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ETHNIC DIFFERENTIATION AND
MINORITY LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

by

Daniela G. Baggio, B.Soc.Sc.

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is an attempt to discover the characteristics of ethnic groups that enhance the persistence of ethnic differentiation. The key variable of differentiation is language maintenance. The ethnic groups selected for the study are the Finnish, German, Hungarian and Italian ethnic groups in metropolitan Toronto.

Special attention is given to five characteristics of ethnic groups. They include two demographic characteristics: group size and period of immigration. The other characteristics are three features of the social organization of ethnic communities: residential segregation, occupational segregation and group resources.

The degree of residential segregation and group resources are both significantly related to the degree of language shift in all four groups. Occupational segregation is also correlated with language shift to the extent that language shift is higher among persons who are concentrated in occupations that require fluency in the dominant language. An association was found between period of immigration and language shift. However, the overall "oldness" and "newness" of a group is only associated with language shift among Italians but not with language shift in the three other ethnic groups. Finally, group size was only correlated with the level of language shift among Italians, and not with the level of language shift among Finns, Germans and Hungarians.

The thesis concludes with several recommendations for future research on ethnic relations in Canada.

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis explores ethnic differentiation in Canada. It examines the influence of demographic characteristics and features of the social organization of ethnic groups on ethnic differentiation. The study is limited to four ethnic groups (Finnish, German, Hungarian and Italian) in metropolitan Toronto, although it is hoped that the conclusions apply more widely than to these groups in that locale. Toronto was selected as the area for the study because of the numerous ethnic groups in the city and the availability of both qualitative and quantitative information on the various ethnic groups.

Language shift and retention will be used as the key indicator of the extent to which these ethnic groups are differentiated from the larger society as a whole and from one another. Data from the 1971 population Census of Canada provide the information needed not only for language patterns but also for the analysis of demographic patterns. Information on aspects of ethnic social organization is derived from the Census as well as from interviews with representatives of ethnic formal organizations in Toronto.

The thesis is organized into five chapters and may be summarized in the following manner. Chapter I is intended as a review of the literature outlining the basic concepts to be used, and their relationship to ethnic differentiation. Briefly, it will be argued that

immigrants need not and have not necessarily assimilated to the dominant Anglo-Saxon culture in Canada. Many members of ethnic groups have retained some components of ethnicity, be they the ancestral language, customs, belief systems, or simply a feeling of identification with the descent group. Thus, ethnic identity retention can be found in varying degrees among members of an ethnic group. The explanations of ethnic identity retention in the receiving society are numerous. However, the depersonalization and alienation that often accompanies industrialization have brought about a resurgence of ethnicity (Fishman, 1977). It is suggested that of all components of ethnicity language is the strongest in that the retention and use of the ancestral mother tongue evokes feelings of ethnic inclusiveness and sympathy toward the group (Parkin in Giles et al., 1977: 325). It is for this reason, that minority language¹ retention was chosen as the key indicator of the strength of ethnic differentiation.

Members of an ethnic group who have retained their mother tongue are likely to have a strong level of attachment to their ethnic identity. Thus, this thesis examines the characteristics of ethnic groups that have a strong level of differentiation. The particular factors examined are demographic (group size and period of immigration) and the features of ethnic community social organization (residential segregation, occupational segregation and group resources).

Chapter II outlines five hypotheses to be tested in the thesis. It also describes the research methodology. The third and fourth chapters provide the results from the data collection phase of research. Chapter III examines the distribution of members of ethnic groups in the larger society and the relationship of this distribution to language retention. Included in this chapter is information on the two demographic variables: group size and period of immigration; and two features of the social organization of ethnic communities: residential segregation and occupational segregation. The final feature of ethnic social organization is the focus of Chapter IV. This chapter contains data on the strength of group resources in an ethnic community, i.e., the level of formal organization and the presence of minority language broadcasting in the ancestral language of the selected origin groups.

Finally, Chapter V consists of a discussion and summary of information presented in the preceding chapters. It also makes several recommendations for future research.

FOOTNOTES

1. > Minority languages in Canada are defined as languages other than those recognized by the Official Languages Act (English and French), and will be referred to in this thesis as "other" languages or ancestral languages.

CHAPTER I

ETHNIC DIFFERENTIATION AND

LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

European expansion overseas created many colonial societies by the eighteenth century. With the spread of the industrial revolution beyond Europe in the nineteenth century there came to these colonies and ex-colonies many millions of immigrants from Europe and elsewhere. Most of them remained as settlers to the "new world". Those countries which reached the stage of advanced industrialization continued to attract several waves of immigrants. In Canada, the growing trend toward agricultural development in the western provinces, and industrialization in central Canada placed a heavy demand for farmers, farm workers and general labourers.¹ Other nations which have similarly absorbed sizeable immigrant populations include Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and the United States. Large segments of the populations of these countries retain close ties of sentiment and kinship with their countries of origin. According to the 1971 Census, just over one-third (34 percent) of the Canadian population were either foreign-born or had at least one foreign-born parent (Kalbach and Richmond, 1980: 131).

Ethnicity

Many scholars have assumed that in immigrant-receiving societies such as Canada, the assimilation of immigrants and their descendants to the host social structure and culture is an inevitable process.

However, the continued persistence of ethnic differentiation in these countries challenges this view.

Before proceeding any further, the concepts of ethnicity and ethnic group need to be defined. Vallee defines the former as:

...descent from ancestors who share a common culture or subculture manifested in distinctive ways of speaking and/or acting. This common culture may have been carried by many different kinds of groupings, such as religious, political, geographical, but in all cases the kinship networks are the crucial bearers of culture

(1975: 166-167).

And based on this, an ethnic group is composed of:

... people who share ethnicity, who share a sense of peoplehood, or consciousness of kind, who interact with one another in meaningful ways beyond the elementary family and who are regarded by others as being in the one ethnic category

(1975: 167).

Vallee's definition of both terms brings two important aspects to light. First, that ethnicity is presented as a socially inherited characteristic which must be transmitted by a descent group, rather than an individually acquired characteristic. Second, that membership in an ethnic group is the result of a person's recognition of his or her ethnicity, and the classification by others of persons into a recognizable ethnic category. By implication, then, ethnicity becomes most important when two or more groups bearing different "ethnicities" face one another. The study of ethnicity is thus not so much concerned with the cultural traits inherent to an

individual's or group's ethnicity as it is in understanding how the collectivity is bound together by a shared ethnic identity (Barth, 1969: 16). This emphasis on the social relations of the ethnic group as opposed to the cultural content signifies that ethnicity is more than just a combination of cultural traits. It is part of the larger phenomenon of inter-group relations.

The concept of ethnic community is also important to this thesis, and requires some clarification. It is often used interchangeably with the concept of ethnic group. However, the concept should be regarded as more than this. An ethnic community must first have as its basis a descent group as a means of providing a sense of exclusivity of membership. Second, an ethnic community must have an established relationship with the larger society which is developed by way of ethnic community leaders who act as spokespersons for the community at large (Arensberg and Kimball, 1965: 18-20).² In the opinion of Arensberg and Kimball, the purpose of an ethnic community is to encourage the temporal continuity of an ethnic group (1965: 21). The question as to why an ethnic community or ethnic differentiation for that matter have continuity has been the source of considerable debate, and one which will be addressed in this study.

Some scholars have focused on the arrival and settlement of ethnic groups, the eventual disappearance of ethno-cultural traits and the group's expected assimilation

into the larger society as the thrust of their research. However, contradicting this view are the numerous "ethnic" grocers and restaurants in the "Little Italies" and "Chinatowns" and other neighbourhoods of a similar nature across Canada. Thus it seems that a process of ethnic differentiation is occurring between ethnic groups and the larger society. This process begins when the immigrant enters the receiving society. He or she may not be prepared to use the host institutions if a language barrier prevents the individual from interacting with English speakers. In this case, the ethnic community, including its neighbourhood, formal organizations, and even a number of ethnic places of work, is useful in introducing and helping the immigrant adjust to the receiving society, its language and culture.

It should be noted that ethnic differentiation is not only confined to the retention of distinctive components of ethnicity such as language and customs. Other more subtle forms of ethnic identity can similarly persist, especially among second and third generation immigrants who continue to identify with the origin group although they have been socialized to the host language and culture. For persons in the first generation, ethnicity is usually a total phenomenon involving the retention of an ancestral language, customs, experiences and memories from the homeland. However, in the second and third generations, ethnicity may become partialized and may

involve only the retention of abstract ethnic values (Nahirny and Fishman, 1965: 319). The reason for this partialization is that the children of immigrants can hardly have the same attachment as their parents to a heritage they have never experienced first hand.

Furthermore, ethnic identity can also be different among individuals in the immigrant population in that each person will have his or her own experiences and memories. Taken in this context, ethnic identity retention has numerous components including the participation of the immigrant in ethnic community activities, the retention of the ancestral mother tongue, and the social psychological dimension consisting of the way in which a person thinks of him or herself and the perceived relationship to his or her ancestry (Isajiw, 1974: 121).

Thus, ethnic differentiation persists because there exists linguistic, regional and other obstacles to communication and interaction among members of different ethnic groups, and because of the trust engendered by a shared ethnic identity among members of the same ethnic group which is passed on to consecutive generations. It is in this context of differentiation that minority language maintenance is examined as a component of ethnic identity retention. Ethnic differentiation is defined as a process whereby the cultural differences between ethnic groups and the larger society are enhanced (Vallee et al., 1957: 540-541) thereby maintaining the existence of the ethnic

groups. Differentiation is contrasted to assimilation in that the latter concept is defined as a process of merging of different ethnic groups and the larger society "... into one group with a common culture and identity" (Theodorson and Theodorson, 1969: 17).

Ethnic Differentiation in Canada

Evidence of official support for ethnic differentiation in Canada is provided by federal multiculturalism policy. The policy was enacted in 1972 to represent the interests of immigrants and their descendants in Canada. Ideally, it was designed to reflect the country's longstanding plural reality (Munro, 1979: 12), and it was to be geared toward the removal of cultural barriers to economic opportunity. However, as the policy purports only to address the "cultural barriers to full participation (of ethnic groups) in Canadian society", the actual practice has been to concentrate on non-material concerns (Stasiulis, 1980: 34). Stasiulis notes that the policy of multiculturalism has been applied in a twofold manner. First, to meet the ethnic groups' cultural needs; and second, to comply with their social, political and economic demands. However, in doing so, federal multiculturalism has depoliticized the needs of ethnic groups in their effort to achieve full equality with the charter groups (Ibid.,), and to gain a recognition for their contribution to Canadian society.

Despite its shortcomings, multiculturalism provides some degree of legal or official support for ethno-cultural diversity. However, the policy was only enacted following a move by the ethnic groups to extend support for diversity beyond the informal type they had established for themselves in this country. Thus, a process of ethnic differentiation has been occurring independent of official support for the maintenance of ethnic groups.

The situation of ethnic diversity follows two models in Canada. The first is the type of diversity that exists between the English and French charter groups, called "ethnic segmentation". It occurred with the arrival of French, and later, English colonists who displaced the indigenous Native People in order to establish separate institutional arrangements for themselves. The distinguishing feature of ethnic segmentation is that the particular ethnic groups exhibit a strong level of enclosure which is based on social relations along ethnic lines, and a compartmentalized structure of parallel institutions to serve the needs of members of the group (Breton, 1978: 57).

The second model of ethnic diversity and the one most pertinent to this study is referred to as "heterogeneous" diversity. It was produced in Canada when the two dominant charter groups opened the way toward the arrival of numerous immigrant groups from Europe and elsewhere. Once settled in Canada, these ethnic groups did

not have the material resources or the legal options available to them to establish a level of enclosure or compartmentalization as extensive as the dominant charter groups, and thus, they do not share the same status in Canadian society. In the early stages of Canadian immigration policy, the intent was to assimilate the non-charter groups either into the Anglo-Saxon or French cultures.³ However, as Breton (1978) remarks, the language problems and the rejection of the receiving-society precluded the possibility of assimilation for all non-charter groups, thereby forcing a situation of heterogeneity. The alternative elected by many newcomers and their descendants was to preserve their ethnic distinctiveness by establishing social relations along ethnic lines and an institutional arrangement to serve their members' needs, although on a far smaller scale than the English and French charter groups.⁴

Language

One of the first ethnic characteristics acquired by an individual is the language first learned in childhood, i.e., the mother tongue. For the individual, language is a socially inherited and enduring symbol of ethnic membership which provides not only a means of communication but also a sense of shared experiences. For instance, when the immigrant enters the receiving society and comes into contact with other persons who speak the ancestral mother

tongue, the sound of it evokes a common ancestry and heritage.

Although it is likely that many members of the second and third generations cannot speak the ancestral language, this need not imply a loss of ethnic loyalty or a shift in allegiance away from the ethnic group. Rather, it could imply that their ethnicity is simply not as total as it is among their parents. Thus, as Fishman argues "... marginal but yet functional ethnicity may linger on well after the ethnic mother tongue becomes completely lost" (1972: 58). It may be inferred from this that language maintenance is an important but not a necessary condition for ethnic group maintenance. Thus, although members of the second and third generations may have either never learned their ancestral mother tongue, or shifted to the dominant language for current language use, in both situations, they may choose to adopt other traits to symbolize their ethnic membership.⁵ As Fishman states, this marginal ethnicity may even engender a renewal of interest in minority languages. Thus there is a strong link between language and ethnicity such that language is a very powerful symbol of ethnicity (Giles, 1977: 1). This study will enquire into the characteristics of ethnic groups that have maintained their ancestral language as the key indicator of the strength of ethnic differentiation among ethnic groups.

There is a great deal to be learned about the

behaviour of linguistic groups in a multi-ethnic society⁶.

The study of (language maintenance and language shift) is concerned with the relationship between change in habitual language use, on the one hand, and on-going psychological or cultural processes, on the other hand, when populations differing in language are in contact with each other (Tabouret-Keller, 1968: 107).

The issue underlined in this quotation is that when two or more groups bearing different languages come into contact, their ability to interact is hampered by language barriers. What often occurs is that the "second" or minority languages experience either partial or total displacement vis a vis the dominant language. Based on the assumption that ancestral languages will be displaced, the thrust of this thesis is directed toward an examination of the degree of language maintenance and conversely language shift in a multi-ethnic society. Language shift is defined as "... the change in the habitual use of one language to that of another" (Weinreich, 1963: 68). Language maintenance is the continued use of a minority language in a multi-ethnic society.

It is important to point out that a minority group is not defined in terms of the number of members in the group vis a vis the majority group. Rather, a minority group is defined by its relationship of subordination to the majority group. Minority languages are thereby a reflection of the subordinate status of minority ethnic groups. When the dominant and minority groups reside in

proximity to one another, the dominant language will likely take precedence. However, when the two groups are segregated and inter-group relations tend to be closed, the minority language will have more opportunities to be used and it will likely be maintained (Ross, 1979: 7). The members of an ethnic group may attempt to overcome their minority status by abandoning the characteristics which make them distinctive. However, this is not easily accomplished because the dominant group may not be prepared to share the social, economic and political advantages it has already acquired. Alternatively, members of a minority group may wish to assert themselves on the basis of their ethnicity, and especially their mother tongue (Ross, 1979: 9) to obtain social, economic and political advantages which were denied in the past.

Most studies on language maintenance in Canada have been devoted to an examination of French language use outside the province of Québec. The objective was to determine the degree to which the minority language is retained as the indicator of the ethnic group's assimilation into a dominantly English speaking society (Lieberson, 1970; Joy, 1972; Vallee and Dufour, 1974; Castonguay and Marion, 1974). By the mid 1970s it was realized that there was a paucity of research on Canada's non-official language groups. A notable development in research on minority language retention began with the study carried out on ten non-official language groups in

five Canadian cities by O'Bryan, Reitz and Kuplowska (1976). This has been followed by research conducted on individual ethnolinguistic groups in western Canada (Anderson, 1978). Although these are noble contributions to the study of minority language maintenance in Canada they have failed to assess the impact of factors that may influence language retention. These factors include purely demographic variables such as group size and recency of settlement or factors related to features of ethnic social organization such as residential segregation, occupational segregation and group resources, or state policies and practices.

This thesis examines the factors related to minority language maintenance which, in turn, is treated as an important indicator of ethnic differentiation. Factors that enhance or deter minority language maintenance can be either related to the ethnic community, or to legislative or policy decisions within the larger society.⁷ Due to the magnitude of the issue only two sets of factors related to the characteristics of ethnic communities will be examined here. These are, first, two basic demographic characteristics of ethnic groups - group size and period of immigration of the foreign-born. The other factors to be examined pertain to the social organization of an ethnic community. They are: the degree of residential segregation, occupational segregation and the strength of group resources. These features of ethnic community social

organization are important because it is assumed that the more persons are concentrated into ethnic neighbourhoods, work in ethnic occupations or participate extensively in ethnic formal organizations, the more likely it is that they will enjoy opportunities for minority language maintenance.

Conversely, when there is little concentration among members of an ethnic group, there are also fewer opportunities to speak the ancestral language, and thus language retention is less likely.

FOOTNOTES

1. Donald Avery (1979) provides an interesting account of Canadian immigration practices and the labour conditions of the numerous migrant workers from Europe in the pre-World War I period.
2. An ethnic community may have a geographical referent where members of the ethnic group can interact. This includes a neighbourhood in which a number of ethnic organizations and businesses are located, and perhaps, where a number of members have taken as their place of residence (Arensberg and Kimball, 1965: 19).
3. A number of articles in the book of selected readings on multiculturalism and immigration in Canada edited by H. Palmer (1975) document the firm intent to assimilate immigrants in the Anglo-dominant fabric of Canadian society.
4. Breton's classification of segmented and heterogeneous ethnic diversity borrowed from van den Berghe (1969) follows quite closely Lieberman's analysis of migrant superordination and migrant subordination (1961).
5. Another ethnic characteristic which may displace the importance of language is religion. Examples of tension over religious cleavages are found among Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland; Christians and Moslems in Lebanon; and Hindus and Moslems in India.
6. A multi-ethnic society is defined by Vallee (1975) as, "a political state which contains more than one major ethnic group" (167).
7. An example of such legislative or policy measures by the state are: the immigration and citizenship policies; the provision of educational and medical services and an urban infrastructure and; the representation and regulation of ethnic group interests within segments of the state (Stasiulis, 1980: 20).

CHAPTER II

HYPOTHESES AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the hypotheses to be tested and the research methodology utilized in this study. As stated in the introduction, the study analyzes language retention and language shift in the Finnish, German, Hungarian and Italian ethnic groups in metropolitan Toronto. The object is to discern the characteristics of ethnic groups which promote the retention of their ancestral languages in the face of pressures to assimilate to the dominant language and culture.

