	IAGE5(3)	2,620	,398	43,241	1	,000	13,739
	IAGE5(4)	4,042	,400	102,273	1	,000	56,948
	SEXP(1)	,703	,101	48,868	1	,000	2,020
	MARSTAT			12,859	3	,005	
	MARSTAT(1)	-,388	,188	4,250	1	,039	,678
	MARSTAT(2)	-,457	,343	1,778	1	,182	,633
	MARSTAT(3)	,022	,235	,009	1	,925	1,022
	POBSADUM(1)	-1,370	,116	140,074	1	,000	,254
	PROVP			110,569	5	,000	
	PROVP(1)	,048	,203	,056	1	,813	1,049
	PROVP(2)	-,047	,355	,017	1	,895	,954
	PROVP(3)	-,197	,811	,059	1	,808	,821
	PROVP(4)	-,211	,178	1,396	1	,237	,810
	PROVP(5)	1,024	,106	92,755	1	,000	2,784
	YRSCAN			29,258	4	,000	
	YRSCAN(1)	-,499	,111	20,084	1	,000	,607
	YRSCAN(2)	-,559	,238	5,525	1	,019	,572
	YRSCAN(3)	-1,739	,812	4,590	1	,032	,176
	YRSCAN(4)	1,364	,890	2,350	1	,125	3,912
	INCSTP			12,156	2	,002	
	INCSTP(1)	,377	,109	11,989	1	,001	1,458
	INCSTP(2)	-4,973	12,458	,159	1	,690	,007
	OCCUP			47,098	4	,000	
	OCCUP(1)	,681	,422	2,599	1	,107	1,975
	OCCUP(2)	1,025	,387	6,996	1	,008	2,786
	OCCUP(3)	1,437	,389	13,626	1	,000	4,206
	OCCUP(4)	1,642	,382	18,506	1	,000	5,164
	SCHOOL			140,343	4	,000	
	SCHOOL(1)	-1,446	,217	44,535	1	,000	,236
	SCHOOL(2)	-2,194	,245	80,373	1	,000	,111
	SCHOOL(3)	-3,857	,990	15,164	1	,000	,021
	SCHOOL(4)	1,016	,414	6,008	1	,014	2,762
	Constant	-5,696	,530	115,719	1	,000	,003

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: INCSTP, OCCUP, SCHOOL.

South Asian immigrants, 1991 Census, Separated to Assimilated

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

		Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	306,353	10	,000
	Block	306,353	10	,000
	Model	1751,678	28	,000

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	1098,703	,552	,757

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	9,696	8	,287

Contingency Table for Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

		Contrast Separated to Assimilated = Assimilated		Contrast Separated to Assimilated = Separated		Total
		Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected	
Step 1	1	218	217,919	0	,081	218
	2	217	217,449	1	,551	218
	3	215	215,846	3	2,154	218
	4	202	206,287	11	6,713	213
	5	197	201,064	21	16,936	218
	6	181	188,785	37	49,215	218
	7	111	109,174	107	108,826	218
	8	42	43,732	170	168,268	212
	9	16	16,870	204	203,130	220
	10	2	3,867	229	227,133	231

Classification Table^a

			Predicted		
			Contrast Separated to Assimilated		Percentage Correct
Observed			Assimilated	Separated	
Step 1	Contrast Separated to Assimilated	Assimilated	1290	111	92,1
		Separated	119	664	84,8
Overall Percentage					89,5

a. The cut value is ,500

Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	AGE5			57,680	4	,000	
	AGE5(1)	2,076	,492	17,801	1	,000	7,971
	AGE5(2)	1,845	,539	11,712	1	,001	6,329
	AGE5(3)	2,412	,522	21,318	1	,000	11,154
	AGE5(4)	3,367	,523	41,500	1	,000	28,999
	SEXP(1)	,186	,169	1,204	1	,272	1,204
	MARSTAT			4,317	3	,229	
	MARSTAT(1)	,437	,287	2,316	1	,128	1,549
	MARSTAT(2)	,195	,487	,160	1	,689	1,215
	MARSTAT(3)	,797	,396	4,055	1	,044	2,219
	POBSADUM(1)	-1,525	,172	78,774	1	,000	,218
	PROVP			155,253	5	,000	
	PROVP(1)	-,046	,301	,023	1	,879	,955
	PROVP(2)	1,049	,511	4,214	1	,040	2,855
	PROVP(3)	,153	1,156	,018	1	,895	1,166
	PROVP(4)	,975	,314	9,611	1	,002	2,650
	PROVP(5)	2,702	,221	149,811	1	,000	14,906
	YRSCAN			72,074	4	,000	
	YRSCAN(1)	-1,096	,197	31,039	1	,000	,334
	YRSCAN(2)	-2,503	,332	56,876	1	,000	,082
	YRSCAN(3)	-2,325	,977	5,665	1	,017	,098
	YRSCAN(4)	-,765	1,095	,488	1	,485	,465
	INCSTP			15,232	2	,000	
	INCSTP(1)	,724	,186	15,148	1	,000	2,063
	INCSTP(2)	-5,850	20,659	,080	1	,777	,003
	OCCUP			44,921	4	,000	
	OCCUP(1)	-,122	,525	,054	1	,816	,885
	OCCUP(2)	,582	,482	1,460	1	,227	1,789
	OCCUP(3)	1,143	,497	5,292	1	,021	3,137
	OCCUP(4)	1,673	,487	11,820	1	,001	5,329
	SCHOOL			114,388	4	,000	
	SCHOOL(1)	-2,316	,287	64,938	1	,000	,099
	SCHOOL(2)	-2,300	,315	53,180	1	,000	,100
	SCHOOL(3)	-4,308	1,062	16,463	1	,000	,013
	SCHOOL(4)	,072	,511	,020	1	,888	1,075
	Constant	-3,398	,655	26,925	1	,000	,033

