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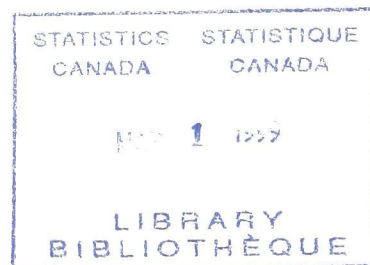
Factors in the Adjustment of Immigrants and their Descendants

By Anthony H. Richmond and
Warren E. Kalbach



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Warren E. Kalbach
assisted by
Ravi B.P. Verma



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January 1980
8-0003-523

Price: \$7.50

Catalogue 99-761E

Ottawa

Version française de cette publication
disponible sur demande (n° 99-761F au catalogue).

FOREWORD

The Canadian censuses constitute a rich source of information about the condition of groups and communities of Canadians, extending over many years. It has proved to be worthwhile in Canada, as in some other countries, to supplement census statistical reports with analytical monographs on a number of selected topics. The 1931 Census was the basis of several valuable monographs but, for various reasons, it was impossible to follow this precedent with a similar program until 1961. The 1961 Census monographs received good public reception, and have been cited repeatedly in numerous documents that deal with policy problems in diverse fields such as manpower, urbanization, income, the status of women, and marketing. They were also of vital importance in the evaluation and improvement of the quality and relevance of Statistics Canada social and economic data. This successful experience led to the decision to expand the program of census analytical studies by entering into an agreement with the Social Science Federation of Canada. The present series of analyses is focused largely on the results of the 1971 Census.

The purpose of these studies is to provide a broad analysis of social and economic phenomena in Canada. Although the studies concentrate on the results of the 1971 Census, they are supplemented by data from several other sources. These reports are written in such a way that their main conclusions and supporting discussion can be understood by a general audience of concerned citizens and officials, who often lack the resources needed to interpret and digest the rows of numbers that appear in census statistical bulletins. For these persons, interpretive texts that bring the dry statistics to life are a vital dimension of the dissemination of data from a census. Such texts are often the only means that concerned citizens and officials have to personally perceive benefits from the national investment in the census. This particular report is one of a series planned to be published concerning a variety of aspects of Canadian life, including income, language use, farming, family composition, migration, adjustment of immigrants, human fertility, labour force participation, housing, commuting and population distribution.

I should like to express my appreciation to the universities that have made it possible for members of their staff to contribute to this program, to authors within Statistics Canada who have freely put forth extra effort outside office hours in preparing their studies, and to a number of other members of Statistics Canada staff who have given assistance. An Advisory Panel of the Social Science Federation of Canada organized and conducted an author selection process for several studies, and arranged for review of seven manuscripts in their original version. In addition, thanks are extended to the various readers, experts in their fields, whose comments were of considerable assistance to the authors.

Although the monographs have been prepared at the request of and published by Statistics Canada, responsibility for the analyses and conclusions is that of the individual authors.

PETER G. KIRKHAM,

Chief Statistician of Canada.

PREFACE

This monograph has been prepared under the auspices of the Census Analytic Programme sponsored jointly by the Social Sciences Research Council of Canada (now the Social Science Federation) and Statistics Canada. The original proposal involved a comparative study of Canada and Australia, using 1971 Census data from the two countries. The plan was subsequently modified so that this report is confined to an analysis of Canadian data with an emphasis on comparisons between Quebec and the rest of Canada. The characteristics of immigrants are compared with the Canadian-born of foreign parentage and the Canadian-born of Canadian parentage. Another separately funded project is in progress which will involve systematic comparison with immigrants in Australia in 1971.

The original version of this report was submitted to Statistics Canada early in 1978. Since then, it has undergone extensive editing and revision. Due to the high costs of printing, many tables and charts have been deleted. A report with supplementary tables is available from the Ethnic Research Programme, York University. Although there was close collaboration between the two authors at all stages of the research, each is responsible for separate sections of the final report, which was originally written in two parts. Chapters one and fourteen were jointly authored. Anthony H. Richmond wrote Chapters 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12. Warren E. Kalbach wrote Chapters 3, 4, 5, 6 and 13.