Hypotheses

The first factor which is hypothesized as accounting for language maintenance is the size of the ethnic group. This is determined according to the number of persons sharing a similar ethnic background as based on the individual's response to the ethnic origin question asked in the 1971 Census of Canada. A group's size may affect language maintenance in that the greater the numerical size of a particular ethnic group in a given metropolitan area, the higher the level of interaction amongst members, and the more strength they wield as a group to reinforce their language and ethnic identity. Ethnic groups with fewer members may find it difficult to

gain considerable strength to fend off pressures to assimilate toward the dominant group and culture. Indeed, if two groups have the same number of formal organizations and the same level of material resources, the group with the most members will be able to secure control over the smaller one (Bierstedt, 1950: 737).¹ It may, therefore, be hypothesized that:

- H) The greater the number of persons claiming a particular ethnic origin in a metropolitan area, the lower the level of language shift from the minority to the dominant language.

It is also likely that the period of immigration of the foreign-born members in an ethnic group is related to the level of language retention and shift. In this case, the longer the period of residence in Canada since immigration, the greater the "exposure to risk" of language shift. Persons who immigrated to Canada several decades ago are the population at risk of linguistic assimilation to the extent that they have had longer exposure to the host language. Conversely, persons who are more recent immigrants to a society have had less exposure to the culture and the dominant language for it to be used commonly by the immigrant population. Furthermore, the presence of recent immigrants within an ethnic group facilitates the retention of the ancestral language and ethnic identity among Canadian-born members of the group. The presence of a large number of recent immigrants provides a substantial number of minority language

speakers. Anderson and Frideres confirm that "the longer the length of residence in Canada since immigration, the less there will be an emphasis placed on ethnicity" (1981: 109). For this reason, it may be hypothesized that:

H2 The shorter the length of residence in Canada since immigration, the lower the level of language shift from the minority to the dominant language.

The first feature of ethnic social organization that is expected to encourage minority language maintenance is the degree of ethnic residential segregation of members of an ethnic group in a given area of a city. Residential segregation is defined as the varying degrees of overrepresentation and underrepresentation of ethnic minorities in certain areas and neighbourhoods of extreme cultural diversity (Richmond, 1972: 1). Recent studies by a number of researchers have shown that residential segregation is prevalent among minority ethnic groups in Canadian cities (Darroch and Marston, 1971; Richmond, 1972; Driedger and Church, 1974; Balakrishnan, 1976; Kalbach, 1981). This being the case, what is the impact on minority language retention? It is possible that, although some ethnic groups are few in number in comparison to other ethnic groups in a city, their residential concentration in a particular neighbourhood may be strong enough to reinforce the ethnic identity and language. The crucial

point here is that the isolation of members of the ethnic group from contact with members of the larger society may promote the retention of minority languages (Anderson and Frideres, 1981: 108). Thus, it may be hypothesized that:

H3 The higher the level of residential segregation of a particular ethnic group in neighbourhoods of a city, the lower the level of language shift from the minority to the dominant language.

Porter's analysis of The Vertical Mosaic indicates that ethnic segregation exists in our occupational structure. The author notes that when an ethnic group tends to be occupationally specific, with successive generations taking the same occupations, it can be said that ethnic affiliation is a factor in the assignment of occupational roles (1965: 74). He concluded that pronounced ethnic segregation has continued throughout the period he examined, between 1931 and 1961, and that many ethnic groups tend to remain in the same types of employment largely because of their entrance status² (Porter in Reitz, 1980: 150). Reitz notes that in all ethnic communities there exist some "ethnic work settings" and that in some cases up to one-third of an ethnic group's labour force may be concentrated in such settings (1980: 155). He suggests that whether the segregation occurs in professional or non-professional occupations, the very fact of segregation tends to reinforce ethnic group cohesion (156). In order to understand occupational segregation and

its impact on language maintenance, it is important, first of all, to discover whether the members of an ethnic group are overrepresented in particular occupations.

If this is found to be the case, it is then necessary to look at the nature of the job domain itself. The positive impact of a job domain on language maintenance depends on the nature of the work setting. The most important feature of a work setting is whether fluency in the dominant language is a necessary criterion for recruitment and performance in an occupation. When a large proportion of members of a group are concentrated in an occupational field where fluency in English is intrinsic to job performance, there will be less likelihood of minority language maintenance among those persons. If members of an ethnolinguistic group are concentrated in an occupation which does not demand fluency in English, there results a greater likelihood of minority language maintenance. Thus, it is important to examine both whether members of an ethnic group are overrepresented in a particular occupation and the nature of the work setting itself. It may, therefore, be hypothesized that:

H4 Members of ethnic groups who are concentrated in occupations which demand fluency in the dominant language, will have higher levels of language shift from the minority to the dominant language.

The final feature of ethnic social organization, critical to the study of language maintenance is the strength of group resources developed by the ethnic community. Group resources in this study refer to the level of participation in ethnic formal organizations which cater to the educational, religious, socio-cultural, mutual-benefit or professional interests of members of the groups as well as the degree of minority language media broadcasting which are established to promote the ancestral languages of the specific origin groups. The concept of group resources is modelled after Breton's (1964) concept of "institutional completeness" which refers to the level of formal organization of an ethnic community and its ability to attract immigrants within the social boundaries of the community.

It is anticipated that group resources are significant contributors to language maintenance, in that a community with extensive group resources will have more strength as an organized body to encourage persons to interact within the community structure. The fact that the community has a strong level of formal organization also means that there is less incentive by members of the origin group to use the institutions from the larger society. Inasmuch as the presence of formal organizations is important to minority language maintenance, a special emphasis is placed here on studying the strength of participation in the organizations. Thus, attention will

be placed on an examination of the proportion of members who actually participate in formal organizations. Additionally, attention is focused on the presence of minority language broadcasting since it enhances minority language maintenance by enabling members of the group to learn about events in their community and the host community without being forced to rely on broadcast formats in the dominant language. The presence of both formal organizations and minority language broadcasting enhance ethnic identity retention and the possibility of minority language maintenance. Thus, the final hypothesis is that:

- H5 The higher the level of group resources, as measured by the strength of participation in formal organizations and minority language broadcasting, the lower the level of language shift from the minority to the dominant language.

Research Methodology

Four ethnic groups are selected in this thesis so as to adopt a comparative approach to the study of language maintenance. The two criteria used to select groups are the number of members and the period of immigration of the foreign-born. For the criterion of size, the population figure of 100,000 was used: to be considered large a group had to exceed this number in metropolitan Toronto. Groups with fewer than this number in metropolitan Toronto were considered to be small. Thus, among minority ethnic groups in metropolitan Toronto, and according to 1971 Census of

Table 2.1 PERCENTAGE FOREIGN-BORN BY PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION,
SHOWING TOTAL PERCENTAGE BEFORE 1956 FOREIGN-
BORN AND CANADIAN-BORN, FOUR SELECTED ETHNIC
ORIGIN GROUPS, TORONTO CMA, 1971.

Period of Immigration	Ethnic Groups			
	Finnish	German	Hungarian	Italian
1966-1971	17.6	6.4	10.4	14.0
1961-1965	5.2	4.0	4.0	12.7
1956-1960	10.3	12.9	30.2	17.3
Before 1956	27.9	23.3	14.3	18.9
Canadian-Born	39.2	53.4	41.3	37.1
Total % Canadian-Born and Before 1956 Foreign-Born	67.1	76.7	55.6	56.0

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tape

Canada data, the ranking of ethnic groups from large to small is as follows: Italian, German, Hungarian and Finnish ethnic groups (Table 3.1 ahead).

The ethnic groups were also selected so as to permit a comparison between groups on the basis of the period of immigration of the foreign-born members, and thus to test the principle of exposure to risk. This is done by borrowing Kralt's (1977) formulation of "old" and "new" ethnic. However, I prefer to substitute the term "ethnic" for "immigrant". The terms were developed by Kralt based on his recognition of two periods in Canada's immigration history. His analysis considers that persons classified as "old" immigrant have generally had a greater exposure to the host society's culture and language and are the population at risk. On the other hand, persons classified as "new" immigrant are less susceptible to assimilation because they have had less exposure to the host culture and language.

Table 2.1 lists the period of immigration of the foreign-born and the percentage distribution of Canadian-born members in the four ethnic groups. The Italian and Hungarian groups show the largest proportion of immigrants having entered Canada after 1956 or "newer" immigrants; whereas the German and Finnish groups have the largest proportion of persons who entered Canada before 1956 or "older" immigrants. Although 1945 is the conventional date for distinguishing "older" and "newer"

immigrants (Kralt, 1977), 1956 was selected in this study because there is an insufficient number of cases in the Finnish and Hungarian samples to permit a significant comparison between ethnic groups. This year is also significant because the 1956 Hungarian revolution resulted in the arrival of a large number of Hungarians to Canada, and Toronto in particular. The overall classification of the oldness or newness of an ethnic group is based on the sum of "older" immigrants and Canadian-born members in an ethnic group. The Canadian-born are grouped with "older" immigrants because both categories have a strong exposure to risk of assimilation. Thus, table 2.1 also indicates that the Italian and Hungarian ethnic groups are "newer" because the sum of "older" immigrants and Canadian-born members is 56.0 and 55.6 percent, respectively. The Finnish and German ethnic groups are "older" because the total of "older" immigrants and Canadian-born is 67.1 and 76.7 percent, respectively.

The source of information for the dependent variable (language maintenance and shift) and a number of independent variables* (group size, period of immigration and occupational segregation) is the 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tape which is based on a one in hundred sample of Census respondents. Data for the fourth independent variable (residential segregation) is derived from the 1971 Census of Canada, Census Tract Series Area Aggregate Tape.

Finally, information for the last independent variable (group resources) was gathered during a two week period of field research in Toronto. A computerized list containing the names of all ethnic formal organizations was obtained from the Secretary of State, Multiculturalism Directorate. This list contained a total of 221 ethnic formal organizations. Included in these are a number of educational, religious, socio-cultural, mutual-benefit and professional organizations, although the Multiculturalism Directorate does not categorize them under these headings. Information on the three features of ethnic social organization will also be supplemented with recent data gathered from research conducted by Breton et al. (1981) on nine ethnic groups in metropolitan Toronto.

During the field research, meetings were held with the presidents of the main coordinating umbrella organizations in the Finnish (Finnish Canadian Cultural Federation), German (German Canadian Club), Hungarian (Canadian Hungarian Cultural Centre) and Italian (National Congress of Italian Canadians) communities. The intent was to confirm the number of formal organizations present in the respective communities, in addition to gathering background information on the ethnic groups in metropolitan Toronto. Through these interviews, it was found that the list provided by the Multiculturalism Directorate was incomplete. Thus, it was necessary to update the number to

259 formal organizations in all four communities. Later, telephone interviews were made to spokespersons from all educational, religious, socio-cultural, mutual-benefit and professional organizations affiliated with the specific communities to learn about the level of participation in the organizations and their function in the community. In general, the types of questions asked were of an open-ended style and varied with the nature of the organization. The questions are found in Appendix 3. The field research provided an indispensable source of information on the level of formal organization and the level of organizational participation in the four ethnic communities.

FOOTNOTES

1. Bierstedt (1950) also mentions that the level of strength or "social power" is affected by the level of social organization and material resources available to an ethnic group.
2. Porter defines entrance status as "implying lower level occupational roles and the subjection to processes of assimilation laid down and judged by the charter group" (1965: 63-64). He adds that over time the entrance status may improve or it may be permanent.

CHAPTER III

THE DISTRIBUTION OF ETHNIC GROUPS

AND LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

Introduction

Language is the most evident expression of a culture, the one which most readily distinguishes cultural groups even for the most superficial observer

(R.C.B.P., 1970: xxix).

As the above quotation suggests, minority language retention is a strong component of ethnic differentiation, and thus it was selected as the focus of the study. The present chapter pursues this theme and examines how the distribution of ethnic groups in the larger society is related to minority language retention. The factors used to describe distribution are two demographic characteristics (group size and period of immigration) and two features of ethnic social organization (residential segregation and occupational segregation). Empirical information on the four variables, which form the basis of the first four hypotheses given in Chapter II, are presented and discussed separately here.

GROUP SIZE

The first hypothesis suggests that ethnic groups with a large number of members will, for a variety of reasons, wield more strength as a group to reinforce their

ethnic identity and ancestral language. Italians and Germans represent the two large ethnic origin¹ groups in the sample comprising 10.3 percent and 4.4 percent of the total metropolitan Toronto population, respectively. Conversely, Hungarians and Finns form the two smaller origin groups, representing 0.9 percent and 0.3 percent of the population, respectively (Table 3.1).

In order to arrive at a measurement of minority language maintenance and shift, it is necessary to determine the extent to which members of the four ethnic groups have at least a knowledge of their group's ancestral language, or mother tongue². The Canadian census mother tongue question has undergone several changes since its introduction in 1901. In the 1971 Census, it enquired into the language learned by the individual in the past, and whether he or she still understands it now. Unfortunately, because it only pertains to the language used by the individual at one time and which he or she still understands, information on current language use is neglected by the wording of the question. An additional weakness, pointed out by deVries and Vallee (1980), applies to ethnic groups which have a settlement history of several generations in Canada. In this case, linguistic assimilation may have occurred as long as a century ago. As the authors suggest, for persons with a minority ethnic origin but with English mother tongue, English was likely the language first learned in childhood, and thus, language

shift likely occurred in an earlier generation (1980: 101). Language shift which in this case took place among the respondent's ancestors is referred to as "ancestral language shift". Alternatively, when the respondent's minority mother tongue corresponds to a minority ethnic origin, we are dealing with "ancestral language maintenance" (101). The equation for language shift is as follows:

$$\text{Ancestral Language Shift (ALS)} = \frac{\text{Ethnic Origin - Mother Tongue (EO) (MT)}}{\text{Ethnic Origin (EO)}} \times 100$$

Table 3.1 shows that those of Italian and German descent have the largest number of minority mother tongue claimants i.e., persons who still understand the ancestral language. But when these figures are translated into a percentage distribution, Germans register the lowest proportional distribution of minority mother tongue claimants (46.7 percent), well behind Hungarians (66.7 percent), Finns (69.1 percent) and Italians (79.6 percent). Thus, Italians outrank all other ethnic groups in the sample, both in terms of group size and numerical and percentage distribution of "other" mother tongue.

It is possible, based on the empirical information on mother tongue and ethnic origin, to develop an index of ancestral language shift for the four ethnic groups. In this manner, we can discern the extent to which the ancestral languages are being passed on from one generation

Table 3.1 POPULATION BY MOTHER TONGUE, SHOWING INDEX OF ANCESTRAL LANGUAGE SHIFT,
FOUR SELECTED ETHNIC ORIGIN GROUPS, TORONTO CMA, 1971.

Ethnic Origin	Total Ethnic Origin Population	% of Toronto Pop.	Mother Tongue		% "Other" Mother Tongue	Index of Ancestral Language Shift
			English	Other		
Italian	271,755	10.3	52,799	216,301	79.6	20.4
Finnish	8,920	4.4*	2,667	6,161*	69.1	30.9
Hungarian	23,350	0.9	7,161	15,567*	66.7	33.3
German	116,640	0.3	60,195	54,471	46.7	53.3

* The Finnish and Magyar are not given separate categories in the 1971 Census of Canada Public Use Sample Tape file. Both have been coded into the "other" mother tongue category.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Cat. 92-723. Bulletin, 1.4-3, Table 6;
1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tape

to the next. Table 3.1 illustrates, for instance, that according to the differences in mother tongue and ethnic origin figures, 53.3 percent of Germans in metropolitan Toronto have undergone ancestral language shift. This means that more than one half of those of German origin never had German as their mother tongue. Thus the pervasiveness of English mother tongue among members of this group is greatly influenced by language shift made at least in the generation prior to the respondent's birth. Ancestral language shift appears to be less prevalent in the case of Finns (30.9 percent), Hungarians (33.3 percent) and particularly Italians (20.4 percent) as shown by the greater coincidence of ethnic origin and mother tongue claimants in these three ethnic groups.

Overall, the data suggest that there is little relationship between the pattern of group size and the pattern of minority mother tongue. The largest group, the Italian, has the highest proportion of minority mother tongue claimants. However, the smallest group, the Finnish, boasts the second highest proportion of minority mother tongue claimants in the four groups. The second largest group, the German, has the smallest proportion of minority mother tongue claimants, while the Hungarian group has the third highest proportion of minority mother tongue claimants.

As stated earlier, mother tongue data is not the most practical method of measuring the strength of a

language community. To compensate for this, a question on language spoken most often in the home³ was included in the 1971 Census. Admittedly, the major shortcoming with this question is that it cannot provide information on language use in domains other than the home (deVries, 1981: 24).

Italians who have the largest proportion of minority mother tongue claimants, also report the largest proportion of minority home language claimants (67.8 percent) (Table 3.2). The ranking that follows is also similar to the ordering of minority mother tongue claimants in that Italians are followed by Hungarians (41.3 percent), Finns (40.2 percent) and Germans (21.0 percent). The only difference between the two tables is that the ordering of Hungarians and Finns is reversed. The fact that there is consistency in the pattern of minority mother tongue and home language claimants for the selected ethnic groups suggests that a similar pattern may also occur for language shift.

An efficient way of studying language shift is to develop an index to measure the coincidence of language knowledge and actual language use responses. The equation is derived from responses to the "language spoken most often in the home" question (indicator of current language use) and "mother tongue" question (indicator of language knowledge) in the Census. Where the two languages are identical there is a situation of "language retention or maintenance". If the mother tongue is dissimilar to the

Table 3.2 POPULATION BY LANGUAGE SPOKEN MOST OFTEN IN THE HOME, SHOWING INDEX OF LANGUAGE SHIFT, FOUR SELECTED ETHNIC ORIGIN GROUPS, TORONTO CMA, 1971.

Ethnic Origin	Home Language		% "Other" Home Language	Index of Language Shift
	English	Other		
Italian	85,887	184,234	67.8	14.8
Hungarian	13,284	9,651*	41.3	38.0
Finnish	5,242	3,586*	40.2	41.8
German	91,082	24,473	21.0	55.1

* The Finnish and Magyar home languages are given separate categories in the 1971 Census of Canada Public Use Sample Tape file. Both have been coded into the "other" home language category.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tape

current language used, there is a situation of "language transfer or shift". The following equation for language shift was developed by Savard et al. (1977).

$$\text{Language Shift (LS)} = \frac{\text{Mother Tongue (MT)} - \text{Home Language (HL)}}{\text{Mother Tongue (MT)}} \times 100$$

Current language shift is considered as more important than ancestral shift for the purpose of this study in that it provides an insight into language shift which takes place during an individual's lifetime.