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: INCSTP, OCCUP, SCHOOL.

Ukrainian immigrants, 1991 Census, Assimilated to Integrated

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

		Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	16.198	10	.094
	Block	16.198	10	.094
	Model	809.388	30	.000

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	1364.663	.303	.488

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	6.548	8	.586

Contingency Table for Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

		Contrast assimilated to integrated = Integrated		Contrast assimilated to integrated = Assimilated		Total
		Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected	
Step 1	1	221	221.910	4	3.090	225
	2	217	220.433	8	4.567	225
	3	220	218.890	5	6.110	225
	4	212	215.196	12	8.804	224
	5	214	209.816	9	13.184	223
	6	207	205.148	18	19.852	225
	7	196	193.741	28	30.259	224
	8	175	172.222	49	51.778	224
	9	114	116.890	110	107.110	224
	10	41	42.753	181	179.247	222

Classification Table^a

Observed			Predicted		Percentage Correct
			Contrast assimilated to integrated		
			Integrated	Assimilated	
Step 1	Contrast assimilated to integrated	Integrated	1730	87	95.2
		Assimilated	191	233	55.0
Overall Percentage					87.6

a. The cut value is .500

Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	IAGE5			33.868	4	.000	
	IAGE5(1)	-.651	.191	11.625	1	.001	.521
	IAGE5(2)	-.984	.246	16.020	1	.000	.374
	IAGE5(3)	-1.291	.254	25.790	1	.000	.275
	IAGE5(4)	-1.363	.431	9.986	1	.002	.256
	SEXP(1)	.100	.152	.436	1	.509	1.105
	MARSTAT			3.514	3	.319	
	MARSTAT(1)	-.093	.247	.141	1	.707	.911
	MARSTAT(2)	-.179	.321	.310	1	.577	.836
	MARSTAT(3)	.285	.324	.772	1	.380	1.329
	MTHNGDUM			241.476	2	.000	
	MTHNGDUM(1)	3.145	.205	234.871	1	.000	23.217
	MTHNGDUM(2)	1.909	.184	107.997	1	.000	6.747
	POBEUDUM(1)	1.137	.207	30.129	1	.000	3.117
	PROVP			17.584	5	.004	
	PROVP(1)	-.348	.314	1.229	1	.268	.706
	PROVP(2)	-.114	.249	.210	1	.646	.892
	PROVP(3)	-.723	.411	3.093	1	.079	.485
	PROVP(4)	.018	.200	.009	1	.926	1.019
	PROVP(5)	.684	.219	9.799	1	.002	1.983
	YRSCAN			2.077	4	.722	
	YRSCAN(1)	.286	.293	.950	1	.330	1.331
	YRSCAN(2)	.335	.322	1.082	1	.298	1.398
	YRSCAN(3)	.323	.299	1.163	1	.281	1.381
	YRSCAN(4)	.161	.332	.235	1	.628	1.174
	INCSTP			2.410	2	.300	
	INCSTP(1)	-.229	.192	1.416	1	.234	.795
	INCSTP(2)	-1.149	1.107	1.077	1	.299	.317
	OCCUP			3.505	4	.477	
	OCCUP(1)	.131	.259	.256	1	.613	1.140
	OCCUP(2)	.167	.261	.409	1	.522	1.182
	OCCUP(3)	-.078	.369	.045	1	.832	.925
	OCCUP(4)	-.225	.268	.702	1	.402	.799
	SCHOOL			4.700	4	.319	
	SCHOOL(1)	.403	.197	4.197	1	.040	1.497
	SCHOOL(2)	.274	.223	1.513	1	.219	1.315
	SCHOOL(3)	.375	.356	1.113	1	.291	1.455
	SCHOOL(4)	.024	.495	.002	1	.961	1.025
	Constant	-2.872	.424	45.812	1	.000	.057

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: INCSTP, OCCUP, SCHOOL.