The preparation of this monograph has been a team effort to which many people have contributed. The authors wish to express their indebtedness to Professor Marvin McInnis for his helpful advice and assistance, at the early stages of the project, in his capacity as Director of the SSRCC/Statistics Canada Census Analytic Programme. As Manager of the Programme on behalf of Statistics Canada, Dr. Leroy Stone has dealt with administrative problems. We would like to thank Mr. Derek Bright and the staff of Data Dissemination, Statistics Canada, for their valuable co-operation. We have been fortunate also in benefitting from the availability, at York University, of the Data Bank and the Methods and Analysis Division of the Institute for Behavioural Research whose staff have given helpful advice and assistance. We also wish to acknowledge the valuable services of the Departments of Computer Services at York University and at Erindale College of the University of Toronto. We would also like to thank several anonymous referees for helpful criticisms.

We are particularly indebted to the painstaking assistance, on a full-time basis throughout the project, of Dr. Ravi B.P. Verma, without whose skills in computer programming and data analysis the study would not have been possible. Special acknowledgement is due Madeline Richard for her untiring efforts in processing special tabulations from the Public Use Sample Tapes of the 1971 Census. We would also like to thank the following people who have also given us valuable research assistance at various stages. In alphabetical order they are: Mr. Joel Clodman; Ms. Margaret Denton and Dr. Lakshmana Rao. We wish to express our gratitude also to Mrs. Jacqueline Garland and Mrs. Rhonda Gibson who have typed and retyped successive versions of the manuscript with cheerful dedication in the face of threatening deadlines. Ms. Elaine Alexandroff also assisted in the final retyping stages. Anthony H. Richmond wishes also to thank his wife and partner, Freda Richmond, for undertaking extensive editorial work on several earlier drafts of his chapters.

Anthony H. Richmond,
Warren E. Kalbach,
Toronto,
November, 1978.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This study examines the situation of immigrants in Canada in 1971 and makes demographic and socio-economic comparisons with the Canadian-born population, distinguishing those born of foreign parentage from those with two Canadian-born parents. Out of a total population of 21.6 million in 1971, 3.3 million or 15% were born outside Canada; over 1 million had arrived during the preceding decade and 1.3 million had settled during the post-war years, 1946-61. An additional four million persons were born in Canada of immigrant parents. The remaining two-thirds of the population were the native-born with two Canadian-born parents. The study examines the immigrant adaptation process over time as measured by the length of residence of the foreign-born and the generational status of the Canadian-born. Further comparisons are made using the birthplace of the foreign-born and also the ethnic origin of those born in or outside Canada.

In view of the special situation of Quebec, with its predominantly French-speaking population, it was expected that the experience of immigrants in that province would differ from those resident elsewhere in 1971. Immigrants and those born in Canada of immigrant parentage constituted only 15% of the Quebec population compared with more than 40% of the population in the rest of the country. There were further variations between other provinces with the impact of immigration being strongest in Ontario, but practical considerations prevented detailed comparative analysis of all regions. However, a special feature of this monograph is a systematic comparison of the native-born and foreign-born living in Quebec with those in the rest of Canada. Although the study focuses specifically on immigrants, it throws light on the whole structure of Canadian society through its examination of the total population and its use of the Canadian-born as a basis for comparison with the immigrants.

The existence of two official languages, the concentration of a high proportion of the French speaking population in Quebec together with Canada's increasing linguistic and cultural diversity resulting from immigration, raise some important theoretical questions concerning the nature of the immigrant adaptation process. Classical studies of immigration relied heavily on the concept of assimilation. Generally, the linguistic and cultural assimilation of immigrants has

been distinguished from the structural aspects which include the demographic, geographic and socio-economic dimensions (Gordon, 1964). The process of assimilation has been represented as a progressive convergence by the immigrant population toward the characteristics of the native-born. Studies in various countries suggest that this process of convergence does not always occur in practice. (Eisenstadt, 1954; Glazer and Moynihan, 1963; Gordon, 1978; Price, 1969.) Many modern societies that have experienced large-scale immigration have remained highly pluralistic and exhibit varying degrees of ethnic stratification.