The ranking of language shift given in table 3.2 places Italians with the lowest level of language shift (14.8 percent) followed by Hungarians (38.0 percent), Finns (41.8 percent) and Germans (55.1 percent). Thus, it appears that group size as a demographic characteristic taken by itself is not significantly associated with minority language maintenance in all ethnic groups. The example of the German ethnic group illustrates that although it is the second largest group, it has not maintained its ancestral language to the same extent as others. At the same time, the Finnish and Hungarian ethnic groups which are numerically weak register distinctly lower levels of language shift than the German group. Only the Italian ethnic group can be said to support the first hypothesis, namely that group size is inversely related to the level of language shift, whereas the three other groups

do not support the first hypothesis. It is likely that unless other factors are present, group size has no direct bearing on the level of language retention. As mentioned in Chapter II, Bierstedt's (1950) formulation of social power may be applied here. He suggests that though group size is indeed an important source of strength in a group's effort to fend off pressures to assimilate, unless it is accompanied by a strong level of social organization in the group and the availability of group resources, its overall strength is greatly reduced.

PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION

The second demographic characteristic of an ethnic group to be examined is that of period of immigration. It is hypothesized that a person's risk of language shift and thus ethnic assimilation increases with his or her length of residence in the receiving society (deVries and Vallee, 1980; Kralt, 1977). Anderson and Frideres suggest that with a lengthy period of residence in Canada, there is less emphasis put on language as a component of ethnicity (1981: 109).

As stated earlier, persons who immigrated before 1956 are termed "old" immigrant, while persons who immigrated in the more recent categories are termed "new" immigrant.⁴ In addition, the Canadian-born are considered to be under similar pressures of assimilation as the "old" immigrants because of their exposure to the receiving

culture and language.

The variation in language shift by period of immigration for each ethnic group will be examined. Before this, one important point to be made is that because the foreign-born have probably emigrated from the same country as their ethnic origin, it is likely that there will not be significant differences between mother tongue and ethnic origin responses especially for the "newer" immigrants. Should any differences be found they are likely attributable to individuals having forgotten their mother tongue, and this should only be common among the "older" immigrants and less frequent among "newer" immigrants. A second reason for any differences may be related to language shift among persons who have immigrated to other English-speaking countries prior to their arrival to Canada (deVries and Vallee, 1980: 113). The following is an examination of the extent to which minority mother tongue and minority home language are prevalent for each period of immigration in each ethnic group. Later, a discussion of the degree of language shift by period of immigration within and between the selected ethnic groups will be given.

Finnish Ethnic Group

Table 3.3 shows the percentage of minority mother tongue and home language claimants among Finns by period of immigration. It shows that 96.3 percent of Finns who

Table 3.3 PERCENTAGE MOTHER TONGUE AND HOME LANGUAGE BY PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION, FINNISH ORIGIN GROUP, TORONTO CMA, 1971.

Period of Immigration	Mother Tongue		Home Language	
	English	Other	English	Other
1966-1971	7.1	85.7	28.6	64.3
1961-1965	---	100.0	40.0	60.0
1956-1960	10.0	90.0	40.0	60.0
Before 1956	3.7	96.3	48.2	51.8
Canadian-Born	68.4	31.6	86.8	13.2

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tape

immigrated to Canada before 1956 claim Finnish as their mother tongue, while only 85.7 percent of those who immigrated between 1966 and 1971 claim Finnish mother tongue. These figures are difficult to interpret in that it would be expected that the largest proportion of Finnish mother tongue claimants be found among the most recent immigrants because they would be the least likely to have forgotten it. This aberration may be due to the very small number of Finns (97 cases) for the metropolitan Toronto sample in the 1971 Census, Public Use Sample Tape file. Thus caution is needed in the discussion of information on the Finnish ethnic group. Beyond this, table 3.3 shows that approximately 30 percent of Canadian-born Finns report Finnish as their mother tongue.

Examination of figures on language spoken most often in the home indicate less linguistic variation than was found with the mother tongue figures. In this case, only 51.8 percent of persons who immigrated before 1956 speaks Finnish in the home. This figure increases to 64.3 percent among those who entered Canada between 1966 and 1971. Not surprisingly, the lowest percentage distribution of Finnish home language is among the Canadian-born who have a high exposure to risk.

German Ethnic Group

There are strong variations in the proportion of German mother tongue claimants among the foreign-born in

Table 3.4 PERCENTAGE MOTHER TONGUE AND HOME LANGUAGE BY
PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION, GERMAN ORIGIN GROUP,
TORONTO CMA, 1971.

Period of Immigration	Mother Tongue		Home Language	
	English	Other	English	Other
1966-1971	21.3	74.7	46.7	48.0
1961-1965	25.5	70.2	55.3	42.6
1956-1960	5.2	93.5	59.5	39.2
Before 1956	8.3	89.1	62.7	36.6
Canadian-Born	87.3	11.7	94.8	4.9

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tape

the four immigration periods. Table 3.4 shows that the highest proportion of German mother tongue is among those who immigrated between 1956 and 1960 (93.5 percent). The lowest figure occurred for persons who immigrated between 1961 and 1965 (70.2 percent). Only 11.7 percent of Canadian-born Germans report German mother tongue. The greatest proportion of German home language is found among persons who immigrated to Canada between 1966 and 1971 (48.0 percent), while the lowest is among the "old" immigrants (36.6 percent). A most striking finding is that only 4.9 percent of the Canadian-born speak German in the home.

Overall, it appears that Germans with a shorter length of residence in Canada are less likely to have German as their mother tongue in comparison to others who have resided in Canada for a greater length of time. This pattern is not found with the home language figures in that the proportion of German home language tends to increase with the recency of settlement in Canada. The Canadian-born in the group have the lowest proportion of German mother tongue and home language claimants.

Hungarian Ethnic Group

Table 3.5 illustrates that Hungarians who immigrated to Canada between 1956 and 1960 have the highest proportion of Magyar mother tongue claimants (97.0 percent). Persons who immigrated to Canada before 1956

Table 3.5 PERCENTAGE MOTHER TONGUE AND HOME LANGUAGE BY
PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION, HUNGARIAN ORIGIN GROUP,
TORONTO CMA, 1971.

Period of Immigration	Mother Tongue		Home Language	
	English	Other	English	Other
1966-1971	---	95.6	17.4	69.6
1961-1965	11.1	88.9	44.4	55.6
1956-1960	1.5	97.0	36.8	63.2
Before 1956	9.4	81.3	65.6	31.3
Canadian-Born	68.8	30.1	79.6	20.4

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tape

register the lowest proportion of Magyar mother tongue (81.3 percent). The high proportion of Magyar mother tongue among those who immigrated between 1956 and 1960 may be because these persons also comprise the largest proportion of Hungarian immigrants to Canada. Their arrival is attributed to circumstances brought on by the Hungarian revolution during the fall of 1956. Table 3.5 also shows that just under one-third of Canadian-born Hungarians claim Magyar as their mother tongue.

The greatest proportion of Magyar home language is reported by persons who entered Canada between 1966 and 1971 (69.6 percent), while the lowest proportion occurs for those who entered Canada before 1956 (31.3 percent). The percentage distribution of Magyar home language for the period between 1956 and 1960 is equally high (63.2 percent). In sum, it appears that the proportion of Magyar mother tongue and home language increases with the recency of settlement of the foreign-born in Canada. Canadian-born Hungarians register both the lowest proportion of Magyar mother tongue and home language.

Italian Ethnic Group

Approximately 94.0 percent of Italian foreign-born in the four immigration periods report Italian as their mother tongue, in comparison to just over half of the Canadian-born (55.4 percent). Table 3.6 illustrates that Italian home language figures tend to increase with the

Table 3.6 PERCENTAGE MOTHER TONGUE AND HOME LANGUAGE BY PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION, ITALIAN ORIGIN GROUP, TORONTO CMA, 1971.

Period of Immigration	Mother Tongue		Home Language	
	English	Other	English	Other
1966-1971	5.1	92.5	10.5	87.2
1961-1965	4.7	93.8	13.9	85.2
1956-1960	3.5	95.7	16.7	83.3
Before 1956	6.0	93.3	26.4	73.4
Canadian-Born	44.2	55.4	55.2	44.2

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tape

recency of settlement of the foreign-born; from 73.4 percent among "old" immigrants to 87.2 percent among the "newer" immigrant categories. The proportion of Italian home language claimants among the Canadian-born is 44.2 percent. Generally, there is a very high degree of ancestral mother tongue and home language claimants among Italians in comparison to the distribution of minority language characteristics in the three other ethnic groups.

Table 3.7 shows the degree of language shift in the Finnish, German, Hungarian and Italian ethnic groups by period of immigration and the Canadian-born. The level of language shift among Finnish foreign-born is highest among "old" immigrants (46.2 percent). The figures are lowest for persons who immigrated to Canada between 1966 and 1971 (25.0 percent). Information on the German group indicates that minority language shift is higher in each immigration category than it is among the Finnish foreign-born, with the exception of German foreign-born in the 1961 to 1965 category. The degree of language shift decreases among German foreign-born with their length of residence in Canada, from a level of 58.9 percent among "old" immigrants to 35.7 percent among the most recent immigrants (between 1966 and 1971). It is noteworthy that the level of language shift among Canadian-born Finns and Germans is approximately 54 percent which is much higher than the figures for the Hungarian and Italian Canadian-born.

The variations in the levels of language shift

Table 3.7 INDICES OF LANGUAGE SHIFT BY PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION,
SHOWING THE INDEX OF LANGUAGE SHIFT FOR THE TOTAL
BEFORE 1956 FOREIGN-BORN AND CANADIAN-BORN, FOUR
SELECTED ETHNIC ORIGIN GROUPS, TORONTO CMA, 1971.

Period of Immigration	Ethnic Groups			
	Finnish	German	Hungarian	Italian
1966-1971	25.0	35.7	27.2	5.0
1961-1965	40.0	39.3	37.5	9.2
1956-1960	33.3	58.1	34.8	12.9
Before 1956	46.2	58.9	61.5	21.2
Canadian-Born	58.2	58.1	32.2	20.2
Total % Canadian-Born and Before 1956 Foreign-Born	50.1	58.6	46.3	20.8

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tape

among Hungarian foreign-born show highly significant decreases between "old" immigrants and the most recent immigrants. The degree of language shift among "old" immigrant Hungarians is higher (61.5 percent) than among "old" immigrant Finns, Germans and Italians but the level of language shift drops to 27.2 percent for Hungarians who immigrated to Canada between 1966 and 1971. The level of language shift among Canadian-born Hungarians is second after Canadian-born Italians (32.2 percent). The level of language shift for Italian foreign-born in all periods of immigration is the lowest among the four ethnic groups in each category. For the Italian foreign-born, the highest level of language shift occurs among those who immigrated to Canada before 1956 (21.2 percent) and the lowest is among persons who immigrated to Canada between 1966 and 1971 (5.0 percent). Thus, the degree of language shift in the group has increased with the length of residence of the foreign-born in Canada. The level of language shift among Canadian-born Italians (20.2 percent) is the lowest level for all Canadian-born in the four ethnic groups.

U Thus, the data presented on language shift by period of immigration demonstrate that Germans consistently exhibit the highest level of language shift for each immigration category in comparison to Finns, Hungarians and Italians, albeit with the exception of Hungarian "old" immigrants who show a higher level of language shift than "old" immigrant Germans. Conversely, all Italian

foreign-born and their Canadian-born descendants show the lowest incidence of language shift for the four ethnic groups. At the same time, the Finnish and Hungarian foreign-born categories generally show moderate levels of language shift.

The empirical information supports the second hypothesis: it was found that the level of language shift from the minority to the dominant language increases in likelihood with the individual's length of residence in the receiving society. The data also confirm that the principle of exposure to risk of assimilation is applicable to the study of language maintenance.

Ethnic groups with a large proportion of "old" immigrants and Canadian-born combined (Germans and Finns) tend to have a higher level of language shift for the ethnic group as a whole (58.6 percent and 50.1 percent, respectively) in comparison to ethnic groups with a smaller proportion of combined "old" immigrants and Canadian-born (Italians and Hungarians) (20.8 percent and 46.3 percent, respectively). This suggests that having a large proportion of members of an ethnic group who have had greater exposure to the receiving society's culture and language leads to a diminishing emphasis on the use of the ancestral language.

In sum, it is likely that language shift is influenced by the combined impact of both demographic and other variables rather than a single characteristics taken

alone. Because the Italian group is both numerically large and a "newer" ethnic group, the level of language shift is comparatively low. On the other hand, each of the three other ethnic groups has at least one demographic criterion that hinders a high level of minority language maintenance. The Finnish group is both numerically small and an "older" group; the Hungarian group is small but it is considered a "newer" ethnic group. Taking both of these characteristics together, language shift is expected to be higher in both groups than it is in the Italian group. However, the demographic data show some weakness in explaining why language shift is pronounced in the German group, which is large but an "older" ethnic group. According to the first and second hypotheses, it would be expected that language shift be highest in the Finnish group rather than the German group. There may be two reasons for the higher level of language shift among Germans. First, they have a longer immigration history in Southern Ontario which dates to the 17th century. Finns only began to settle in the same region in the 19th century (Saarinen, 1981). Thus Germans have a higher exposure to risk. Also, wartime hostilities during both World War I and World War II may have prompted Germans to assimilate to the dominant culture and language of the region, and significantly hinder the speaking of German, particularly in the public realm.

RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION

There is a tendency among immigrant ethnic groups in Canada toward spatial patterns of residential clustering, both in neighbourhoods distinct from the British and French charter groups, and separate from one another. The city of Toronto provides a classic example of the ethnic diversity characteristic of many major urban centres across the world. The fact that Toronto was already an expanding city with a diversified economy by the end of World War I, made it attractive for many immigrants. Historically, Toronto had a predominantly British ethnic population (English, Irish, Scottish and Welsh) intermixed with a variety of ethnic groups from northern and western Europe and the United States. However, the liberalization of Canada's immigration policies in the post-World War II period⁵ altered the city's ethnic composition (Kalbach, 1981). The result is that Toronto has the highest proportion of postwar immigrants of all Canadian cities (Richmond, 1967).

It appears that the pattern of residential clustering in Toronto has followed the changes in the countries of origin of immigrants to Canada (Kalbach and McVey, 1979). Until World War II, immigrants from the "preferred countries" in northern and western Europe and the United States were briefly concentrated in neighbourhoods away from the British core group and away

from one another. By the period 1941 to 1951, these ethnic groups were assimilated into the dominant Anglo-Saxon culture in Toronto and their level of residential segregation eventually declined (Kalbach, 1981: 5). With the end of World War II, the admission of eastern and southern European immigrants, and more recently non-European immigrants drastically altered Toronto's ethnic composition. For example, in 1921 those of British origin formed 85.3 percent of the total metropolitan Toronto population, while by 1971 the figure dropped to 56.9 percent of the total population (Kalbach, 1981: 7). Ethnic groups who have immigrated to the city in more recent years also developed a pattern of residential segregation. However, unlike immigrants from the earlier preferred countries, these later immigrants have not dispersed residentially in similar proportions. Many have only shifted their area of concentration from the less fashionable districts in the heart of the city to the suburban areas of Toronto (e.g., Mississauga and Scarborough).

Much of the sociological research on this topic focuses on the reasons for the persistent patterns of ethnic concentration (Balakrishnan, 1976: 481). The problem for many researchers is to account for the continued persistence of ethnic neighbourhoods in which reside not only many of the first generation but also many of the second and third generation offspring.

The early theories of ethnic concentration, patterned after Burgess' classic model of urban growth (1967), suggested that the socioeconomic or social class differences between ethnic groups accounted for the pattern of spatial segregation (Guest and Weed, 1976). The assumption was that immigrants having a low economic status are forced to establish themselves in the business or industrial areas of the city in order to be nearer to places of employment and public transit. These often turned out to be the slum areas of the city. In a paper detailing early Italian immigration to Toronto, Zucchi (1981) points out that the Italian ethnic group was primarily established in the non-fashionable St-John's Ward because of a common need for cheap accommodation, proximity to the work site and transportation services. The fact that other Italians lived in the area was only a secondary consideration (1981: 4). However, Kalbach (1981) noted that although economic reasons are an impetus for residential segregation, the Italian ethnic group, among others, has shown continued spatial segregation over several generations of residence since their arrival in Toronto. This implies that there is more to the persistence of spatial differentiation than can be accounted for by social class factors. Both Richmond (1972) and Kalbach (1981) observe that not only do ethnic groups have neighbourhoods in various parts of Toronto but that within these neighbourhoods there can be found a

mixture of socioeconomic backgrounds among residents. As Darroch and Marston concluded in their Toronto area study, "... the socioeconomic model of ethnic residential segregation ... was inadequate when confronted with the full range of observed social patterns" (1971: 506).

Due to the socioeconomic model's failure to account for the persistence of ethnic segregation among members of ethnic groups with diverse socioeconomic positions, an alternative approach was developed by social ecologists which examines the ethnic underpinnings of residential segregation. They suggest that spatial segregation is indicative of a desire by members of the groups to maintain an ethnic identity. For this reason, ethnic neighbourhoods are organized to provide a wide range of institutions which operate to maintain ethnic identity (Richmond, 1972; Driedger and Church, 1974). This approach, referred to as a socio-cultural model, treats ethnic residential segregation as the outcome of a desire among members of a community to remain in proximity to one another for reasons of language, religion, politics or other components of ethnic identity.

In this thesis, it is assumed that the determinants of spatial segregation are a combination of socioeconomic and socio-cultural factors. It is likely that immigrants first select a place of residence for financial reasons but later may choose to remain in that neighbourhood in order to maintain contact with the ethnic community and its

Table 3.8 INDEX OF RESIDENTIAL DISSIMILARITY, FOUR
SELECTED ETHNIC ORIGIN GROUPS, TORONTO CMA,
1971.⁶

<u>Ethnic Origin</u>	<u>Index of Residential Dissimilarity</u>
German	14.0
Hungarian	35.0
Finnish	40.0
Italian	57.0

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Census Tract Series
Aggregate Tape.

culture. For many sponsored immigrants, it is important to live near relatives and friends not only for financial support but also for emotional support (Richmond, 1972: 50). The immediate concern in the thesis is to test whether residential segregation promotes minority language retention. Evidence of the strong association between ethnic segregation and ethnic identity is given by Kalbach (1981). He observed that the Italian, Jewish and Chinese ethnic groups have high levels of residential dissimilarity from the British group in Toronto, and also have a higher proportion of members who regard their ethnic origin as important. Thus, it is likely that highly concentrated ethnic neighbourhoods can more easily foster minority language retention than a diverse neighbourhood.