Ukrainian immigrants, 1991 Census, Separated to Integrated

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

		Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	48.925	10	.000
	Block	48.925	10	.000
	Model	223.414	30	.000

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	4.812	8	.777

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	648.518	.109	.301

Contingency Table for Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

		Contrast separated to integrated = Integrated		Contrast separated to integrated = Separated		Total
		Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected	
Step 1	1	193	192.964	0	.036	193
	2	193	192.587	0	.413	193
	3	191	191.807	2	1.193	193
	4	195	193.642	1	2.358	196
	5	192	192.123	4	3.877	196
	6	191	187.910	3	6.090	194
	7	182	183.952	11	9.048	193
	8	182	180.032	11	12.968	193
	9	168	171.473	25	21.527	193
	10	130	130.495	58	57.505	188

Classification Table^a

		Predicted		
		Contrast separated to integrated		Percentage Correct
Observed		Integrated	Separated	
Step 1	Contrast separated to integrated	1807	10	99.4
	Separated	101	14	12.2
Overall Percentage				94.3

a. The cut value is .500

Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step	1			50.635	4	.000	
	AGE5						
	AGE5(1)	1.363	.522	6.814	1	.009	3.908
	AGE5(2)	1.429	.559	6.536	1	.011	4.176
	AGE5(3)	2.520	.522	23.280	1	.000	12.432
	AGE5(4)	3.763	.602	39.065	1	.000	43.084
	SEXP(1)	.670	.242	7.643	1	.006	1.954
	MARSTAT			2.378	3	.498	
	MARSTAT(1)	.032	.495	.004	1	.948	1.033
	MARSTAT(2)	.351	.617	.323	1	.570	1.420
	MARSTAT(3)	.426	.540	.623	1	.430	1.531
	MTHNGDUM			1.754	2	.416	
	MTHNGDUM(1)	-6.262	8.300	.569	1	.451	.002
	MTHNGDUM(2)	-.282	.257	1.206	1	.272	.754
	POBEUDUM(1)	-.241	.819	.086	1	.769	.786
	PROVP			16.001	5	.007	
	PROVP(1)	-1.277	.661	3.727	1	.054	.279
	PROVP(2)	.714	.316	5.105	1	.024	2.041
	PROVP(3)	1.149	.449	6.543	1	.011	3.154
	PROVP(4)	.416	.316	1.726	1	.189	1.515
	PROVP(5)	-.323	.567	.324	1	.569	.724
	YRSCAN			32.409	4	.000	
	YRSCAN(1)	-1.975	.523	14.282	1	.000	.139
	YRSCAN(2)	-1.825	.482	14.318	1	.000	.161
	YRSCAN(3)	-2.289	.435	27.655	1	.000	.101
	YRSCAN(4)	-1.977	.446	19.658	1	.000	.138
	INCSTP			5.503	2	.064	
	INCSTP(1)	-.623	.266	5.499	1	.019	.536
	INCSTP(2)	-.189	1.699	.012	1	.911	.828
	OCCUP			5.915	4	.206	
	OCCUP(1)	1.430	1.117	1.641	1	.200	4.180
	OCCUP(2)	.703	1.138	.381	1	.537	2.019
	OCCUP(3)	1.642	1.117	2.159	1	.142	5.165
	OCCUP(4)	1.698	1.070	2.521	1	.112	5.465
	SCHOOL			15.832	4	.003	
	SCHOOL(1)	-.299	.348	.739	1	.390	.741
	SCHOOL(2)	-2.020	.655	9.512	1	.002	.133
	SCHOOL(3)	-1.649	.810	4.143	1	.042	.192
	SCHOOL(4)	1.353	.865	2.443	1	.118	3.867
	Constant	-4.793	1.244	14.858	1	.000	.008

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: INCSTP, OCCUP, SCHOOL.