Many earlier studies of immigration failed to recognize that the receiving societies were undergoing rapid technological, economic and social changes. These changes influenced immigration policy and the kind of immigrants deemed admissible. Furthermore, immigrants made significant contributions to change the character of the countries to which they moved. In the decade prior to 1971, Canada underwent a major reorganization of its economic and social structure as it assumed more of the characteristics of a highly advanced industrial society. During this period, major developments took place in automation, computerization and in the communications industry. There was an exponential rate of increase in the consumption of energy, especially in transportation which was revolutionized through space-age research and jet propulsion. In 1961, 46% of all immigrants (except those arriving from the United States) travelled by air; by 1971, the proportion had increased to 95%. This has important implications for immigration and its administrative control.

Economic changes taking place in this period created a demand for immigrants with different backgrounds and qualifications from those who came in earlier years. Unlike European guest-workers who tended to enter the less socially desirable occupations and those sectors of industry that had difficulty in attracting indigenous labour, immigrants to Canada in the period 1946-71 were a more fully representative cross-section of the labour force. As well as attracting immigrants who entered less skilled occupations in manufacturing and the construction industry, Canada also encouraged the immigration of highly skilled and professional people, particularly in the decade after 1961. In this respect, our immigration policies were responding to structural changes in the economy as the country moved to a more advanced stage of industrial development (Richmond and Verma, 1978).

Over the decade Canada experienced an absolute decline in the labour force employed in agriculture and forestry, continuing a trend that had been established earlier. Other primary sectors, particularly the mining and extraction industries, continued to grow but in terms of labour only slowly. Secondary industries (manufacturing, construction and transportation) also expanded, but less rapidly than the labour force as a whole. The numbers employed in the communications industry increased at a slightly above average rate, as did those in trade but growth was much greater in finance, insurance and real estate. The most dramatic increase was in the service sector, including business, recreational and government services.

One of the most significant developments was the growth of professional and technical employment which requires higher education. Although enrolment in post-secondary education in Canada increased substantially during the 1960s, the expansion was still not sufficient to keep pace with growth in tertiary sectors of the economy and was insufficient to meet the demand for experienced people with professional and technical training. Immigration played an important part in making up this deficiency, although later there was a sufficient supply of Canadian-trained people in some fields.

Another important trend was toward increasing urbanization of the population. By 1971, 76.1% of the population was classified as urban and 6.6% as rural-farm. At the time of the census, 55% of the population was located in 22 Census Metropolitan Areas and more than half of all immigrants were to be found in four major metropolitan areas, Montréal, Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver.

Given the pluralistic structure of modern societies and the rapid changes taking place in them, the concept of assimilation, as traditionally understood, is somewhat over-simplified and anachronistic (Jackson, 1969, p. 280). Immigrants are attracted to those locations where economic growth is most rapid and where opportunities are greatest. Canada deliberately selected immigrants to meet the needs of those industries that were expanding most rapidly and to fill the vacancies in those occupations where the demand was greatest. As a consequence of this deliberate selectivity, recent immigrants were structurally distributed in 1971 in ways that were more typical of an advanced industrial society than were earlier settlers and the older generations of the Canadian-born. The process of modernization generally involves an increasing urbanization of the population and a move away from

agriculture and primary production into the secondary and tertiary sectors of the economy. There is also a decline in fertility and family size, an increasing demand for and use of higher educational opportunities, together with a growing proportion of the population in professional and semi-professional occupations. In respect of all these indicators, immigrants tended to be more assimilated to the social system of an advanced industrial society than were many of those whose fathers and forefathers were born here. Such a pattern is the reverse of that generally understood as structural assimilation.