An index of residential segregation among the four selected origin groups in metropolitan Toronto is provided in table 3.8. The index indicates the proportion of one group which would have to be displaced in order to be distributed evenly with the reference group. The British origin population is used as the reference group because it is the majority group in metropolitan Toronto (Richmond, 1972: 8). The potential values in the index range from zero (no dissimilarity) to 100 (extreme dissimilarity). The information for the index is taken from the 1971 Census of Canada, Census Tract Series Area Aggregate Tape.

A strong dissimilarity exists between the Italian group and the British (57 percent), and to a lesser extent

between the Finnish group and the British (40 percent), and the Hungarian group and the British (35 percent). The German group exhibits the lowest level of spatial dissimilarity from the British reference group (14 percent). The segregation pattern for the four ethnic groups is consistent with observations made in other research on spatial segregation in metropolitan Toronto (Kalbach, 1981). It is also compatible with figures on the degree of spatial segregation of Italians and Germans in Toronto provided in other studies (Darroch and Marston, 1971; Richmond, 1972; Balakrishnan, 1976). In each of these studies, it was shown that Germans are more spatially assimilated to the British while Italians are strongly segregated.

In light of the differences found between the selected ethnic groups, it would be useful to examine the trends in the degree of residential segregation within and between ethnic groups over time to determine the extent to which ethnic residential segregation may be only a passing phase in the life of an ethnic group in the larger society. This is done by comparing the level of residential segregation by generation and by period of immigration. The information is obtained from Kalbach's (1981) study of residential segregation among minority ethnic groups and the third generation and over British origin group in metropolitan Toronto. The Finnish group is omitted from the table because it was not included in Kalbach's study.

Table 3.9 INDEX OF RESIDENTIAL DISSIMILARITY BY
GENERATION AND PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION FOR
THE FOREIGN-BORN, PERSONS 15 YEARS OF AGE
AND OVER, THREE OF FOUR SELECTED ETHNIC
ORIGIN GROUPS, TORONTO CMA, 1971

Ethnic Origin	Generation			Period of Immigration		
	First	Second	Third	Pre-1946	1946-1960	1961-1971
German	19.5	20.2	15.8	33.2	21.7	29.6
Hungarian	36.2	46.1	76.9	55.3	51.4	52.8
Italian	60.9	32.4	40.1	47.9	59.7	66.3

Source: Special tabulation of the 1971 Census of Canada by
Census tract provided by Statistics Canada
(Kalbach 1981).

From Table 3.9, there appears to be no consistent trend in the pattern of residential dissimilarity between groups by generation or by period of immigration. The level of residential dissimilarity appears to have noticeably decreased over the first two generations among Italians (from 60.9 percent to 32.4 percent), and then increases in the third generation group (40.1 percent). A decrease also occurs among Germans (19.5 percent to 15.8 percent), although the drop among Germans is not as drastic as it is among Italians. Hungarians, in contrast, show an increase in their level of segregation over the three generations (from 36.2 percent to 76.9 percent).

The information listed by generation in Canada shows that Germans have, since the first generation, been more assimilated to the British than Italians and Hungarians, and that this level of similarity is increasing. Italians begin as the most segregated group from the British in the first generation but show signs of residential dispersal by the second and third generation. The trend toward increasing spatial segregation among Hungarians is only cautiously accepted here, as Kalbach (1981) states no firm conclusions should be made with respect to this because of the small proportion of third generation Hungarians in metropolitan Toronto.

The index of dissimilarity by period of immigration in table 3.9 shows minimal change in the level of

segregation among Hungarian foreign-born in the three periods of immigration (from 55.3 percent to 52.8 percent), while among German foreign-born the level of segregation declines among the first two immigration periods (from 33.2 percent to 21.7 percent), and later increases among the most recent immigrants (29.6 percent). Italians register the highest increase between the level of segregation among the oldest immigrants to the most recent immigrants (from 47.9 percent to 66.3 percent).

Data on residential segregation by period of immigration show that Italians who immigrated to Canada between 1961 and 1971 maintain the highest level of residential dissimilarity from the British. Interestingly, Germans who immigrated to Canada between 1961 and 1971 are not only less segregated than Italians and Hungarians, but they are also less segregated than Germans and Hungarians who immigrated before 1946.

If the assimilationist perspective is accepted, it would be expected that as a person lives in the receiving society for a longer period of time, his or her place of residence would become increasingly similar to the host population. In this thesis, it is noted that although Hungarians show increased dissimilarity over time, the other ethnic groups have become more similar to the reference population in terms of place of residence. However, for Germans the degree of similarity is far greater than it is for Italians who have developed a high

Table 3.10 INDEX OF RESIDENTIAL DISSIMILARITY AND INDEX
OF LANGUAGE SHIFT, FOUR SELECTED ETHNIC
ORIGIN GROUPS, TORONTO CMA, 1971.

Ethnic Origin	Index of Residential Dissimilarity	Index of Language Shift
German	14.0	55.1
Hungarian	35.0	38.0
Finnish	40.0	41.8
Italian	57.0	14.8

Source: Based on Table 3.2 and Table 3.8.

though stable level of concentration.

Research on residential segregation among minority ethnic groups in the United States and Canada concluded that ethnic groups which are concentrated in neighbourhoods tend to have a better ability to fend off pressures to assimilate and reinforce their ethnic identity (Lieberson, 1961; Darroch and Marston, 1971; Richmond, 1972; Driedger and Church, 1974; Balakrishnan, 1976; Kalbach, 1981).

Kalbach, (1981) observes that residential segregation is so important that groups which are spatially segregated will also be segregated into other spheres of ethnic activity. This conclusion was supported by Driedger and Church (1974) who note, in their study of residential segregation in Winnipeg, that it often coincides with a pronounced level of institutional completeness. In addition, Duncan and Duncan (1963) observed a definite relationship between residential segregation and occupational stratification among minority ethnic groups in the United States.

To what extent is the index of residential dissimilarity related to minority language maintenance or shift? Table 3.10 relates the levels of residential dissimilarity in the four ethnic groups to their level of language shift. It is evident from this table that there exists a pronounced inverse relationship between the degree of segregation and language shift. The German ethnic group is the most spatially assimilated with the British population and has the highest level of language shift. At

the opposite extreme, the Italian ethnic group which is the most spatially distinct from the British has the least pronounced level of language shift. The Finnish and Hungarian ethnic groups fall into intermediate levels of language shift as well as being moderately segregated from the British origin group.

Thus, residential proximity to the receiving population correlates with commensurate degrees of language shift from the minority to the dominant language. This supports the study's third hypothesis that ethnic groups with a high degree of residential segregation tend to have a lower level of language shift from the minority to the dominant language, and that spatial isolation from the receiving group encourages minority language maintenance.

OCCUPATIONAL SEGREGATION

The distribution of persons into ethnic occupations is the result of either discrimination levelled against a minority ethnic group (Reitz, 1981), or the propensity of closely-knit ethnic groups to work in certain occupations with others from the same origin group. In the latter case, occupational segregation is highly significant to ethnic identity retention in that ethnic job domains are viewed as a means of accentuating and perpetuating ethnic loyalties (Hurd, 1937).

Previous studies have demonstrated that persons of particular ethnic groups are often occupationally concentrated (R.C.B.B., 1970: 38). There is known to be a large concentration of Jewish doctors, lawyers and retailers; Italian construction workers; Chinese restaurateurs and launderers; and East-Indian taxi-drivers. Porter (1965) noted in his seminal work, The Vertical Mosaic, that immigration status and ethnic affiliation are important to the formation of occupational roles, a correlate of social classes, in Canada. The material he gathered on occupational distributions for certain ethnic groups in Canada showed that immigrant entrance status is associated with the allocation of persons in jobs. Immigrants who entered Canada at a time when educational requirements were minimal often became assigned to less preferred occupations rejected by the charter group (1965: 63). Thus, ethnic affiliation has

contributed to the formation of the Canadian class structure.

Two questions need to be addressed in this section of the study. First, of the Finnish, German, Hungarian and Italian ethnic groups, which ones are most occupationally segregated? And, in what types of work settings are they most likely to be found? Both of these issues are the basis of the fourth hypothesis in this thesis.

There are two approaches that explain occupational segregation between ethnic groups, and both of them bear a relationship to ethnic identity retention. Briefly, the first approach assumes that the dominant group in the receiving society controls the allocation of occupational rewards⁷ because of their role as "gatekeepers" to a number of professions and unions (Reitz, 1982: 3). The gatekeeping activities are performed by members of the dominant group who have already established themselves in occupations and set a series of qualifications needed for recruitment into these occupations. The impact of the entry requirements is to exclude members of other ethnic groups. It is possible, however, that exceptions will occur. This happens when members of the dominant group adopt less restrictive requirements or standards for the inclusion of workers from minority ethnic groups, thereby - allowing a number of them into the dominant controlled occupations. It is also possible for members of the ethnic group who perceive that they are being excluded because of

their ethnicity, to conform to the cultural standards of the dominant group in order to be accepted (1982: 4). The ways of conforming can include the shedding of feelings of connectedness to the ethnic group (Kalbach, 1981) and also reducing the visibility of ethnically distinctive traits which may be disfavoured by the dominant group. Thus in reducing their level of ethnic distinctiveness, the members of the ethnic group will invariably experience a weakening of their ethnic identity. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the main shortcoming with the dominant group control approach is that it is based on the assumption that the minority group has little or no control over occupational rewards in the larger society, and in assuming this, it fails to explain how some ethnic groups have gained higher income rewards than members of the dominant group while still maintaining a strong degree of ethnic differentiation.

For instance, Jews are overrepresented in high income professional and sales occupations and there are a number of Italians in the construction industry earning high incomes. Both groups have a strong attachment to their ethnic identity. Studies by Reitz (1982) and Hechter (1978) show that a number of non-Anglo minority groups earn high incomes but are concentrated in lower status semi-skilled occupations. Thus, the dominant group control approach to ethnic occupational segregation is only pertinent as an explanation of variations in the

distribution of ethnic groups in professional and managerial occupations which are already occupied by the dominant group and from which the minority group is excluded. It has limited application for the understanding of how minority ethnic groups have achieved economic mobility in Canada as evidenced by Blishen (1970), Reitz (1982), and Richmond and Kalbach (1980).

A second approach to ethnic occupational segregation is introduced here to address the weaknesses in the first approach. It suggests that minority ethnic groups will become concentrated in occupations rejected by the dominant group. Once established in these jobs, the members may become their own "gatekeepers" to exclude outsiders from their jobs by controlling the requirements for entry (Breton, 1979). A good illustration of gatekeeping in a minority group is the well documented activities of middlemen as typified by the padrone system in the Italian community (Harney, 1975). Minority group control over an ethnic job domain is beneficial in that it can reduce the negative impact of discrimination and increase the allocation of occupational rewards across the ethnic group (Reitz, 1982: 10). Thus, it can be assumed that ethnic affiliation is an important dimension for the recruitment of persons into what have become "ethnic" occupations.

This leads to the second issue, namely minority language maintenance. Once it has been shown that members

of a minority group are concentrated in given occupations, it is important to consider the nature of the ethnic work setting. It is necessary to ask whether the occupation requires verbal skills in the dominant or minority language. In many professional occupations, it is essential that workers be fluent in the dominant language. Alternatively, typically ethnic work settings are often non-professional occupations and do not require fluency in the dominant language, it may even be an asset to have verbal skills in the minority language to further the worker's occupational rewards. For example, Reitz (1982) observed that South Europeans earned higher incomes in jobs where the minority language was spoken than in jobs where the dominant language was spoken (1982: 11). Moreover, it may be in the interest of members of the minority group to maintain their language as a symbol of loyalty to an ethnic group.⁸

The most succinct method of examining occupational segregation is to determine the overall distribution of Finns, Germans, Hungarians and Italians in Toronto's occupational structure, and to compare these figures with the distribution of the Toronto population as a whole. The degree of over-(under)representation of each of the ethnic groups in the particular occupational categories can then be calculated. The data is based on a sample of male and female 1971 Census of Canada respondents between the ages of 18 and 65 years.

Table 3.11 PERCENTAGE OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION, FOUR SELECTED ETHNIC ORIGIN GROUPS, TORONTO CMA, 1971.

Occupational Categories	Total Toronto Distribution	Ethnic Groups			
		Finnish	German	Hungarian	Italian
Managerial/ Administrative	5.4	2.0	7.4	0.8	1.1
Natural/Social Sciences	4.9	4.0	5.2	7.0	1.0
Teaching/ Medical	8.8	6.0	11.2	8.5	2.5
Clerical	22.9	26.0	21.8	23.4	9.3
Sales	10.1	6.0	10.6	7.0	7.0
Service	9.8	16.0	8.8	12.5	12.0
Farming/ Other Primary	1.2	--	0.8	1.6	1.4
Processing/ Machining	13.4	16.0	15.0	14.9	26.3
Construction	5.4	12.0	5.7	3.9	18.8
Transportation	3.1	2.0	1.8	1.6	2.7
Other Occupations	6.8	4.0	5.2	7.0	10.3
Occupation Not Stated	8.3	6.0	6.5	11.7	7.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tape

It should be noted that the occupation categories listed in the 1971 Census, Public Use Sample Tape are crude constructions because they include in a given category a number of distinct types of occupations.⁹ For example, the medical category consists not only of physicians but also nursing assistants and dental assistants. The service occupations comprise firefighters, hotel managers and baby sitters. Clearly, if the different jobs within each Census occupation category are compared to the scores on the Blishen socioeconomic index for occupations (Blishen and McRoberts, 1976), there can be found pronounced status differences. It is clear that accurate inferences into the nature of the work setting in which an individual is employed are not completely viable. Nonetheless, as problematic as the Census occupation categories appear to be, they are the only available data that can be used to compare occupational segregation and language shift.

Table 3.11 lists the occupational distribution in the Finnish, German, Hungarian and Italian communities. Approximately 19 percent of Germans and Hungarians, and 28 percent of Finns are concentrated in the non-professional processing and machining, and construction related occupations. This compares to the 45 percent of Italians who are concentrated in these occupations. Approximately four percent of Italians, 12 percent of Finns, 16 percent of Hungarians and 24 percent of Germans are employed in professional occupations (managerial and administrative;

Table 3.12 PERCENTAGE OVER-(UNDER) REPRESENTATION IN
OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES, FOUR SELECTED ETHNIC
ORIGIN GROUPS, TORONTO CMA, 1971.

Occupational Categories	Ethnic Groups			
	Finnish	German	Hungarian	Italian
Managerial/ Administrative	-3.4	+2.0	-4.6	-4.3
Natural/Social Sciences	-0.9	+0.3	+2.1	-3.9
Teaching/ Medical	-2.8	+2.4	-0.3	-6.3
Clerical	+3.1	-1.1	+0.5	-12.4
Sales	-3.9	+0.5	-3.1	-2.9
Service	+6.2	+1.0	+2.7	+2.2
Farming/ Other Primary	----	-0.4	+0.4	+0.2
Processing/ Machining	+2.6	+1.6	+1.5	+12.9
Construction	+6.6	+0.3	-1.5	+13.4
Transportation	-1.1	-1.3	-1.5	-0.4
Other Occupations	-2.8	-1.6	+0.2	+3.5
Occupation Not Stated	-2.3	-1.8	+3.4	-0.7

Source: Figures based on distributions in Table 3.11

natural and social sciences, teaching and medical). Table 3.12 draws upon this information to determine the differences in the occupational distribution of the selected groups in comparison to the Toronto reference population. Differences are expressed in terms of the degree of ethnic over-(under) representation.

Table 3.12 shows that the overall occupational distribution of Germans is more similar to the Toronto reference population than the occupational distribution of Finns, Hungarians and Italians. The only category to show any significant difference with the reference population is the teaching and medical related occupations (+2.4 percent). The similarity between the distribution of Germans and the reference population is consistent with studies by Reitz et al. (1981), and Richmond and Goldlust (1973) who observe a slight overrepresentation of Germans in professional job categories. In the semi-skilled and unskilled occupations in which Germans are employed, it is found that they are only marginally overrepresented in processing and machining (+1.6 percent) occupations.

Previous research has shown that Germans in non-professional occupations are more likely to be employed as tool and die makers, food and beverage processors, and machine operators and foremen (Reitz et al., 1981).

Finnish workers appear to be most overrepresented in construction (+6.6 percent) and service (+6.2 percent) occupations. Finns are most underrepresented in sales

(-3.9 percent), and managerial and administrative (3.4 percent) occupations. Hungarians do not register pronounced overrepresentation in any occupation, with the exception of service occupations (+2.7 percent). However, Hungarians are most underrepresented in managerial and administrative occupations (-4.6 percent).

Italians are shown to be significantly overrepresented in construction occupations (+13.4 percent) and in processing and machining jobs (+12.9 percent). They also register pronounced underrepresentation in clerical (-12.4 percent) occupations. The observation that Italians are largely absent from the professional occupations and concentrated in semi-skilled and unskilled occupations is supported by studies on Italians in Toronto conducted by Goldlust and Richmond (1973), Li (1978) and Reitz et al. (1981). The study on Italians in Montreal by Boissevain (1970) and the national studies by Porter (1965), and Kalbach and Richmond (1980) also confirm a similar pattern of Italian occupational segregation. Reitz et al. observe in their Toronto area study that Italian men are approximately 15 times more likely than men of other ethnic groups to be employed as stone masons and barbers, 12 times more likely to be labourers or plasterers, or six times more likely to be placed in a job related to excavation (1981: 39).

In sum, Italian workers in Toronto are clearly concentrated in the semi-skilled and unskilled occupations

to a greater degree than Finnish, German and Hungarian workers. One of the main characteristics of these "Italian" occupations is that verbal skills in the dominant language are not requisite. Furthermore, because a large proportion of Italians are in jobs where they are likely to work with other members of their ethnic group, there is even less incentive to use English. The professional occupations in which Italians, Finns, and Hungarian are underrepresented but Germans are overrepresented demand that workers have a thorough knowledge of English for recruitment and performance in the job. This reduces the incentive to speak the minority language.

Research by Li (1978) supports the finding that Germans have been absorbed into the Toronto occupational structure more than Italians. Research by O'Bryan et al. (1976) supports that Hungarians appear to be slightly underrepresented in non-professional occupations. Although no additional studies on occupational segregation among Finns was found, the present findings show that Finns are also underrepresented in professional occupations and overrepresented in non-professional occupations. The following is a presentation of information on the association between occupational segregation and language shift in the German, Hungarian and Italian ethnic groups. Table 3.13 shows that the quality of Finnish occupational data has been hampered by the small sample size for Finns in the 1971 Census Public Use Sample Tape file. Thus,

Table 3.13 NUMERICAL AND PERCENTAGE OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION,
SHOWING PERCENTAGE OVER-(UNDER) REPRESENTATION AND
INDEX OF LANGUAGE SHIFT, FINNISH ORIGIN GROUP,
TORONTO CMA, 1971.