Ukrainian immigrants, 1991 Census, Separated to Assimilated

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

		Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	21.690	10	.017
	Block	21.690	10	.017
	Model	377.513	30	.000

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	181.292	.504	.780

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	45.762	8	.000

Contingency Table for Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

		Contrast Separated to Assimilated = Assimilated		Contrast Separated to Assimilated = Separated		Total
		Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected	
Step 1	1	54	54.000	0	.000	54
	2	54	54.000	0	.000	54
	3	54	54.000	0	.000	54
	4	55	54.999	0	.001	55
	5	53	53.975	1	.025	54
	6	54	53.513	0	.487	54
	7	53	49.221	1	4.779	54
	8	32	34.289	22	19.711	54
	9	10	13.371	45	41.629	55
	10	5	2.626	46	48.374	51

Classification Table^a

			Predicted		
			Contrast Separated to Assimilated		Percentage Correct
Observed			Assimilated	Separated	
Step 1	Contrast Separated to Assimilated	Assimilated	405	19	95.5
		Separated	16	99	86.1
	Overall Percentage				93.5

a. The cut value is .500

Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step	IAGE5			35.473	4	.000	
1	IAGE5(1)	1.994	.689	8.362	1	.004	7.344
	IAGE5(2)	3.240	.833	15.120	1	.000	25.521
	IAGE5(3)	4.728	.879	28.936	1	.000	113.125
	IAGE5(4)	5.973	1.086	30.248	1	.000	392.525
	SEXP(1)	.490	.479	1.045	1	.307	1.632
	MARSTAT			.222	3	.974	
	MARSTAT(1)	.249	.942	.070	1	.791	1.283
	MARSTAT(2)	.094	1.211	.006	1	.938	1.098
	MARSTAT(3)	.402	.988	.166	1	.684	1.495
	MTHNGDUM			19.085	2	.000	
	MTHNGDUM(1)	-10.260	14.038	.534	1	.465	.000
	MTHNGDUM(2)	-1.984	.459	18.660	1	.000	.138
	POBEUDUM(1)	-2.439	1.081	5.088	1	.024	.087
	PROVP			9.065	5	.107	
	PROVP(1)	.703	1.109	.402	1	.526	2.020
	PROVP(2)	1.080	.676	2.554	1	.110	2.946
	PROVP(3)	2.498	.916	7.435	1	.006	12.154
	PROVP(4)	1.175	.648	3.289	1	.070	3.237
	PROVP(5)	-.052	.937	.003	1	.956	.949
	YRSCAN			16.218	4	.003	
	YRSCAN(1)	-2.901	1.069	7.368	1	.007	.055
	YRSCAN(2)	-2.753	1.046	6.922	1	.009	.064
	YRSCAN(3)	-3.437	.897	14.684	1	.000	.032
	YRSCAN(4)	-2.345	.926	6.409	1	.011	.096
	INCSTP			.723	2	.697	
	INCSTP(1)	-.431	.509	.717	1	.397	.650
	INCSTP(2)	4.919	61.454	.006	1	.936	136.919
	OCCUP			1.301	4	.861	
	OCCUP(1)	-.058	1.501	.002	1	.969	.944
	OCCUP(2)	-.414	1.590	.068	1	.794	.661
	OCCUP(3)	.732	1.645	.198	1	.656	2.079
	OCCUP(4)	.376	1.460	.066	1	.797	1.457
	SCHOOL			11.209	4	.024	
	SCHOOL(1)	-.765	.637	1.445	1	.229	.465
	SCHOOL(2)	-2.543	1.073	5.618	1	.018	.079
	SCHOOL(3)	-2.430	1.471	2.731	1	.098	.088
	SCHOOL(4)	2.661	1.449	3.373	1	.066	14.305
	Constant	-1.228	1.851	.440	1	.507	.293

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: INCSTP, OCCUP, SCHOOL.

Appendix B: Comparative tables – 1996 Census

Table B-1 : Proportion of total population and immigrants, 1996

	Total population	% of total population	Immigrants	% of immigrants	Mean age of those born in Canada	Mean age of the immigrants
Canada	28 528 125	100,0	4 971 070	17,4	33,3	45,1
Chinese	921 585	3,2	669 875	72,7	15,1	39,8
Dutch	916 220	3,2	160 125	17,5	26,7	53,7
German	2 757 140	9,7	332 970	12,1	29,7	52,3
Italian	1 207 475	4,2	375 195	31,1	23,9	53,9
Polish	786 735	2,8	202 630	25,8	28,8	44,4
South Asian	683 160	2,4	461 575	67,6	11,2	38,1
Ukrainian	1 026 470	3,6	64 330	6,3	31,5	56,4

Source: 1996 Census

Table B-2 : Period of immigration, 1996

Period of Immigration	Chinese		Dutch		German		Italian	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Before 1961	18 280	2,7	97 580	60,9	165 590	49,7	167 665	44,7
1961-1970	41 290	6,2	23 220	14,5	58 510	17,6	135 000	36,0
1971-1980	138 955	20,7	18 585	11,6	45 885	13,8	44 340	11,8
1981-1990	214 630	32,0	13 515	8,4	39 755	11,9	18 275	4,9
1991-1996	256 730	38,3	7 225	4,5	23 225	7,0	9 910	2,6
Total	669 885	100,0	160 125	100,0	332 965	100,0	375 190	100,0