1.1. Basic Concepts and Analytical Categories

There are several basic concepts and analytical categories that are fundamental to studies of immigrant adjustment in societies such as Canada that have a unique history of settlement and a traditional commitment to immigration as a means of national building. Of particular importance for this study are the concepts of birthplace, birthplace of parents, generation, ethnic group, period of immigration, age-sex composition, occupation and area of residence. As the definitions sometimes vary between censuses and because changes in census data collection and processing procedures may also affect the nature and quality of data, the following brief discussion of concepts and definitions will provide a basis for understanding the scope of this research as well as some of its limitations.

1.1.1. Birthplace

Birthplace is of primary importance in identifying the foreign-born population. Birthplace in the 1971 Census "refers to province of birth if born in Canada, and country of birth according to boundaries at the census date, if born outside Canada." (Statistics Canada, Dictionary of the 1971 Census Terms, 1972.) While birthplace is a fairly unambiguous concept, it is not always a totally reliable guide to a person's ethnic or cultural antecedents, because the increasing mobility of the world's population, as well as the continuing instability of political boundaries, has tended to produce considerable ethnic heterogeneity within nation-states. Today, there is considerable variation between nations in terms of their relative degrees of racial and ethnic homogeneity. This is a particularly important problem for immigration research based on census data because many immigrants were formerly members of minority social and ethnic groups in their countries of birth.

1.1.2. Ethnic Group

Questions designed to determine the ethnic or cultural origins of Canada's population have been asked for as long as censuses have been taken in this country. Not only do they provide additional information for interpreting the meaning of birthplace data when the person is born outside Canada, but they also provide the only viable means of linking the native-born population to its ethnic or cultural origins.

There have been variations in both definition and enumeration procedures over the years, but in the Census of 1971, as well as that of 1961, the concept "ethnic group" referred to one's "ethnic or cultural background traced through the father's side." Where difficulty was encountered in ascertaining ethnic origins for census purposes, the language spoken by the person or by his parental ancestor on first coming to this continent was often used as a guide to determine the ethnic or cultural group (Statistics Canada, Dictionary of the 1971 Census terms, 1972, p. 6).

Some people experience considerable difficulty in answering questions about their ethnic or cultural origins. The question is easier for the foreign-born but generally harder the farther removed the respondent is from the ancestors who first came to North America. However, in spite of the ambiguity, the question still offers the only clue to the ethnic or cultural origins of those born in the United States or Canada.

In interpreting the data relating to this question, it should be remembered that the use of the census concept of "ethnic or cultural origin" does not necessarily imply the existence of a "group" in the sociological sense. The individuals concerned do not necessarily share a common sense of identification and belonging reinforced by participation in group activities. The concept of ethnic origin merely provides a set of analytical categories by which populations can be sorted, aggregated and compared. The significance of any such scheme lies in its ability to differentiate the population in terms of social, economic or other relevant demographic variables. It may well be that the census concept of "ethnic origin" has little or no significance for some segments of Canada's population. However, one of the objectives of this research is to determine for which groups and in what contexts "ethnic origin" has significance for the adjustment of immigrants and their descendents in Canada.

In analyzing ethnic group differences, it would have been advantageous to retain all the ethnic origin groups which are separately identified during the data collecting and coding phases of the census operation. However, because of the complexity of the cross-tabulations required and the number of variables employed in the basic analytical framework, the retention of all 51 ethnic categories was simply not feasible. Therefore, ethnic origin groups were combined into major groupings comparable to the regional groupings of birthplace, with the addition of the Jewish group as a separate category.

Difficulties in the interpretation of ethnic group differences often arise through changes in definition, and in data collection and editing procedures. Statistics Canada retained the same definition for ethnic group in 1971 as it used for "ethnic origin" in 1961. However, a change was made in the editing procedures which significantly altered the ethnic group classification for persons reporting Jewish religion. The latter were automatically classified as Jewish regardless of the ethnic origin they may have specified. This change in editing procedures significantly increased the size of the Jewish origin group and decreased the numbers of several European origin groups, compared with previous censuses.