Occupational Categories	Number	Percentage	Over-(Under) Representation	Index of Language Shift
Managerial/ Administrative	92	2.0	-3.4	---
Natural/ Social Sciences	184	4.0	-0.9	---
Teaching/ Medical	276	6.0	-2.8	50.0
Clerical	1,103	26.0	+3.1	66.7
Sales	276	6.0	-3.9	100.0
Service	736	16.0	+6.2	62.5
Farming/ Other Primary	--	--	---	---
Processing/ Machining	736	16.0	+2.6	37.5
Construction	551	12.0	+6.6	---
Transportation	92	2.0	-1.1	100.0
Other Occupations	184	4.0	-2.8	---
Occupation not stated	276	6.0	-2.3	50.0

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tape

Table 3.14 NUMERICAL AND PERCENTAGE OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION,
SHOWING PERCENTAGE OVER-(UNDER) REPRESENTATION AND
INDEX OF LANGUAGE SHIFT, GERMAN ORIGIN GROUP,
TORONTO CMA, 1971.

Occupational Categories	Number	Percentage	Over-(Under) Representation	Index of Language Shift
Managerial/ Administrative	4,737	7.4	+2.0	70.0
Natural/ Social Sciences	3,355	5.2	+0.3	50.0
Teaching/ Medical	7,204	11.2	+2.4	64.5
Clerical	14,013	21.8	-1.1	59.0
Sales	6,809	10.6	+0.5	61.0
Service	5,625	8.8	+1.0	52.9
Farming/ Other Primary	493	0.8	-0.4	66.6
Processing/ Machining	9,671	15.8	+1.6	59.7
Construction	3,651	5.7	+0.3	48.1
Transportation	1,184	1.8	-1.3	50.1
Other Occupations	3,355	5.2	-1.6	35.0
Occupation not stated	4,145	6.5	-1.8	63.7

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tape

information on this group will not be discussed.

German Ethnic Group

The degree of language shift among German workers shown in table 3.14 is highest in managerial and administrative, teaching and medical, and sales related occupations (over 60.0 percent). Individuals in the farming and other primary and related occupations also register a strong level of language shift (66.6 percent).

It is notable that Germans are overrepresented in the three occupational categories stated above, and slightly underrepresented in the farming and other primary related occupations. Interestingly, the likelihood of Germans being concentrated in these occupations has apparently not contributed to German language maintenance.

It is learned in table 3.14 that the lowest levels of language shift from German mother tongue to English home language occurs in construction related (48.1 percent) and the "other" occupations category (35.0 percent). Although these are the lowest levels of language shift, they are nevertheless quite pronounced.

The information in table 3.14 indicates that Germans experience little overrepresentation in any of the occupational categories in comparison to the Toronto population as a whole, and at the same time, they register levels of language shift of approximately 50 percent and over, with the exception of the level of language shift in

the "other" occupations category. Thus, it appears that the low probability of having German co-workers has discouraged German language maintenance.

It is also interesting that language shift is highest in those occupations where Germans are slightly overrepresented (managerial and administrative; teaching and medical; processing and machining), while it is lowest in occupations where Germans are slightly overrepresented as well (construction; natural and social sciences occupations).

The central explanation of language shift in the German ethnic group is that it is not so much influenced by the extent to which members of the groups are overrepresented in a particular occupation, as it is explained by the fact that these occupations demand a degree of fluency in English, and for this reason, there is little opportunity to encourage the use of German. It also seems that the level of language shift is lowest in construction and transportation related occupations because they carry with them a low demand for fluency in English. The low degree of language shift in the natural and social sciences occupations cannot be attributed to either the degree of ethnic concentration in a job or the demand for fluency in the dominant language.¹⁰ Similarly, the reason for a higher degree of language shift in the processing and machining jobs is not attributable to either of these reasons.

Table 3.15 NUMERICAL AND PERCENTAGE OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION,
SHOWING PERCENTAGE OVER-(UNDER)REPRESENTATION AND
INDEX OF LANGUAGE SHIFT, HUNGARIAN ORIGIN GROUP,
TORONTO CMA, 1971.

Occupational Categories	Number	Percentage	Over-(Under) Representation	Index of Language Shift
Managerial/ Administrative	104	0.8	-4.6	---
Natural/ Social Sciences	934	7.0	+2.1	66.7
Teaching/ Medical	1,142	8.5	-0.3	20.0
Clerical	3,113	23.4	+0.5	52.6
Sales	934	7.0	-2.7	66.7
Service	1,660	12.5	+0.4	41.7
Farming/ Other Primary	208	1.6	+1.5	100.0
Processing/ Machining	1,972	14.9	+1.5	38.9
Construction	519	3.9	-1.5	59.9
Transportation	208	1.6	-1.5	50.0
Other Occupations	934	7.0	+0.2	50.0
Occupation not stated	1,557	11.7	+3.4	45.4

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tape

Overall, it is likely that the presence of a strong level of ancestral language shift in the German group as a whole has deterred any tendency toward current language maintenance.

Hungarian Ethnic Group

Table 3.15 shows that the highest level of language shift from Magyar mother tongue to English home language, discounting the level of 100.0 percent in the farming and other primary occupations, can be found in natural and social sciences occupations and sales related occupations (66.7 percent). Hungarians are overrepresented in the natural and social sciences and underrepresented in the sales occupations.

The lowest level of language shift is among Hungarians employed in teaching and medical related occupations, wherein only one in five Hungarians experienced language shift. Persons in processing and machining occupations also register lower levels of language shift (38.9 percent). Hungarians are also slightly underrepresented in teaching and medical occupations and slightly overrepresented in processing and machining occupations.

The greater degree of language shift in natural and social science occupations appear to be influenced by the fact that although Hungarians are overrepresented, these jobs demand a relatively high degree of fluency in English

for recruitment and performance in these jobs. This reduces the incentive for minority language maintenance. Similarly, language shift is strong in sales occupations because English language fluency is also important for recruitment and performance. Finally, language shift is also strong in construction occupations because being employed in an occupation where an individual is less likely to have co-workers with a similar ethnic origin tends to deter minority language maintenance. Thus, even though it is not necessary to be fluent in English in order to be employed in the construction trades, minority language shift is still a common occurrence in a situation where the majority of co-workers are non-Hungarian.

The lower degree of language shift in processing and machining occupations is likely due to the fact that English language skills are not intrinsic to job performance, making it less necessary to speak English. Also the likelihood of Hungarian co-workers enhances Magyar language retention in this category. The reason for the low level of language shift in service occupations is less clear. Although Hungarians are overrepresented in service occupations, these jobs often require some fluency in English.

The lowest level of language shift from Magyar mother tongue to English home language is among persons employed in teaching and medical related occupations, wherein only one in five Hungarians experienced language

shift. This finding appears anomalous considering that competence in the dominant language is crucial for recruitment into these occupations. Also, Hungarians are underrepresented in this category so that it is not a typical occupation for members of the group. It may be, however, that a large proportion of Hungarians in this occupational category are part of the wave of Hungarian refugees to Canada who entered between 1956 and 1960. Among these immigrants 26 percent were skilled workers, 18 percent were vocationally trained, and 23 percent were in managerial or professional job categories before their arrival to Canada (Dreiszigler, 1982: 48). These Hungarian immigrants earned their employment qualifications in the minority language outside Canada in contrast to members of other ethnic groups who are more likely to have received their training in Canada.

Thus, Hungarians in teaching and medical related occupations have low levels of language shift because of the large number who immigrated with professional qualifications as refugees. However, it is anticipated that the second and third generation who subsequently enter these professional occupations will tend to have much higher levels of language shift because they will receive their training in English.

It seems that overrepresentation in an occupation is weakly related to the level of language retention among Hungarians. Occupational segregation must also be

Table 3.16 NUMERICAL AND PERCENTAGE OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION,
SHOWING PERCENTAGE OVER-(UNDER) REPRESENTATION AND
INDEX OF LANGUAGE SHIFT, ITALIAN ORIGIN GROUP,
TORONTO CMA, 1971.

Occupational Categories	Number	Percentage	Over-(Under) Representation	Index* of Language Shift
Managerial/ Administrative	1,532	1.1	-4.3	42.8
Natural/ Social Sciences	1,328	1.0	-3.9	66.7
Teaching/ Medical	3,268	2.5	-6.3	41.1
Clerical	12,459	9.3	-13.6	35.3
Sales	9,396	7.0	-3.1	20.6
Service	16,136	12.0	+2.2	17.0
Farming/ Other Primary	1,838	1.4	+0.2	13.3
Processing/ Machining	35,233	26.3	+12.9	8.5
Construction	25,225	18.8	+13.4	10.0
Transportation	3,677	2.7	-0.4	33.3
Other Occupations	13,787	10.3	+3.5	12.1
Occupation not stated	10,213	7.6	-0.7	27.0

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tape

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accompanied by persons being concentrated in occupations where fluency in English is not necessary for recruitment or intrinsic to performance of the job. In fact, being concentrated in an occupation where fluency in English is not important and where other members of an individual's ethnic group are concentrated encourages the likelihood of minority language retention.

Italian Ethnic Group

Examination of table 3.16 reveals that Italians employed in natural and social sciences occupations have the strongest level of language shift (66.7 percent). The second highest score of language shift is among persons employed in managerial and administrative occupations (42.8 percent). Italians are also underrepresented in both of these categories.

The lowest levels of language shift among Italian workers is in processing and machining occupations (8.5 percent) and construction occupations (10.0 percent). Italians are also significantly overrepresented in these two occupation categories.

There are two reasons which account for the strong degree of language shift in managerial and administrative, natural and social sciences occupations. First, because these occupations are considered to be among the professional categories, they require that persons be fluent in English in order to be eligible for recruitment.

and to successfully carry out the responsibilities entailed in the jobs to the satisfaction of the professional associations. Second, because Italians are underrepresented in each of these categories, there is little encouragement from co-workers to maintain linguistic differentiation.

Italians have pronounced underrepresentation in clerical occupations but show a moderate level of language shift (35.3 percent). This may be a function of the types of clerical positions held by Italians (e.g., Italian businesses).

The explanation for the lower levels of language shift in all semi-skilled and unskilled occupations is that these jobs do not carry with them a demand for fluency in English for recruitment or performance on the job. This results in less incentive to shift to the dominant language. In addition, Italians are largely overrepresented in these occupations, thus there is less encouragement from co-workers to use their ancestral language.

In sum, Italians follow, without exception, the expectation for low levels of language shift to occur in occupations where they are concentrated and especially in occupations which have little demand for English language fluency.

With reference to the study's fourth hypothesis, it was found that occupational segregation influences language

shift but the strength of the relationship is contingent upon the type of occupations in which workers are placed. For example, if persons are concentrated in occupations which demand fluency in English for recruitment and performance in a job, there are fewer opportunities and less incentive to use the minority language. Even though members of an ethnic group are overrepresented in such occupations, the degree of minority language maintenance is low.

If, on the other hand, members of an ethnic group are employed in occupations which do not typically require fluency in English, there is little need to shift to the dominant language. Furthermore, if members of an ethnic group are overrepresented in such occupations, there is a greater inducement from co-workers to maintain the minority language. Thus, the concentration of workers in jobs which do not demand fluency in the dominant language promotes minority language maintenance.

Summary

Information was presented in this chapter to determine how the distribution of members of the Finnish, German, Hungarian and Italian ethnic groups is associated with minority language maintenance in the larger society. The factors explored pertaining to distribution were two demographic characteristics (group size and period of

immigration) and two features of ethnic social organization (residential segregation and occupational segregation).

Although it was hypothesized that ethnic groups with a large number of members would wield more strength as a group to reinforce ethnic identity and the ancestral language, it was learned that group size is only slightly related to language maintenance. Indeed, Italians form the largest group and experience the lowest level of language shift. However, the two smaller groups, Finns and Hungarians, tend to have lower levels of language shift than the second largest group, Germans.

The second hypothesis dealt with the influence on language retention of the period of immigration. It was based on the principle of exposure to risk of ethnic assimilation which argues that a person's risk of assimilation increases with his or her length of residence. The information presented supported the study's second hypothesis: minority language maintenance increases with the length of residence of the foreign-born in the receiving society, thereby confirming the principle of exposure to risk. It also demonstrated that an ethnic group classified as "older" because of the high proportion of persons who immigrated to Canada before 1956 and the proportion of Canadian-born members will also have a higher level of language shift in the group as a whole than "newer" ethnic groups.

The first feature of ethnic social organization,

residential segregation, was based on the assumption that ethnic neighbourhoods have persisted in Toronto. This persistence was not only attributable to the socioeconomic differences between ethnic communities as some authors have argued (Lieberson, 1961), but is also a reflection of strong ethnic bonds between members of the community. The material furnished on residential segregation indicated that minority language maintenance is in fact enhanced when members of the ethnic group are clustered into distinctive neighbourhoods.

Occupational segregation was the second feature of ethnic social organization and the last component of the distribution of ethnic groups in the larger society to be investigated here. It was found that individuals excluded from dominant group controlled occupations tended to be concentrated in non-professional occupations which do not carry the same demand for verbal skills in the dominant language. Within non-professional occupations, the fact that fluency in English is not requisite for the job meant that ethnic distinctiveness and thus minority language retention were encouraged. Information will be presented in the following chapter on the impact of the final feature of ethnic social organization, group resources, on minority language maintenance.

FOOTNOTES

1. The ethnic origin question in the 1971 Census asks, "... to what ethnic or cultural group did you or your ancestors (on the male side) belong in coming to this continent?" (Kralt, 1974). The wording of the question is by no means problem free. deVries (1981), Lamy (1974) and Rydér (1955) discuss several flaws inherent to the question. For example, deVries notes that, "it is difficult to know whether we are dealing with an ethnic group proper ... or with some other related, concept such as race, tribe or nationality" (1981: 3). Nevertheless, I expect the Census to be the most feasible source of ethnic origin information.
2. Mother tongue is defined as the language first learned by the respondent in childhood and still understands (Kralt, 1974). There are a number of disadvantages with the mother tongue question which are discussed by deVries (1981). For example, there is no requirement for the individual to ever speak, or to have spoken their mother tongue (deVries, 1981: 15).
3. The home language question asks for the language spoken most often by the respondent in the home (Kralt, 1974). For additional remarks that deal with the problems inherent with the question, see deVries (1981). One notable shortcoming is that it neglects language use in places other than the home.
4. Kralt's first period consists of both immigrants and the Canadian-born descendants of persons who immigrated to Canada before 1945 as "old" ethnic. The second period deals with all immigrants who entered Canada after 1945 in addition to their Canadian-born offspring as "new" ethnic.
5. Freda Hawkins (1972) provides a well documented account of Canada's post-World War II immigration policies and practices.
6. Although these figures are only representative of the male population, it is anticipated that the inclusion of the female population would not result in substantial changes to the pattern of residential dissimilarity.
7. The types of occupational rewards may include job status, job security and income (Reitz, 1982).
8. The exception to this would be Jews who have been shown to have pronounced occupational segregation but also have a low level of minority language retention. It is likely that in this case, religion has replaced language as a symbol of ethnic loyalty for the group.
9. Appendix 2 lists the manner in which the major occupation groups from the 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tape file were grouped to form the 12 occupational categories used in this thesis.

10. Much of the European documentation in the natural sciences is often published in German. It may be that fluency in this language is desirable and perhaps accounts for a lower level of language shift in that occupational category.

CHAPTER IV

GROUP RESOURCES AND

LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

The final feature of ethnic social organization considered in this study is group resources. This variable is examined in two parts, namely the level of formal organization and minority language broadcasting. The concept of group resources refers to an ethnic group's organizational capacity, its ability to "... develop a social system of its own with control over its own institutions" (Driedger and Church, 1974: 31). In a study of immigrants in Montreal, Breton showed that the networks of personal interaction for the members of a given ethnic group will be confined to fellow members of that group to the extent that it possesses a set of institutions of its own (e.g., churches, schools, social clubs, etc.). The differences in the level of group resources is referred to as the level of "institutional completeness". The immigrant will be attracted to his or her ethnic community if it has a high level of institutional completeness. If a community possesses a low level of institutional completeness, the immigrant will be attracted to the wider community to satisfy his or her needs (1964: 193).

Thus, it is assumed that if an ethnic community has an elaborate structure of formal organizations and a large

amount of minority language broadcasting, the members of the ethnic group will be encouraged to interact within the boundaries of the community, and in doing so, ethnic differentiation is maintained between the minority group and the larger community. Minority language broadcasting also warrants special attention because it promotes interest in minority languages and provides a source of information for persons who might otherwise be ignored by the ethnic community because they do not understand either of the official languages. If minority language programming is not available for a particular group, a shift to the dominant language becomes more likely. The examination of the association between group resources and language retention begins with the presentation of information on formal organizations.

Formal Organizations

The process of transition from the homeland to the host society is filled with a series of adjustments ranging from the immigrant's search for employment and housing, to learning new laws and the dominant language. If these adjustments are problematic to many members of the ethnic group, they are seen as collective problems for the group as a whole to remedy. Thus, the group will develop a community structure to deal with the problems facing its members (Breton, 1981), as well as cultural maintenance activities to reinforce the customs and language of the

group. Ethnic formal organizations are mostly a new experience for immigrants, especially among individuals who originated from rural regions in their homeland. Additionally, many immigrants have likely never been obliged to take part in cultural maintenance activities prior to their arrival to the receiving society (Fishman and Nahirny, 1966: 156).

Ethnic organizations vary in size and function: some may serve the interests of very recent immigrants, while others cater to second and third generation members. An organization which serves recent immigrants encourages minority language maintenance, while one which serves Canadian-born members may be less inclined to focus on minority language maintenance. If an ethnic community has a large proportion of formal organizations which are geared toward cultural and language maintenance objectives, this will have positive implications for the continuity of the ancestral language. If, on the other hand, a community has few formal organizations with cultural and language maintenance objectives, this implies a marginal ethnicity that does not rest on the persistence of distinctive cultural traits such as language (Fishman and Nahirny, 1966: 157).

Data is given in this chapter on the presence or absence of an organizational structure. A special emphasis will be placed on the degree of participation of community members within the organizations which exist and its

association with minority language maintenance. The number of formal organizations per se is deemed less significant than organizational participation because some ethnic communities may be too small to warrant an elaborate organizational structure but they may have a large proportion of their members participating in their organizations

The group by group assessment of organizational participation was completed by devising a crude scale to assess two items. First, the presence or absence of certain organizations; second, the extent of potential organizational participation in various types of ethnic organizations, including those of educational, religious, socio-cultural, mutual-benefit and professional activities. In this manner, an ethnic community having a large proportion of its potential clientele participating in formal organizations is viewed as relatively strong, while a community with a lower proportion of potential participants is relatively weak. The potential clientele is the total population of a given ethnic origin in metropolitan Toronto. The following consists of an operationalization of each type of ethnic formal organization.