Period of Immigration	Polish		South Asian		Ukrainian	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Before 1961	50 950	25,1	3 380	0,7	36 975	57,5
1961-1970	18 160	9,0	40 195	8,2	5 285	8,2
1971-1980	16 750	8,3	141 855	28,9	4 950	7,7
1981-1990	76 810	37,9	144 380	29,4	6 960	10,8
1991-1996	39 955	19,7	160 700	32,8	10 160	15,8
Total	202 625	100,0	490 510	100,0	64 330	100,0

Source: 1996 Census

Table B-3 : Distribution of immigrants by province of residence, 1996

	All Immigrants			Chinese			Dutch			German		
	n	%	% CMA	n	%	% CMA	n	%	% CMA	n	%	% CMA
Canada	4 971 070	100,0	88,7	669 880	100,0	98,9	160 125	100,0	57,8	332 970	100,0	63,0
Atlantic	79 225	1,6	42,4	3 670	0,5	60,6	4 685	2,9	23,2	7 705	2,3	33,8
Québec	664 495	13,4	94,4	40 000	6,0	97,2	4 345	2,7	81,8	18 775	5,6	83,6
Ontario	2 724 485	54,8	88,9	315 090	47,0	97,7	85 595	53,5	56,5	150 770	45,3	69,5
Prairies	593 395	11,9	79,6	79 550	11,9	93,3	29 645	18,5	59,0	76 450	23,0	62,3
B.C.	903 195	18,2	76,6	231 230	34,5	97,4	35 545	22,2	49,5	78 330	23,5	49,8
	Italian			Polish			South Asian			Ukrainian		
	n	%	% CMA	n	%	% CMA	n	%	% CMA	n	%	% CMA
Canada	375 195	100,0	91,1	202 625	100,0	87,3	490 510	100,0	93,1	64 330	100,0	81,3
Atlantic	1 900	0,5	52,9	1 645	0,8	60,5	3 870	0,8	62,4	415	0,6	43,4
Québec	84 210	22,4	95,4	18 250	9,0	92,6	32 825	6,7	99,1	5 065	7,9	94,7
Ontario	243 675	64,9	91,7	130 215	64,3	89,6	301 895	61,5	97,3	35 580	55,3	89,1
Prairies	17 935	4,8	90,0	31 890	15,7	83,6	47 665	9,7	93,7	16 730	26,0	70,2
B.C.	27 325	7,3	69,9	20 515	10,1	76,7	103 960	21,2	80,2	6 495	10,1	59,5

Source: 1996 Census

Table B-4 : Immigrants by age at immigration, 1996

<i>Median Age</i>	All Immigrants		Chinese		Dutch		German	
	20-24		25-29		20-24		20-24	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
0-4 years	505 570	10,2	41 460	6,2	22 710	14,2	44 020	13,2
5-19 years	1 376 250	27,7	176 600	26,4	56 425	35,2	100 250	30,1
20-39 years	2 424 415	48,8	286 480	42,8	71 250	44,5	164 220	49,3
40 years and over	664 825	13,4	165 340	24,7	9 735	6,1	24 485	7,4
Total	4 971 060	100,0	669 880	100,0	160 120	100,0	332 975	100,0
<i>Median Age</i>	Italian		Polish		South Asian		Ukrainian	
	20-24		25-29		20-24		20-24	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
0-4 years	39 340	10,5	22 000	10,9	32 055	6,9	9 915	15,4
5-19 years	128 330	34,2	53 475	26,4	116 520	25,2	18 310	28,5
20-39 years	178 465	47,6	105 190	51,9	229 955	49,8	29 735	46,2
40 years and over	29 060	7,7	21 965	10,8	83 060	18,0	6 370	9,9
Total	375 195	100,0	202 630	100,0	461 590	100,0	64 330	100,0

Source: 1996 Census

Table B-5 : Median and mean employment incomes for immigrants, 1996

Area in Canada	15 to 19		20 to 24		25 to 34		35 to 44		45 to 54		55 to 64		65 and older	
	Mean Income	Median Income	Mean Income	Median Income	Mean Income	Median Income	Mean Income	Median Income	Mean Income	Median Income	Mean Income	Median Income	Mean Income	Median Income
Area in Canada														
Total Population	3 812	3 251	11 101	8 251	25 162	23 852	32 800	29 591	35 482	29 657	29 901	23 611	19 728	9 000
Chinese	3 612	3 114	9 813	6 542	29 314	27 892	39 986	36 124	36 808	31 910	29 038	21 790	31 933	13 543
Dutch	3 789	3 240	11 788	9 000	25 875	24 811	32 280	29 028	34 932	29 873	27 961	22 000	15 559	7 813
German	3 729	3 250	11 777	9 013	25 580	23 940	33 052	29 955	35 875	29 222	29 167	22 026	16 675	8 344
Italian	4 244	3 575	11 785	9 019	27 639	25 564	37 052	31 197	39 970	34 871	34 224	25 102	26 585	12 315
Polish	3 781	3 200	11 439	8 745	27 362	25 545	35 791	31 181	39 255	33 870	32 701	25 027	17 579	8 777
South Asian	3 787	3 270	8 885	6 090	25 256	23 900	38 496	30 874	37 490	30 000	30 624	25 037	22 798	10 000
Ukrainian	3 726	3 204	11 915	9 238	26 470	24 100	34 472	31 000	36 084	31 677	28 608	22 254	14 096	6 395
Immigrant														
Total Population	4 428	3 811	10 125	7 405	22 482	19 971	29 333	24 997	34 767	29 012	31 767	25 971	22 345	10 970
Chinese	3 695	3 100	8 894	6 000	22 301	19 221	27 550	23 775	29 223	23 771	24 829	17 105	16 623	8 970
Dutch	4 607	3 812	11 507	9 134	25 101	23 000	34 009	29 901	36 783	29 235	29 740	24 644	18 686	9 742
German	4 863	4 100	10 449	8 000	24 339	21 000	32 086	27 804	38 014	29 900	33 198	25 813	23 075	9 007
Italian	4 686	3 800	11 834	9 200	26 311	23 000	33 673	28 000	33 582	29 000	28 923	23 000	21 266	11 000
Polish	4 520	3 700	9 955	7 171	21 685	19 000	27 766	24 111	35 314	29 000	30 884	24 000	22 706	10 000
South Asian	4 778	3 700	10 067	7 000	21 477	18 200	27 726	23 000	32 916	27 000	31 421	23 200	19 038	9 000
Ukrainian	3 390	3 007	9 944	7 201	21 252	17 957	28 179	24 710	38 726	30 000	29 744	24 900	16 410	8 010
Difference between immigrant and born-in-Canada														
Total Population	616	560	-976	-654	-2 680	-3 811	-3 467	-5 004	-715	-1 000	1 866	-2 360	2 617	1 100
Chinese	83	0	-919	-640	-7 013	-7 111	-12 436	-13 199	-7 585	-8 130	-14 209	-15 033	-15 310	-7 000
Dutch	818	644	-281	-120	-774	-600	1 729	1 033	1 851	1 000	1 779	2 300	3 127	1 970
German	1 134	712	-1 328	-310	-1 241	-1 000	-966	-5 000	2 139	1 000	4 031	3 000	6 400	1 000
Italian	442	200	49	200	-1 328	-1 000	-3 379	-3 177	-6 388	-5 000	-5 301	-5 000	-5 319	-1 000
Polish	739	200	-1 484	-1 000	-5 677	-5 000	-8 025	-7 000	-3 941	-4 000	-1 817	-2 000	5 127	1 000
South Asian	991	700	-1 182	-1 000	-3 779	-3 000	-10 770	-9 100	-4 574	-5 000	797	-5 000	-3 760	-1 000
Ukrainian	-336	-200	-1 971	-2 000	-5 218	-5 000	-6 293	-6 200	2 642	2 000	1 136	2 000	2 314	1 000
Difference between ethnic group immigrant and all immigrants														
Total Population	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Chinese	-733	-600	-1 231	-1 000	-181	-170	-1 783	-2 000	-5 544	-5 200	-6 938	-7 100	-5 722	-1 000
Dutch	179	200	1 382	1 000	2 619	3 000	4 676	4 974	2 016	1 723	-2 027	-477	-3 659	-1 000
German	435	200	324	200	1 857	1 100	2 753	2 000	3 247	1 973	1 431	700	730	1 000
Italian	258	100	1 709	1 000	3 829	4 000	4 340	3 000	-1 185	-2 000	-2 844	-1 000	-1 079	-1 000
Polish	92	200	-170	-200	-797	-600	-1 567	-1 000	547	200	-883	-1 014	361	1 000
South Asian	350	200	-58	-200	-1 005	-1 000	-1 607	-1 000	-1 851	-1 000	-346	-1 000	-3 307	-1 000
Ukrainian	-1 038	-200	-181	-200	-1 230	-3 000	-1 154	-3 777	3 959	5 000	-2 023	-1 000	-5 935	-2 000

Source: 1996 Census

Figure B-1 : Chinese immigrants, flow data

Figure B-2 : Dutch immigrants, flow data

Figure B-3 : German immigrants, flow data

Figure B-4 : Italian immigrants, flow data

Figure B-5 : Polish immigrants, flow data **Figure B-6 : South Asian immigrants, flow data**

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Endnotes

¹ In the 1996 Census 4,971,070 people out of a total population of 28,528,125 reported that they were immigrants to Canada. This number includes all reported immigrants.