- (1) Educational organizations: These consist of organizations responsible for ancestral language classes established by the community. The level of participation in educational organizations is based on the number of persons (students) enrolled in language

classes in relation to the specific ethnic origin population.

- (2) Religious organizations: These refer to churches recognized as being affiliated with a given ethnic group. Participation in religious organizations is based on the number of persons registered as members of the religious population (congregation) of a specific church in relation to the specific ethnic origin population.
- (3) Socio-cultural organizations: These comprise social clubs, literary or artistic associations, or sports and recreation clubs which reinforce a communal social life and the group's "culture" or folklore. The level of participation is measured according to the average number of persons of a given ethnic origin population who participate regularly in these activities. Most participants may be actual registered members but not all.
- (4) Mutual-benefit organizations: These are organizations which cater to an individual's financial needs, provide counselling services, or function as a referral service. The level of participation is based on the number of persons of a given ethnic origin group who are registered as members in relation to the specific ethnic origin population.
- (5) Professional organizations: These are organizations which address the person's business or professional interests. The level of participation in professional organizations is based on the number of persons in an ethnic group who are registered as members in relation to the specific ethnic origin population.

The information listed in table 4.1 indicates the number of participants and the level of organizational participation in each ethnic communities' organizations.¹ The potential organizational participation is calculated by taking the number of persons who are registered as members in the given organizations (e.g., number of students in language classes, church congregation size, number of registered members in mutual-benefit and professional organizations) over the total specific ethnic origin population. In the case of socio-cultural clubs it is the average number of participants and not necessarily registered members of the clubs over the total ethnic population. The following equation is used to calculate organizational participation.

$$\text{Level of organizational participation} = \frac{\text{number of registered members}}{\text{total ethnic origin population}} \times 100$$

It should be noted that organizational participation is not a precise measure of the actual number of participants in organizational activities. It is based on the estimated number of persons who have the potential to participate in an organization. For this reason, two points need to be addressed. First, in the case of religious organizations, it is likely that not all persons who are registered as members of an ethnic affiliated church belong to the specific origin group. Furthermore, it may also be that when there is a coincidence between

Table 4.1(a) NUMBER OF EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, NUMBER OF STUDENTS AND PERCENTAGE ORGANIZATIONAL PARTICIPATION, FOUR SELECTED ETHNIC ORIGIN GROUPS, TORONTO CMA, 1982.

Ethnic Groups	Number of Organizations	Number of Students	% Organizational Participation
Finnish	1	120	1.3
Italian	1	3,000	1.1
Hungarian	1	250	1.1
German	1	200	0.2

Source: Author's data

ethnic origin and church membership such persons may not attend the religious services. Second, because of the variety of ethnic social clubs in each group, it may be that membership in socio-cultural organizations involves an overlapping of persons in a number of different social clubs. However, time and financial constraints prevent the possibility of controlling for duplications in organizational participation. It is assumed in this set of calculations that an individual is participating in only one organization of a specific type (e.g., socio-cultural).

Beginning with educational organizations, table 4.1(a) shows that the Finnish community has the strongest organizational participation in ancestral language classes (1.3 percent). The Hungarian and Italian communities are second (1.1 percent) and the German community has the weakest organizational participation in ancestral language classes (0.2 percent). Although the Finnish community registers the strongest organizational participation, it has fewer language classes and registered students than the other communities. Table 4.1(a) shows that the Italian community has the greatest number of classes and students followed by the Hungarian and German communities.

Most of the Finnish classes are the responsibility of the "Toronto Finnish Language School", an organization which receives much of its financial support from fund-raising activities by the community's umbrella organization, the "Toronto Finnish Advancement Society"

(Jalava, 1981: 104). Italian language classes are offered under the auspices of the "Centro Scuola e Cultura Italiana", an educational organization responsible for the preparation of a publication pertaining to Italian language textbooks. Magyar language classes are overseen by the "Hungarian School Board", while most German language classes are offered by the "Goethe Institute".

An important point with respect to minority language classes is that organizational participation levels in table 4.1(a) do not account for the number of students who may be enrolled in language classes offered by agencies other than the ethnic community. These might include classes given in the public school system at the elementary, secondary and post-secondary levels. It is believed that the lower level of organizational participation in the numerically large mother tongue groups (Italian and German) may be attributable to a movement away from community sponsored classes to minority language instruction offered by the provincial government through such projects as the "Heritage Language Program".²

Information obtained from the Ontario Ministry of Education indicates that Heritage classes are given in the German and Italian languages in the metropolitan Toronto school boards. For the period 1981-82, there were 117 and 26,695 students enrolled in German and Italian language classes, respectively, but there were no classes given in Finnish or Magyar (Ontario Ministry of Education, 1983).

Table 4.1(b) NUMBER OF RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS, SIZE OF CONGREGATION AND PERCENTAGE ORGANIZATIONAL PARTICIPATION, FOUR SELECTED ETHNIC ORIGIN GROUPS, GROUPS, TORONTO CMA, 1982.

Ethnic Groups	Number of Churches	Size of Congregation	% Organizational Participation
Italian	27	238,165	87.6
Finnish	5	3,026	33.9
Hungarian	7	2,329	10.0
German	12	5,697	4.8

-Source: Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, 1981;
 Catholic Church of Canada, 1983;
 Lutheran Church in America, Eastern Canada Synod, 1982;
 Presbyterian Church in Canada General Assembly, 1982;
 United Church in Canada, 1982.

Information in table 4.1(b) shows that all four ethnic communities have a number of affiliated ethnic churches. Their importance to individuals in the community is that they provide religious services in the ancestral language, and thereby allow newly arrived immigrants and others who have not become accustomed to one of Canada's official languages, the opportunity to worship in their ancestral language (Millett, 1979). For this reason, the church tends to be the first place of ethnic institutional activity when persons settle in the receiving society. Clergymen often act as spokespersons for members of the ethnic group to the larger society (Dreisziger, 1982: 90). It is likely that because religion generates strong feelings among many individuals, ethnic church attendance by immigrants and their descendants reinforces ethnic identity and ancestral language retention. Breton (1964) suggests that religious institutions serve to keep personal relations within the boundaries of the ethnic community (1964: 196).

The greatest number of ethnic churches are found in the Italian community (27) followed by the German (12), Hungarian (7) and the smallest number are in the Finnish community (5). Italian and German churches also have the largest total congregation sizes at 238,165 and 5,697 members, respectively. Finnish churches total 3,026 members, while Hungarian churches have the smallest total congregation size at 2,239 members. Italians obviously

have the strongest organizational participation in ethnic churches (87.6 percent). Finns are second (33.9 percent), Hungarians are third (10.0 percent) and Germans have the weakest organizational participation (4.8 percent) in ethnic churches. Almost all of the Italian churches are Roman Catholic. The churches in the three other communities are more diverse.

They include a number of Lutheran, United, Baptist and Presbyterian churches. That there is greater religious homogeneity among Italians may account for the pronounced strength of church participation. The church has always been central to the settlement of Italian immigrants (Jansen, 1978). The parish priest could often be relied upon to find at least temporary employment for the newly arrived immigrants. And, it appears that even with declining Italian immigration to Canada since the mid 1960s, the church is still meaningful to the vast majority of Italians who wish to recognize religious "rites of passage" in their own Italian church.

During the interview phase of research, the clergymen from the churches in all four communities were surveyed with respect to the perceived age distribution at minority language services.³ They were asked whether they observed a disproportionate number of parishioners over or under the age of forty attending the minority language service. According to their responses, the age distribution at minority language services appear to be

more evenly distributed in the Magyar and Italian services to the extent that six in seven pastors of Hungarian churches, and 20 in 27 pastors of Italian churches perceived that all age groups are represented in the minority language service. In contrast, only one in five pastors of Finnish churches and two in 12 pastors of German churches felt that all ages are represented in their minority language service.

The age differentials at minority language services have important implications for language maintenance. If in fact younger members (under the age of forty) are attending the minority language service, it is likely that minority language maintenance is enhanced. If, on the other hand, the majority of parishioners attending minority language services are older (over the age of forty), minority language shift will be prominent in the group. Thus, it could be argued that because Italians and Hungarians of all ages are more likely to attend a minority language service, language retention will be greater in both groups. However, even though Hungarians of all ages attend minority language services, the level of organizational participation by Hungarians is still lower than among Italians and Finns. Thus, although an equal number of younger and older persons of Hungarian origin attend minority language services, it is likely that a greater proportion of members attend religious services in churches outside the ethnic community or do not attend

Table 4.1(c) NUMBER OF SOCIO-CULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS, NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS AND PERCENTAGE ORGANIZATIONAL PARTICIPATION, FOUR SELECTED ETHNIC ORIGIN GROUPS, TORONTO CMA, 1982.

Ethnic Groups	Number of Organizations	Number of Participants	% Organizational Participation
Finnish	19	1,770	19.8
Italian	129	30,395	11.2
Hungarian	15	2,410	10.3
German	22	10,105	8.7

Source: Author's data

church at all.

Finnish have the second highest organizational participation in ethnic churches but here younger members of the group are not well represented at the Finnish language services. The absence of younger members may have an impact on the level of minority language shift in the Finnish group. Germans have the lowest level of organizational participation in ethnic churches, and they also have fewer younger members of the group in attendance at German language services. Both of these factors have important implications for the group in that it serves as a reflection of language shift among Germans.

Table 4.1(c) shows that the greatest number of socio-cultural organizations can be found in the Italian community (129). The German community has the second greatest number of organizations (22) followed by the Finnish (19). The Hungarian community has the fewest socio-cultural organizations (15). The greatest number of participants can be found in the Italian community (30,395), while fewer members of the German community (10,105), the Hungarian community (2,410) and the Finnish community (1,770) participate in socio-cultural organizations. Table 4.1(c) shows that the strongest level of organizational participation is found among persons of Finnish origin (19.8 percent), followed by Italians (11.2 percent) and Hungarians (10.3 percent). Germans have the weakest level of participation in socio-cultural

organizations (8.7 percent).

Many of the Finnish social clubs were developed by post-World War II immigrants whose objective was to provide an alternative to the previously established left-wing Finnish social clubs (Laine, 1981: 94). A similar trend occurred in the Hungarian socio-cultural organizations. Hungarians who arrived in the postwar period also opted for a movement away from radical politics and chose to establish social clubs which reflected a more conservative mood (Papp, 1979: 49).

A notable feature of the German and Italian socio-cultural organizations is that many of them represent regions or villages in their respective homelands. It is probable that Germans and Italians perceive these regions of origin to be closer to their ethnic identity than the German and Italian nations as such. Consequently, their involvement in socio-cultural organizations is limited to these regional-based social clubs. An important observation made by spokespersons from the social clubs in the four communities, is that the use of the ancestral language is more prevalent in the Italian clubs due to the presence of a large immigrant population. Hungarians also appear to frequently speak Magyar, but their level of organizational participation is slightly lower than among Italians. Spokespersons from the Finnish and German social clubs suggest that the use of their respective languages is mostly confined to the foreign-born

Table 4.1(d) NUMBER OF MUTUAL-BENEFIT ORGANIZATIONS, NUMBER OF MEMBERS AND STRENGTH OF ORGANIZATIONAL PARTICIPATION, FOUR SELECTED ETHNIC ORIGIN GROUPS, TORONTO CMA, 1982.

Ethnic Groups	Number of Organizations	Number of Members	% Organizational Participation
Italian	10	4,630	1.7
Hungarian	2	120	0.5
German	1	100	0.1
Finnish	--	--	--

Source: Author's data

members of the communities.

The Finnish community is the only one lacking mutual-benefit organizations in its organizational repertoire. It is primarily the "older" immigrant members of the German, Hungarian and Italian communities who take advantage of such services. Mutual-benefit organizations are generally used by individuals to assist them with their pension applications from the homeland and Canada, or to obtain medical or legal assistance. However, as many immigrants and their descendants have lately prospered in Toronto and elsewhere, most mutual-benefit societies have declined in importance. The reason for the decline is due to "... the greater sophistication of many immigrants and their descendants; the increased economic opportunities in Canada; and the introduction of Canada's public welfare system" (R.C.B.B., 1970: 108).

The largest number of mutual-benefit societies shown in table 4.1(d) are found in the Italian community (10). The German community has two, while the Hungarian community has one. The Italian community has the greatest number of clients to mutual-benefit societies (4,630) but it is likely that a small number of these clients belong to other ethnic groups. The Hungarian organizations count 120 members and the German organization counts 100 members. The Italian community also has the strongest level of organizational participation (1.7 percent). After the Italians are the Hungarians (0.5 percent) and the Germans,

who have the weakest level of participation (0.1 percent).

The three largest Italian mutual-benefit organizations, "COSTI IIAS", the "Columbus Centre" and "Comitato Pro Sette Fratti", all employ their own salaried staff. Because of the decline in Italian immigration, services offered by "COSTI IIAS", which is an amalgamation of an Italian and East Indian immigrant aid organization, have been extended to at least thirteen other ethnic groups. The extension of services into other minority languages is intended to assist individuals from less established ethnic communities. Mutual-benefit organizations in the Hungarian community tend to be viewed as vestiges of the community's left-wing politics which were mostly embraced by pre World War I immigrants. However, the "Hungarian Fund" was first established to raise funds for refugees from the 1956 revolution. Its present objectives are to raise money for scholarships and day care services to meet the needs of younger members of the community. It no longer adheres to a definite political orientation.

It was also learned from discussions with spokespersons from the mutual-benefit societies that because the organizations in the German, Hungarian and Italian communities are geared toward the assistance of their foreign-born members, there is a greater tendency for their clientele to converse in the ancestral language than in English. However, because organizational participation is relatively weak in these activities, it is doubtful that

Table 4.1(e) NUMBER OF PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, NUMBER OF MEMBERS AND PERCENTAGE ORGANIZATIONAL PARTICIPATION, FOUR SELECTED ETHNIC ORIGIN GROUPS, TORONTO CMA, 1982.

Ethnic Groups	Number of Organizations	Number of Members	% Organizational Participation
Hungarian	1	70	0.3
German	2	250	0.2
Italian	3	340	0.1
Finnish	--	--	--

Source: Author's data

this factor has an impact on minority language maintenance.

Table 4.1(e) indicates that the greatest number of professional organizations are found in the Italian community (3), followed by the German (2) and the Hungarian (1). None exist in the Finnish community. The small number of members in the Finnish community and their underrepresentation in occupations which commonly have professional organizations (e.g., medical, scientific, legal, sales and others) likely precludes their ability or need to form such organizations.

Overall, the strongest level of organizational participation in professional associations is found in the Hungarian community (0.3 percent). Germans have the second strongest level of organizational participation (0.2 percent) and Italians show the weakest level (0.1 percent). Participation levels in professional organizations are thus the lowest of all organizations. According to spokespersons from the organizations, the language spoken at meetings in the Italian and German professional associations is often English, whereas a spokesperson from the Hungarian organization indicated that Magyar is the language used most frequently at meetings. This may be because Germans and Italians in professional organizations are either "older" immigrants or Canadian-born who have shifted to the dominant language in order to be recruited into professional and sales occupations which likely demand fluency in either official language. Hungarians who speak

Magyar at meetings may be part of the wave of refugees who entered Canada between 1956 and 1957 and who may have obtained their professional qualifications in their ancestral language prior to their settlement.

In order to assess the impact of organizational participation on language shift, we need to order the strength of participation for the groups as a whole. This can be done by combining, in a crude fashion, the ranking of a group in terms of organizational participation, and allotting a value to each level of ranking (e.g., first - 4 points; second - 3 points; third - 2 points; fourth - 1 point; organization not present - 0 point). Thus, depending on the community's ranking in educational, religious, socio-cultural, mutual-benefit and professional organizations the overall strength scores could range from (0-4) very weak; (5-8) weak; (9-12) moderate; (13-16) strong; (17-20) very strong.

For example, the Finnish community is first in educational participation (4 points), second in religious participation (3 points), first in socio-cultural participation (4 points) and it does not have mutual-benefit or professional organizations. This totals 11 points so that the Finnish community is classified as moderate in terms of overall organizational participation.

Italians, on the other hand, are second in educational participation (3 points), first in religious participation

Table 4.2 ASSESSMENT OF STRENGTH OF ORGANIZATIONAL PARTICIPATION, NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONS AND INDEX OF LANGUAGE SHIFT, FOUR SELECTED ETHNIC ORIGIN GROUPS, TORONTO CMA, 1982.

Ethnic Origin	Total Number of Organizations	Assessment of Strength of Organizational Index of	
		Participation	Language Shift
Italian	170	(16) strong	14.8
Hungarian	26	(12) moderate	38.0
Finnish	25	(11) moderate	41.8
German	38	(7) weak	55.0

Source: Author's data and Table 3.2.

(4 points), second in socio-cultural participation (3 points), first in mutual-benefit participation (4 points) and third in professional organization participation (2 points). The total points mean that the Italian community is classified as "strong" in overall organizational participation.

According to this assessment, the strongest level of overall organizational participation is found in the Italian community, while the weakest is in the German community. Both the Finnish and Hungarian communities show moderate levels of overall organizational participation. Table 4.2 presents the assessment for the four communities.

If we contrast the number of formal organizations with the overall strength of organizational participation in a community, we would observe that the two measures of formal organization bear little direct relation. Only the Italian and Hungarian communities show a direct correlation between the number of organizations and the strength of participation. The Italian community has an elaborate organizational structure and strong overall participation. The Hungarian community has a moderate organizational structure and moderate overall organizational participation. The German community has the weakest organizational participation but possesses the second most elaborate organizational structure. The Finnish community registers moderate overall organizational participation but shows the fewest number of organizations.

It is important to note that the community with the strongest level of organizational participation also has the lowest level of language shift (Italian) and that the community with the weakest level of organizational participation has the highest level of language shift (German). The Hungarian and Finnish communities each have moderate overall organizational participation in addition to moderate levels of language shift. It thus appears that having a low level of participation in almost all organizations is inversely related to the level of language shift in an ethnic community. The fact that Germans are by far the least active members of an ethnic community, implies that they will develop fewer opportunities to reinforce their ethnic identity and ancestral language. In contrast to Germans, Italians are active members of ethnic organizations, thus they have developed a greater number of opportunities to reinforce their ethnicity and ancestral language.