² Single origins only.

³ Berry's theoretical development on acculturation also includes the psychological impact of the process on the individual. He labels this impact "acculturative stress" and it forms an important component of his ongoing research on the topic (Berry and Sam, 1997: 298). This element of the theoretical development on acculturation is not included in the present study since it is not crucial to the primary objectives described in Chapter 1. It is also difficult to address the issue of acculturative stress with sociological and demographic data.

⁴ Immigrants are classified into three groups under the immigration legislation in Canada: independent class, which includes skilled workers; business class, which includes entrepreneurs and independent business people; and family class.

⁵ The theories developed by these authors were developed in the United States at a time when immigration was primarily from European sources ("traditional sources" in the terminology used in previous references). It is not entirely clear that these theories hold true given the shift in immigration patterns to "non-traditional sources", such as Asia, Africa and Latin America.

⁶ An **economic family** is defined as "a group of two or more persons who live in the same dwelling and are related to each other by blood, marriage, common-law or adoption". This is a more inclusive definition of the family than either the nuclear family or the census family since it provides for the possibility of multiple generations in one family unit. It also provides for the possibility of other blood relations such as siblings living together. (Statistics Canada, 1999: 125-127).

⁷ An open question for ethnic origin was adopted by Statistics Canada in the 1996 Census. The respondents were instructed to write in their origins. Although the actual wording of the question did not change between 1991 and 1996, Canadian was added to the list of examples.

⁸ Some religious denominations not included in this list also devote resources to promulgating their religious and cultural heritage. For example, the Christian Reformed Church, a Calvinist conservative movement of Dutch origin, operates separate schools for its membership. An attempt will be made to account for these special cases in subsequent refinements of the model.

⁹ The Nagelkerke R^2 is a measure of the variation in the dependent variable explained by the set of independent variables included in a logistic regression model. It functions like the standard R^2 measure in linear regression models. (See Demaris, 1992; Hosmer and Lemeshow, 1989; and Menard, 1995)

¹⁰ A closed population is defined as one in which the flows are limited to natural increases and decreases such as births and deaths. Flows due to migration are excluded (Shryock and Seigal, 1976: 379).

¹¹ 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.

¹² See Table B-1 in Appendix B for a comparison with the other groups in the study population.

¹³ 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.

¹⁴ Most of the Chinese immigrants (82%) living in the Prairie Provinces are in Alberta. Approximately 10% live in Manitoba and 7% live in Saskatchewan.

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

¹⁶ All subsequent description and analysis will be based entirely on 1991 Census data since it is not possible to derive the dependent variable, outcome of acculturation, for the 1996 results due to the absence of data on religion.

¹⁷ The PUMF does not include detailed coding for more than half of the 6.4% of the immigrants of Chinese origin who declared another heritage language as their mother tongue. Approximately 40% of these individuals declared either Khmer, Vietnamese or an Austro-Asiatic language not specifically coded.

¹⁸ 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.

¹⁹ 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.

²⁰ 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.

²¹ 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.)

²² The reader is reminded that the outcomes *separated* and *marginalized* have been collapsed since there are too few cases to show the detailed distributions.

²³ More than 60% of the people who declared either Mennonite or Hutterite as their religion live in Ontario and in Manitoba.

²⁴ The distribution of mother tongues other than English, French or German declared by the respondents is: Netherlandic languages 17%, Polish 15%, Ukrainian 4% and Spanish 3%. The remainder are either not specifically classified in the 1991 Census PUMF or they are under 2%.

²⁵ The theoretical importance of place of birth as an analytical variable is discussed in Chapter 2.

²⁶ As expected, the outcome of acculturation for German immigrants belonging to religious sects such as the Mennonites are predominately in the *strongly integrated* portion of the continuum, regardless of period of immigration. However, the number of immigrants in the study population who belong to this religious denomination are too few to influence the results dramatically. Approximately 6% of the total number of immigrants of German origin declared their religion to be Mennonite.

²⁷ 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 group.