It has been shown that the level of participation in all formal organizations is associated with the level of language shift. The data does not indicate, however, whether participation in certain types of organizations will have a greater influence on language shift than participation in others. It is noted that Italians have the strongest organizational participation in religious and mutual-benefit organizations, and they are ranked second in participation in educational and socio-cultural

organizations. It would not be justified from these findings to assume that participation in religious and mutual-benefit organizations is more important to language maintenance than participation in educational and socio-cultural organizations. In order to determine which organizations would have a greater impact on language maintenance, it would be necessary to discover whether persons who take part in formal organizations are the same ones who have retained their ancestral language, and this we cannot do with the data at hand.

Minority Language Broadcasting

There are two opposing views regarding minority language media⁴ in Canada. At one extreme, there are arguments stating that minority language broadcasting ghettoizes ethnic groups and balkanizes the larger society, and tends to breed inter-ethnic intolerance. At the opposite extreme, supporters of minority language programming claim that it is a reflection of Canada's ethnic diversity and that it must be embraced by all Canadians (Hanna et al., 1981: 2). The fact that 12.9 percent of Canada's population reported a mother tongue other than English or French in the 1971 Census suggests that there is a clientele to be serviced with media formats in the languages of diverse groups. In this section, material is presented which was collected on minority language broadcasting on AM and FM radio, and over the air and cable television stations in the Toronto area in the Finnish, German, Italian and Magyar languages.

The federal government has stated that the purpose of minority language broadcasting is to help immigrants adjust to Canada; to help ethnic groups maintain their languages and cultures; and to interpret ethnic groups to the larger anglophone and francophone societies (Hanna et al., 1981: 43).

Notwithstanding this mandate, only one percent of broadcast time in Canada is devoted to minority language programming. This seems to be hardly sufficient time to fulfill such wide-ranging objectives.

At present, the federal government which is responsible

for minority language broadcast services through the Broadcast Act of 1968, has been ambivalent in its assistance to ethnic groups which desire media in their own mother tongue. The policy of Canada's national broadcast network, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (C.B.C.), indicates that because it is a federal agency, it can only recognize the two official languages (English and French) in its programming. For this reason, minority language groups must depend on privately owned radio and television stations to provide services in their ancestral languages. Even in light of recommendations made in the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, that the C.B.C. remove its minority language broadcast restrictions, no changes have been made as yet. The authors of the Report believe that unless minority languages are given public support, the quality of programming will be vastly inferior to English and French program formats, and it will continue to deteriorate.

There is also a financial consideration with respect to minority language programming. Though the purpose of broadcasting in a group's ancestral language is ostensibly to encourage the maintenance of the group's culture and language, it appears that when minority language programming was introduced in Canada in the 1950s it was done more out of a desire to increase revenues for entrepreneurial backers. Entrepreneurs could purchase broadcast time and then sell commercial portions to backers. However, because minority language programming was usually limited to a small budget, these initiatives were often attempted with minimal technical resources or proper facilities

Table 4.3 NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE HOURS BROADCAST WEEKLY
IN SELECTED MINORITY LANGUAGES ON RADIO AND
TELEVISION, MINORITY MOTHER TONGUE POPULATION
(1971) AND INDEX OF LANGUAGE SHIFT, FOUR
SELECTED ETHNIC ORIGIN GROUPS, TORONTO CMA,
1981.

Language	Number of Hours Broadcast Weekly in Minority Language*	Percentage Weekly Hours Broadcast	Number of Minority Mother Tongue	Index of Language Shift
Italian	83.3	40.2	216,301	14.8
German	6.3	3.0	54,471	55.1
Magyar	2.5	1.2	15,567	38.0
Finnish	0.8	0.4	6,161	41.8
All Other Minority Language	114.1	55.2		
	<u>207.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>		

* These figures do not include minority language broadcasting on special cable transmissions on radio.

Source: Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation,
Broadcasting Guide to Programs for Ethnocultural
Communities in Ontario, 1981;
1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tape.

which made it difficult to attract additional advertising accounts needed to generate the financial support for the improvement of the quality of programming. Fortunately, the cable television companies which became popular in the 1960s were willing to contribute to minority language programming at a local level without being subject to the regulations imposed by broadcast licences.

As pessimistic as the situation seems in Canada as a whole, ethnic groups in Toronto are better served than their counterparts elsewhere. The Toronto area has the most complex and diverse minority broadcast system in Canada (Canadian Radio and Television Commission, 1974: 15). One reason for the strength of minority language broadcasting in Toronto is that many ethnic groups in Canada are most heavily concentrated in the southern Ontario and the Toronto region, so that there is a greater incentive from ethnic community leaders to provide programming in the language of their group. Because ethnic groups are significantly larger in Toronto than in other regions, there is a greater impetus for entrepreneurs to stimulate their businesses by advertising during minority language programming. Table 4.3 lists information on weekly minority language broadcast time for the four selected languages in Toronto.

Minority language broadcasting is more extensive in the Italian language than in the Finnish, Magyar or German languages. This is not surprising considering that Italian comprises the largest minority language group in metropolitan Toronto. The

table also shows that Finnish is given the lowest amount of programming time. Magyar is given only slightly more broadcast time than Finnish. German has a relatively moderate percentage of broadcast time in comparison to the three other languages. Thus, it appears that the size of the minority mother tongue population is a strong factor in determining the extent of programming in a minority language.

The one drawback with information that deals only with the number of hours broadcast in a particular language is that it does not indicate the proportion of an ethnic origin group which actually listens or views the minority language broadcast. The difficulty in obtaining such information is that few agencies are interested in monitoring the listening and viewing audiences on radio and television. The Canadian Radio and Television Commission (C.R.T.C) which is responsible for licensing in the electronic media, and which is the watchdog in insuring that licensees are acting within the regulations' guidelines, is only responsible for English and French language programming.

Apparently, the only information available is that which is generated by the Bureau of Broadcast Measurement (B.B.M.). This private research agency gathers data for use by advertisers on the size of television viewing audiences across Canada. Their data pertains solely to public television programming and does not deal with the measurement of cable television audiences because the latter does not contain advertising. Of the numerous programs included in the B.B.M.'s publication, there is one German program and two Italian language programs. The average

weekly audience for the German program "German Carousel" is 3,900 persons or 3.3 percent. The average weekly audience for Italian programming is: 9,700 persons for the broadcast, "Italian Program", and 18,300 persons for the second broadcast, "Telecorriere" (B.B.M., 1983). The total proportion of Italians viewing either one of the Italian programs is 10.3 percent. Clearly, a greater proportion of Italians view minority language programs in their ancestral language than Germans.

It is possible to compare the percentage minority language broadcasting with the number of minority mother tongue claimants in a community in order to measure the potential audience of a broadcast. It would be expected that the percentage programming in a given minority language would be very similar to the numerical distribution of minority mother tongue claimants in an ethnic group. A pattern is reflected in table 4.3 which shows that 40.2 percent of minority language broadcasting in Toronto is produced in Italian. This proportion is followed by German (3.0 percent), Magyar (1.2 percent) and Finnish (0.4 percent). The pattern of minority language programming in these languages also coincides with the absolute number of minority mother tongue claimants in the four groups. Thus, the number of hours broadcast in a language on radio and television is significantly related to the size of the minority mother tongue population. However, the proportion of minority language broadcasting is not significantly related to the level of language shift in all four ethnic groups. Italians have the lowest level of language shift and the highest percentage of

minority broadcasting but Germans have the highest level of language shift with the second highest level of minority broadcasting. Hungarians and Finns have moderate levels of language shift but both have the lowest proportion of broadcasting in their ancestral languages among the four groups.

Although information was not available on the size of the minority language radio audiences, a study by Ziegler (1972) regarding the radio listening habits of Italian male householders in Toronto showed that the frequency of daily listening to Italian programming decreases among the foreign-born population after their first four years of residence in Canada from a level of 59 percent to 18 percent for those whose length of residence in Canada exceeds 25 years. Italian foreign-born who listen to Italian radio either on a weekly or occasional basis tend to increase their proportion of listening time over the first 8 years of residence, but this figure begins to decline after the ninth year of residence from 23 percent to 16 percent for Italians whose length of residence is 25 years or more in Canada. The author remarks that this pattern suggests only "a very gradual letting go of ethnic ties which are held to, in one way or another, throughout most of the first decade of residence in Canada" (1972: 109).

The data support an association between the degree of minority language broadcasting and the level of language shift in the Italian community. However, they do not show a relation to the level of language shift in the Finnish, German or Hungarian communities. Italians have both a high proportion of minority

language broadcasting and the lowest level of language shift. In the other three communities, the level of language shift is not influenced by the degree of minority language broadcasting.

Summary

Information was presented in this chapter to determine whether the strength of group resources is related to the level of minority language shift. The empirical evidence provided only partial support for the fifth hypothesis. Information on formal organizations indicates that the level of organizational participation is inversely related to language shift. However, it was not possible to state whether participation in certain types of formal organizations is related to the level of language shift. The second half of the hypothesis which examined the relationship between minority broadcasting and language shift was weakly supported since the degree of programming is more a reflection of the size of an ethnic community's minority mother tongue population than the level of language shift in the group.

FOOTNOTES

1. A great deal of data was collected on the formal organizations within each ethnic community. Unfortunately, all the information on each organization cannot be included in the text of this thesis. Appendix 3 contains descriptions of the questions asked during the telephone interviews to obtain the descriptions of the role of each organization and number of members/participants.
2. Heritage Language classes are offered in a number of different minority languages in Ontario schools. Appendix 4 contains information on the number of students enrolled in the "Heritage Language Program" for the selected language groups in this study in metropolitan Toronto.
3. The question asked to clergymen was, "Is there a disproportionate number of parishioners over or under the age of forty attending minority language services?" Though crude, the clergymen's responses were nonetheless a useful means of determining the extent to which younger persons are interested in pursuing their religious worship in the ancestral language.
4. This term refers to radio and television broadcast formats in Canada aired wholly or partially in languages other than English or French, or Inuit (Hanna, et al., 1981).

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of empirical information on language characteristics indicates the presence of varying degrees of ethnic differentiation in the four ethnic groups in metropolitan Toronto. The level of ethnic differentiation among the four groups was measured by the key indicator: language maintenance or shift. Language maintenance was highest among Italians followed by Hungarians, Finns and Germans. As observed in the two preceding chapters, the demographic characteristics and the features of ethnic social organization are all differentially associated with language retention.

The demographic characteristic, group size, is not always significantly correlated with minority language retention. Though the first hypothesis assumed that an ethnic group with a large number of members would experience a greater level of interaction among its members than a smaller ethnic group, this does not appear to be the case for all ethnic groups. Although Germans are the second largest group numerically, they show by far the greatest level of minority language shift. On the other hand, Italians form the largest ethnic group, and have by far the weakest level of language shift. Finns and Hungarians make up the smallest groups in the study and

show levels of language shift that are lower than Germans but higher than Italians. Thus, group size was only inversely related to language shift among Italians but it was not related to the level of language shift among members of the three other ethnic groups.

The second demographic characteristic, period of immigration, is significantly correlated with language shift. Individuals who have spent a longer period of time in Canada tend to have a higher incidence of language shift than individuals who have resided in Canada for a shorter length of time. The empirical evidence indicates an inverse relationship between length of residence and language maintenance. Persons classified as "old" immigrant and the Canadian-born show significantly higher level of language shift than more recent immigrants. Thus the principle of "exposure to risk" is accepted as a factor that contributes to language shift (Kraut, 1977; deVries and Vallee, 1980).

However, when period of immigration is used to describe the "oldness" or "newness" of an ethnic group as a whole, it is not always associated with language shift. For example, it is evident that Finns and Germans constitute "older" ethnic groups because both have a large proportion of "older" immigrants and Canadian-born members. Hungarians and Italians are "newer" ethnic groups because they have a smaller proportion of "older" immigrants and Canadian-born members. But, the level of language shift

among Hungarian is more similar to that of Finns than it is to that of Italians.

The study also employed three features of ethnic social organization to measure their effect on the maintenance of ethnic bonds. Groups ranked high on each of the features were likely to have strong interpersonal relations with members of the ethnic community, thereby increasing the opportunities to reinforce the ancestral language and the capacity to promote ethnic differentiation between ethnic groups and the larger society.

The information given on residential segregation shows that the four groups are spatially segregated in varying degrees from the dominant group (British) in Toronto. This being the case, it was then important to determine the impact of spatial differentiation on language maintenance.

The impact of language on residential segregation is discussed by Darroch and Marston (1971) who observe that mother tongue differences have a stronger correlation with segregation than differences in birthplace, religion or socioeconomic factors. It would appear that ethnic groups which maintain a high level of language maintenance and residential segregation reflect a strong attachment to ethnic identity. This finding downplays earlier arguments that ethnic spatial segregation is a temporary condition because of income differences between members of different ethnic groups and the larger society (Lieberson, 1961).

Thus, where ethnic bonds are strong, there is a tendency for members of a group to reside near others who share the same ethnic background regardless of income differences. Data in this thesis confirm the third hypothesis to the extent that the level of residential dissimilarity to the British group varies from highest to lowest beginning with Italians, Finns, Hungarians and Germans, and this ranking follows closely the pattern of language shift for the same ethnic groups.

Data presented in this thesis show that ethnic groups are also segregated by job category. It was argued that whether persons are concentrated in professional or non-professional occupations, the mere occurrence of segregation reinforces ethnic group cohesion. The data revealed that Italians are highly overrepresented in semi-skilled and unskilled occupations, while Germans are distributed into the Toronto occupational structure almost in the same way as the total Toronto reference population. Finns and Hungarians are also overrepresented in semi-skilled occupations, and underrepresented in professional occupations but not as extensively as Italians.

With respect to the impact of occupational segregation on language retention among the selected groups, it was revealed that with the exception of Hungarians, language shift from the minority to the dominant language is strongest in professional occupations

and weakest in non-professional occupations. Due to these differences, it was noted that occupations where fluency in the dominant language is important, namely professional occupations, provide fewer opportunities to communicate in the ancestral language, especially if members of the group are underrepresented. On the other hand, minority language maintenance is enhanced in non-professional occupations which do not require fluency in the dominant language, especially if members of the ethnic group are overrepresented. Thus, the data confirmed the fourth hypothesis which stated that the degree of over-(under) representation in an occupation and the demand for English fluency in the workplace both influence the level of minority language maintenance of persons in that occupation.

Italian workers have lower levels of language shift than members of other groups because they are underrepresented in occupations that demand English fluency but have pronounced overrepresentation in occupations that do not require English fluency. Language shift is higher among Hungarian and Finnish workers because they tend to work in higher proportions in professional occupations which demand English fluency. Finally, German workers with the highest level of language shift are also overrepresented in occupations that demand English fluency and are only slightly overrepresented in non-professional occupations.

Group resources was the final feature of ethnic social organization examined in the study. This variable refers to the level of formal organization and minority language broadcasting in an ethnic community, otherwise known as the level of institutional completeness (Breton, 1964). The data revealed differing levels of institutional completeness among the selected ethnic groups.

Information on formal organizations showed that Italians registered the strongest level of organizational participation. Although there is no additional research to corroborate the level of participation among Finns and Hungarians, other research on Germans and Italians in Winnipeg (Driedger and Church, 1974) and in Toronto (Breton, 1981) show that Italians tend to participate more frequently in ethnic organizations than Germans. When levels of organizational participation were compared to the levels of language shift, a pronounced inverse relationship was found between the two. A group which had a high level of organizational participation also had a low level of language shift, and vice versa. Information on the total number of organizations present in a community did not bear a relation to the level of language shift.

Information given on minority language broadcasting in the four minority languages showed that Italians have the greatest weekly percentage programming time on radio and television. This was followed by the German, Magyar and Finnish languages. When figures on minority language

broadcasting are compared to figures on language shift for the selected groups, it is evident that the two sets of scores do not always correlate with one another. Minority language broadcasting is more directly associated with the numerical distribution of minority mother tongue claimants between ethnic groups than the actual level of language retention. Although Italians have the lowest level of language shift and the highest proportion of minority language broadcasting, the level of minority language shift among Germans, Hungarians and Finns is not associated with the level of minority language broadcasting in these groups.

Information given on formal organizations and minority language broadcasting suggests that an ethnic community having a high degree of institutional completeness or group resources has the ability to serve their members, and thus can maintain ethnic relations within the community's boundaries. In establishing educational, religious, socio-cultural, mutual-benefit and professional organizations, and minority language broadcasting formats the ethnic community is reinforcing ethnic bonds and maintaining a level of ethnic differentiation.

Overall, it was shown that the strength group resources is related to the level of language shift. An ethnic community with a high level of group resources will also have a high level of language retention. An important exception is minority language broadcasting which is not

strongly related to the level of language shift in the Finnish, German, Magyar languages.

Specifically, it was learned that if an ethnic community is strong in one feature of ethnic social organization, it will likely be strong in the other two features of social organization. Thus it was found that Italians have the highest level of residential segregation, the greatest degree of overrepresentation in a given occupational category and the strongest level of group resources. They also showed the lowest level of language shift. Finns and Hungarians both have moderate levels of residential segregation, occupational segregation and group resources. And, members of both ethnic groups showed moderate levels of language shift. Germans had the weakest level of residential segregation, occupational segregation and group resources, as well as having the highest level of minority language shift.

The similarity between the degree of features of ethnic social organization and the pattern of language shift among the four ethnic groups suggests that ethnic social organization influences the persistence of ethnic differentiation. Clearly, this thesis has shown that an ethnic community with a strong ranking on all features of social organization will have more opportunities to reinforce its ethnic identity and ancestral language than a community with a weak social organization, and thus ethnic differentiation will be maintained.

Recommendations for Future Research

An attempt was made in this thesis to examine the characteristics of ethnic groups that have maintained ethnic differentiation. Because the study focused only on four ethnic groups in metropolitan Toronto, it is suggested that the scope of future research be expanded to include a greater diversity of ethnic groups from different regions of Canada. These could include a number of "visible" as well as white European minorities. Information generated from such research could be used to further our awareness of factors in ethnic communities that contribute to the persistence of ethnic differentiation and minority language maintenance.

As a student of sociology interested in ethnic relations I became aware of the limitations of Census data on a topic as profoundly complex as cultural and linguistic differentiation. Although Census data is an integral part of sociological investigation, the inadequacies have been well documented here.¹ Data gathered during field research have contributed a great deal to the understanding of ethnic groups and their responses to living in a multicultural environment. However, limited financial resources and time constraints make it difficult to conduct a survey analysis. It is suggested that a survey method would be more useful for exploring the attitudes of members of ethnic groups toward the persistence of ethnic differentiation, and their expectations of other Canadians and Canadian institutions. Special

attention must also be given to the impact of problems of discrimination on cultural and language maintenance.

Additionally, the study of ethnic relations should not be confined to an analysis of factors endogenous to ethnic communities and their influence on ethnic differentiation. It is recommended that state policies and practices must be examined because as Stasiulis aptly remarks, "ethnic communities are ... imbedded in and thus affected by the larger socioeconomic and political environment" (1980: 38). This type of research would assess how state economic and political practices influence a community's ability to organize and maintain its culture and language.

It would also be appropriate to gather information on the motives for the immigration of members of an ethnic group to the host society, and to examine the events that have taken place in a group's homeland and the host society to determine their impact on the process of ethnic differentiation. Events as World War I and World War II may have significantly hampered minority language maintenance among Germans, and other groups such as the Japanese.

Finally, this author hopes that a Canadian model of inter-group relations more sensitive to the specificity of Canada could be developed in the future.

FOOTNOTES

1. It is suggested that Statistics Canada extend its sample size for the various ethnic groups to at least a three percent sample of Census respondents. In this way, data for the smaller ethnic groups like Hungarians and Finns would be more meaningful. It would also be useful if the occupational categories in the Public Use Sample Tape could be re-ordered to make the occupational classifications more amenable to sociological interpretation for researchers interested in a class analysis of occupational segregation.

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APPENDIX 1

Census Ethnic Origin and Language
Concepts 1901-1971

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ethnic Origin</u>	<u>Mother Tongue</u>	<u>Home Language</u>
1901	The racial or tribal origin is traced through the father among whites. For persons belonging to stocks involving difference in colour the entry was Negro, Japanese, etc., respectively. Orientals being thus segregated by country of origin.	Mother tongue is one's native language, the language of his race: but not necessarily the language which he speaks most fluently, or uses chiefly in conversation.	not asked
1911	same	not asked	Language spoken most often in the home.
1921	same	The language of customary speech employed by the person.	not asked
1931	same	The language learned by children and still spoken or the language of the home whether the person has learned it or not (e.g., infants).	not asked
1941	same	The first language learned in childhood if still understood by the person. Persons who no longer understand the first language they learned reported the next language learned and still understood.	not asked

Appendix 1 (continued)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ethnic Origin</u>	<u>Mother Tongue</u>	<u>Home Language</u>
1951	A person's origin or cultural group was established by asking the language (i.e., native tongue) spoken by the person's paternal ancestor, or the person himself in the case of an immigrant, at the time of first arrival.	same	not asked
1961	The ethnic or cultural group that he or his ancestor (on the male side) belonged to on coming to this continent.	same	not asked
1971	same	same	The language spoken most frequently by the person in his home.

Source: Kralt, 1974;
 1901 Census of Canada, vol. 1, p. xviii;
 1941 Census of Canada, vol. 1V, p. xvii;
 1951 Census of Canada, vol. X, p.
 1961 Census of Canada, Series 7.1, Bulletin 7.1-6
 Cat. 99-516;
 1971 Census of Canada, Cat. 92-723, vol:1-part 3
 (Bulletin 1.3-2).

APPENDIX 2

The basis for the classification of the occupational categories used in Table 3.11 to 3.16 in the thesis is derived from the Statistics Canada classification of occupations. The following is a description of the method for the grouping of major occupational groups.

Thesis Occupational Categories	Statistics Canada Major Occupation Groups
1) Managerial/ Administrative	Major group 11- Managerial, administrative
2) Natural/Social Sciences	Major group 21- Occupations in natural sciences, engineering and mathematics Major group 23- Occupations in social sciences and related fields Major group 25- Occupations in religion
3) Teaching/ Medical	Major group 27- Occupations in teaching Major group 31- Occupations in medicine and health Major group 33- Artistic, literary and recreational occupations
4) Clerical	Major group 41- Clerical occupations
5) Sales	Major group 51- Sales occupations
6) Service	Major group 61- Service occupations
7) Farming/ Other Primary	Major group 71- Farming, horticulture and animal husbandry Major group 73- Fishing, hunting and trapping Major group 75- Forestry and logging Major group 77- Mining and quarrying including oil and gas field occupations
8) Processing/ Machining	Major group 81/82- Processing occupations Major group 83- Machining occupations

Appendix 2 (continued)

9) Construction	Major group 87- Construction trades
10) Transportation	Major group 91- Transport equipment
operating occupations
Major group 93- Materials handling n.e.c.
Major group 95- Other crafts and
equipment operating occupations
11) "Other"
Occupations	Major group 99- Occupations not else-
where classified (n.e.c.)
12) Occupation
Not Stated	Major group 00- Occupations not stated

Source: Statistics Canada, Cat. 94-737.
Vol: 111-part 3 (Bulletin 3.3-10)

APPENDIX 3-A

List of questions asked to representatives of ethnic educational organizations during field research in metropolitan Toronto, 1982.

Question 1 - What is the number of minority language classes offered by your organizations?

Question 2 - What is the total enrollment in your organization's minority language classes?

List of educational organizations in the four selected ethnic groups and the number of students enrolled in minority language classes.

<u>Finnish</u>	No. of classes	No. of students
Toronto Finnish Language School	5	120
<u>Italian</u>		
Centro Canadese Scuola e Cultura Italiana	120	3,000
<u>Hungarian</u>		
Hungarian School Board	10	250
<u>German</u>		
Goethe Institute	8	200

APPENDIX 3-B

List of questions asked to clergymen at ethnic affiliated churches during field research in metropolitan Toronto.

Question 1 - Does your church provide religious services in a language other than English?

Question 2 - Is there a disproportionate number of parishioners over or under the age of forty attending minority language services?

List of religious organizations in the four selected ethnic groups showing the languages in which religious services are offered and the perceived age distribution of parishioners attending religious services in the minority language.

Finnish Churches

<u>Name</u>	<u>Language of Religious Services</u>	<u>Perceived Age Distribution</u>
Finnish Agricola Lutheran Congregation	English and Finnish	over 40 yrs of age
Finnish Pentecostal Church	Finnish only	all ages
Finnish United Church	English and Finnish	over 40 yrs of age
Toronto Apostolic Lutheran Church	English and Finnish	over 40 yrs of age
Toronto Laestidian Free Church Congregation	English and Finnish	over 40 yrs of age

German churches

St-Patrick's	English and German	over 40 yrs of age
Humber Vale Park Baptist Church	English and German	over 40 yrs of age
St-George Lutheran Church	English and German	over 40 yrs of age

Appendix 3-B

German Churches (continued)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Language of Religious Services</u>	<u>Perceived Age Distribution</u>
First Lutheran Church	English and German	over 40 yrs of age
Pentecostal Church	English and German	over 40 yrs of age
United Church of God	English and German	over 40 yrs of age
Independent Lutheran Church	English and German	over 40 yrs of age
German United Church	German only	all ages
Dietrick von Huffler Church	English and German	over 40 yrs of age
Church of the Epiphany	English and German	over 40 yrs of age
Evangelical Church	English and German	over 40 yrs of age
Martin Luther Church	English and German	over 40 yrs of age

Hungarian Churches

Evangelical Reformed United Church	Magyar only	all ages
First Hungarian Baptist Church	English and Magyar	all ages
First Hungarian Presbyterian Church	Magyar only	all ages
First Lutheran Church	Magyar only	all ages
Hungarian Evangelistic Old Christian Assembly	Magyar only	all ages
Hungarian Reformed Evangelical Church	Magyar only	all ages
St-Elizabeth of Hungary	English and Magyar	over 40 yrs of age

Appendix 3-B

Italian Churches

<u>Name</u>	<u>Language of Religious Service</u>	<u>Perceived Age Distribution</u>
St-Norberto	English and Italian	over 40 yrs of age
Immaculate Conception	English and Italian	over 40 yrs of age
St Lawrence	English and Italian	all ages
St-Anthony	English and Italian	all ages
St-Clare	English and Italian	over 40 yrs of age
St-Nicholas	English and Italian	all ages
St-Jane Francis	English and Italian	all ages
St-Leo	English and Italian	over 40 yrs of age
St-Philip Neri	English and Italian	all ages
St-Thomas Aquinas	English and Italian	all ages
St-Brigid	English and Italian	over 40 yrs of age
St-Francis of Assisi	English and Italian	all ages
St-Mary of Angels	English and Italian	all ages
St-Peter	English and Italian	all ages
St-Bernard	English and Italian	all ages
St- Roch	English and Italian	all ages
St-Wilfred	English and Italian	over 40 yrs of age
Our Lady of Victory	English and Italian	all ages
St-Alphonse	English and Italian	over 40 yrs of age
St-Catherine	English and Italian	all ages
-St-Giovanni di Bosco	English and Italian	all ages
St-Mathew	English and Italian	all ages
St-Sebastien	English/Italian/Portug.	all ages
St-Charles Borromeo	English and Italian	all ages

Appendix 3-B

Italian Churches (continued)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Language of Religious Services</u>	<u>Perceived Age Distribution</u>
St-Andrew	English and Italian	all ages
St-Catherine di Siena	English and Italian	all ages
Holy Angels	English and Italian	all ages

APPENDIX 3-C

List of questions asked to representatives of ethnic socio-cultural organizations during field research in metropolitan Toronto, 1982.

Question 1 - How many participants do you have in your organization's activities?

Question 2 - What is the function of your organization in the ethnic community?

List of socio-cultural organizations in the four selected ethnic groups and the number of participants.

<u>Name of the Organization</u>	<u>No. of Participants</u>	<u>Name of the Organization</u>	<u>No. of Participants</u>
<u>Finnish</u>			
Cedar Club	150	Suomi-Seura Kalevala	40
Finnish Hunters and Anglers	180	Finnish Golden Age Club	150
Finnish Canadian Amateur Sports Fed.	50	Suomi Lions Club	60
Mari Girls/Mari Tytot Tytot Suomalais	140	Finnish Male Singers of America	25
Sisu Athletic Club	210	Suomi Lioness Club	30
Finnish Canadian Art Society	25	Finnish War Veterans	125
Toronto Finnish Male Choir	35	Toronto Finnish War Veterans Club	30
Toronto Finnish Foundation	40	Finnish Organization of Canada	220
Finnish Social Club	260	Toronto Finnish Advancement Assoc. (umbrella org.)	
Finnish Canadian Cultural Feder. (umbrella org.)			
<u>German</u>			
Sportklub	80	German Social Club	85
German Male Choir	45	Schelesier Club Kuebezahl	45
Hessen Club	40	Saxonia	70
Club de Hanseaten	40	German Club of Toronto	700

Appendix 3-C

German socio-cultural organizations (continued)

<u>Name of Organization</u>	<u>No. of Participants</u>	<u>Name of Organization</u>	<u>No. of Participants</u>
Federation of German Carnival Societies	300	Historical Society of Mecklenberg	100
Assoc. of German Can. Hist'l Research	45	Goethe Institut	---
German Can. Council for the Arts	40	Hansa German Can. Club	60
German Canadian Club	6,000	Club of Friends of Berlin	35
Danube Swabian Club	2,000	Swabian International	100
Catholic Danube Swabians	200	Sudeten Clubb "Vorwaets"	120
Alliance of Danube Swabians (umbrella org.)		Central Organi. of Sudeten Germ. Clubs in Canada (umbrella org.)	

Hungarian

Hungarian Sport Club	300	Hunters and Anglers	60
Can. Hungarian Folklore Assoc.	20	Can. Hungarian Authors Assoc.	30
Hungarian Cultural Research Society	30	Hungarian Literary Assoc.	25
Hung. Turul Society	35	Rakoczi Foundation	150
Helicon Society	280	Kodaly Ensemble	180
Szechenyi Society	250	Hung. Freedom Fighters Fighters	800
Hungarian Can. Cultural Centre (umbrella org.)		Hung. Jewish Federation	350
Hung. Canadian Federation (umbrella org.)			

Italian

*Alto Sangro Club	480	Abruzzi Club	800
Alvito Club	60	Accadia Club of Can.	150
Accademia Della Cuccina	25	Alpini d'Italia	150

Appendix 3-C

Italian socio-cultural organizations (continued)

<u>Name of Organization</u>	<u>No. of Participants</u>	<u>Name of Organization</u>	<u>No. of Participants</u>
Associazione Familiare Siciglianese	110	Associazione Nazionale Carabinieri d'Italia	30
Associazione Nazionale Combattenti e Reduci	150	Associazione Sportiva Giovane Sicilia	150
Associazione Sportiva Italiana	620	Associazione Trapanese Emigrati	50
Associazione Trevisani Nel Mondo	200	Bania Club	100
Bersaglieri National Association	50	Bocciofila di Toronto	300
Calabria Club Brutium	60	Can. Assoc. for Italian Culture and Interchange	30
Canadian Sicilian Club	150	Cassalvieri Club	90
Catholic Youth Assoc.	60	Celano-Can. Club	155
Centro Femminile	40	Centro Sportivo Ita.	200
Cesare Baronio Club	100	Ciociaro Club	150
Circolo Calabrese	500	Circolo Laziale	1,200
Circolo Colonia Monteleone	150	Circolo Liceale St-Micheal's College	80
Circolo Ricreativo Apriglianese	200	Circolo Ricreativo Toscono	230
Circolo Santoroese	100	Club ITRI	100
Cleto Cosenza Can. Family Club	80	Club Macerata	60
Club Pirandello	100	Club Pratolano	100
Club Ricreativo Lancianese	100	Club San Quirinese	80
Club Simbario	60	Club Termini Imerese	200
Club Valledonga	160	Club Vicentino	80
Colonia Bitrittese	1,200	Colonia Modugnese	600
Compagnia dei Giovani	50	Corleone Social Club	80
Confed'n of Ital. Clubs of Ontario	100	Danforth Italian Social Club	120
Dante Alighieri	80	Famee-Furlane	200

Appendix 3-C

Italian socio-cultural organizations (continued)

<u>Name of Organization</u>	<u>No. of Participants</u>	<u>Name of Organization</u>	<u>No. of Participants</u>
Fogular Furlane	340	Immigrant Club	600
Fogular Feder. of Canada	3,500	Irpinia Club	60
Italian Soccer Club	500	Ita. Can. Students Assoc.	100
Ita. Can. Women's Assoc.	50	Ita. Club of Uni. Toronto	100
Italian Community Club	150	Ita. Community Develop. Centre	500
Italian Costumes and Folklore	40	Italian Cycling Club	40
Ita. Pastoral Commission	60	Ita. Life Senior Citizen Soc. Centre	100
Ita. Recreation Centre	4,000	Ita. Virtus Society Society	450
Ita. Society of Artists	30	Lucania Club	70
Itri Recreation Club	200	Malton Italian Club	300
Marina Club	200	Marinella Club	120
Matera Club	50	Mediterranean Club	260
Midwest Toronto Athletic Assoc.	75	Metropolitan Ita. Soccer League	300
Mississiga Bocce Club	150	Mississiga Club Italia	200
Mississiga Ita. Community Assoc.	300	Mississiga Italo Canadian Club	300
Modugno Bari Social Club	120	Monteleonese Club	70
Napoli Club	90	New Canada	60
Ofena Club	50	Order of Italo-Can.	600
Order of Sons of Italy	300	Pescara Club	80
Piave Recreation Club	60	Pisticci Club	40
Puglia Social Club	80	Rocca Pia Club	60
Reggina Recreation Club	25	Roseto Soccer Club	85
St-Charles College Ita. Youth Club	40	San Donato Val Comine Assoc.	50

Appendix 3-C

Italian socio-cultural organizations (continued)

<u>Name of Organization</u>	<u>No. of Participants</u>	<u>Name of Organization</u>	<u>No. of Participants</u>
San Giorgio Morget Morgeto Club	500	San Marco Veneto Club	150
San Marco in Lamis Club	100	San Nicola Di Crissa	520
Santa Cecilia Choir	50	Sardegan Unita	150
Sicilia Unita Club	70	Societa Di Nojantri	120
Societa di Pescosolido	300	Societa Sportiva Cristiano	200
Societa Sportiva e Ricreativo	350	St-Iona Italian Club	70
St-Wilfred Ita. Social Centre	150	Supino Club	50
Teatro Italiano Dell'Arte	40	Triggiano Social Club	130
Tyrolean Trentino Social Club	70	Uncle Giocondo Society	30
Vicentini Nel Mondo	120	United Society	1,000
Unione Degli Istriani E Simpatizzanti	130	Villa Columbo	200
Westwood Young Generation	160	York Italian Band	40
York Lancers Athletic Assoc. and Social Club	140	Yourbis Club	50
National Congress of Italian Canadian (umbrella Org.)		Canadian Society for Living and Language	40
Foundation of the National Congress of Ita. Canadians	30		

APPENDIX 3-D

List of questions asked to representatives of ethnic mutual-benefit organizations during field research in metropolitan Toronto, 1982.

Question 1 - How many members do you have in your organization?

Question 2 - What is the function of your organization in the ethnic community?

List of mutual-benefit organizations in the four selected ethnic groups and the number of members.

<u>Name of Organization</u>	<u>No. of Members</u>
<u>German</u>	
Canadian Association of German Pensioners	7 100
<u>Hungarian</u>	
United Hungarian Fund	80
Kossuth Sick Benefit Society	40
<u>Italian</u>	
A.P.I.O.	50
C.A.I.T.	400
COSTI-IIAS	2,000
Columbus Centre	1,500
Comitati Pro Sette Frati	300
Famiglie Bellunese	70
Federazione Italiana Lavatori Emigrati E Famiglie	160
Azione Cattolica Lavoratori Italiani	25
Italian Canadian Benevolent Committee	55
Movement for Assistance to Canadian Immigrants	70

APPENDIX 3-E

List of questions asked to representatives of ethnic professional organizations during field research in metropolitan Toronto, 1982.

Question 1 - How many members do you have in your organization?

Question 2 - What is the function of your organization in the ethnic community?

List of professional organizations in threee of four selected ethnic groups and the number of members.

<u>Name of the Organization</u>	<u>No. of Members</u>
<u>German</u>	
Association of German Engineers	50
German Canadian Business and Professional Association	250
<u>Hungarian</u>	
Hungarian Canadian Engineering Association	70
<u>Italian</u>	
Italian-Canadian Professional Academy	40
Canadian Italian Business and Professional Men's Association	260
Italian Chamber of Commerce	140

APPENDIX 4

The number of classes and enrollment in Italian and German Heritage Language classes for metropolitan Toronto for the period 1978-1979 to 1981-1982. There were no recorded figures for Finnish or Hungarian language classes.

Year	German		Italian	
	No. of Classes	Enrollment	No. of Classes	Enrollment
1978-79	2	41	1,087	27,612
1979-80	5	134	1,162	28,643
1980-81	7	167	1,099	27,465
1981-82	6	117	1,081	26,695

Source: Memorandum received from J. St. Rose-Haynes, Manager
Statistical Information Services, Management Information
Branch, Ontario Ministry of Education

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