²⁸ The data on which the analyses in this and the following sections are based include individuals who declared Italian as an ethnic origin, either as a single response or as part of a multiple origin, and those who declared that they speak Italian in the home, regardless of their ethnic origin. They are referred to as Italian immigrants and Italian non-immigrants (or Italians born in Canada) for the sake of brevity.

²⁹ The variable "home language" is used in the derivation of the outcome of acculturation. The Cramer's V correlation coefficient between home language and mother tongue is 0,502 (significant to the 0,000 level), indicating that the two variables are somewhat correlated. However, the value of the coefficient is below the threshold beyond which the risk of introducing an error exists (see Chapter 3). Therefore, mother tongue may be used in the analysis without concern about introducing a tautology.

³⁰ The places of birth for Italian immigrants born outside of Italy include Central and South America (16%), the United States (15%), Africa (12%), the United Kingdom (9%), Portugal (5%), Poland (4%) and other locations in Europe that were not specifically listed in the PUMF (29%).

³¹ Although the data in Table 7-2 are derived from the 1996 Census, the relative distributions by province and CMA of residence differ very little with those of the 1991 Census.

³² If the analysis were performed at the level of the CMA it is probable that strong similarity between Montreal and Toronto would emerge. However, these similarities are not evident at the Provincial level since the Italian immigrants living in Ontario are dispersed over a number of CMAs.

³³ 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.

³⁴ Statistical tests show a moderate correlation between mother tongue and home language for Polish immigrants. The Cramer's V correlation coefficient for these two variables is 0,537 at a significance level of 0,000. Although the value of the coefficient is relatively high, it is still below the threshold of 0,600 (see Chapter 3). Therefore, it is unlikely that an error is introduced in the analysis by including mother tongue as one of the independent variables.

³⁵ The distribution of Polish immigrants by the major places of birth other than Poland is as follows: USSR = 24%, European countries not specifically coded on the 1991 PUMF = 19%, Germany = 18%, the United States = 17%, the United Kingdom = 12%)

³⁶ The Jewish and South Asian groups are noteworthy counter examples.

³⁷ 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.

³⁸ The index of dissimilarity for the distributions in this table is 27,5.

³⁹ A given outcome of acculturation must account for a minimum of 5% of the ethnic group in order to be included in the analysis.

⁴⁰ A member of the Sikh community in British Columbia was elected to the leadership of the provincial NDP party at the beginning of the year 2000. By virtue of this victory he attained the highest political post in the province.

⁴¹ The countries listed in parentheses are the most commonly reported places of birth for the Ukrainian immigrants reporting the corresponding mother tongues. The proportion is shown for each of the major countries of birth.

⁴² The index of dissimilarity for the distributions in this table is 27,5.

⁴³ The data in the 1991 Census Public Use Microdata File do not separately classify Ukraine as a place of birth. However, the places of birth on the 1996 Census for the people of Ukrainian origins living in Canada show that 75% were born in Eastern Europe and another 12% were born in Northern and Western Europe. Therefore, the analysis of the data in Table A5-11 focuses on those who were born in Europe excluding the U.K. and those who were born elsewhere.

⁴⁴ This observation raises the question whether these results may be generalised to regions of the World as opposed to limiting the analysis to specific ethnic origins. This is topic that should be explored in subsequent research on acculturation.

⁴⁵ The Mennonite and the Dutch communities in South Western Ontario (excluding Toronto) are notable exceptions.

⁴⁶ These data do not allow us to draw any conclusions about the retention of ancestral origins by the offspring of these immigrants.

⁴⁷ Three regression models were necessary for those ethnic groups for whom *separated* was an important outcome of acculturation. The three models provide the contrasts between *assimilated* and *integrated*, *assimilated* and *separated* and *integrated* and *separated*.

⁴⁸ The tests of the significance of the coefficients in logistic regression are asymmetric. This presents a problem for the current study since the hypotheses are largely directional, implying that a one-tailed test of significance should be applied. This problem is resolved by taking into account the value of the coefficient with respect to 1. If the hypothesis states that the likelihood of an outcome of acculturation should be *assimilated* (hence the null hypothesis states that the outcome should not be *assimilated*) given the specific conditions described by the characteristic, a coefficient that is less than 1 indicates that the null hypothesis cannot be rejected. The confidence level is indicated by the significance of the Wald statistic.

⁴⁹ These results do not apply to the immigrants of South Asian origins. It was noted in Chapter 9 that a potential tautology exists in the analysis of the results for the South Asians since there is a significant correlation between mother tongue and home language. Therefore, this characteristic was removed as an independent variable in the analysis.

⁵⁰ The reader is reminded that the data on highest level of education are collected only for people who are 15 years of age and older. Those who are under the age of 15 are grouped in the "not applicable" category. Therefore, these results exclude pre-school aged immigrants.