The change in enumeration procedures in 1971 from field interviewing by enumerators to the use of self response type questionnaires for the bulk of the population may also have produced additional variation in the classification of the population by ethnic and cultural origins. The amount of change in the composition of the population by ethnic origin between 1961 and 1971 which can be attributed to this source is difficult to estimate. (For a discussion of the effect on the British and French origin groups, see Henripin, 1974.) Undoubtedly, it is a factor which must be considered when evaluating the results of this research.

1.1.3. Birthplace of Parents

Previous research on assimilation and integration using Canadian census data has been limited to comparisons of the foreign-born by country of birth, or ethnic origin and by period of immigration. The characteristics of the native-born have generally served as the standard for evaluation. In 1971, a new census question permitted the identification and analysis of a crucial link in the longer term process of immigrant adaptation; the question on birthplace of parents distinguished whether or not the respondent's parents were born in Canada or abroad. The data were subsequently recorded as follows:

Both parents born outside Canada
Father only born in Canada
Mother only born in Canada
Both parents born in Canada.

For the purpose of this study, these data were combined with information on the respondent's birthplace in order to classify members of the population as first, second, or third and subsequent generations (referred to as the third-plus generation). Strictly speaking, these are cohort-generations defining the individual's situs in a given socio-demographic system. They do not correspond to the concept of generation as usually understood by geneticists or family sociologists. However, the use of generation in this demographic sense has been well established in the immigration literature by researchers working with American and Australian data (Carpenter, 1927; Borrie, 1954; Hutchinson, 1956).

In view of the fact that this definition permits siblings to be either first or second generation depending on whether they were born before or after the immigration of the parents, some further clarification is warranted. A person born outside Canada is designated foreign-born, i.e., as first generation, irrespective of the birthplace of either of the parents or the age of the person concerned at the time of immigration.¹ A person born in Canada is designated second generation when one or both parents were born outside Canada. Many of the tabulations used in this research make a further distinction between those born in this country who have two foreign-born parents and those who have one Canadian- and one foreign-born parent, without distinguishing the sex of the Canadian-born parent. A person here is simply classified as third-plus generation when both parents are Canadian-born, as it is not possible to further differentiate between subsequent generations.

In interpreting cohort-generation data of this kind, it is important to keep in mind the significance of age in relation to period of immigration. Persons born outside Canada who immigrated as young children and received some or all of their education in Canada, will differ in important respects from those who immigrated as adults. The former will probably be more like the children of immigrants and others born in this country. There is an element of arbitrariness in this method of classification by generation which is unavoidable given the type of data collected and the form in which they are recorded. However, attention is drawn in the course of this study to some instances where the age of the foreign-born at the time of arrival
See footnote(s) on page 58.

other significance than that the data may not have been available from the particular data source being utilized.²

Wherever published data or special tabulations were used, the data were available for the whole of Canada, although in the case of low income data used in Chapter 11, residents of the Yukon and Northwest Territories were excluded. Wherever data were derived from the 1% Public Use Sample Tapes, the populations of Prince Edward Island and the Yukon and Northwest Territories were excluded; this excluded only 0.8% of the population of Canada and only 0.05% of all immigrants in Canada in 1971.

1.2. Data Sources

Data utilized in this research were obtained primarily from special tabulations designed and produced in collaboration with the Data Dissemination Unit of Statistics Canada. Difficulties were encountered in developing accurate cost estimates for our total data requirements during the initial phase of this research. There were inevitable time lags between the initiation of special requests and the final production of the cross-tabulations. In order to meet contractual deadlines, it was necessary to supplement the special tabulations with additional information from Statistics Canada's regular publications from the 1971 Census of Canada and from their 1% Public Use Sample Tapes.

The main advantage of a specially funded census monograph programme, such as the one of which this research is a part, is the opportunity it presents to obtain specially designed tabulations tailored specifically to a set of basic research hypotheses and to deal with substantive issues that cannot be examined through the analysis of data generally released by Statistics Canada through its official census publication programme. The incorporation of published data and utilization of Public Use Sample Tapes, where necessary, had been planned, but in practice, these additional sources were used more extensively than intended. This was due to budgeting and scheduling constraints which required significant reductions in the number of special tabulations actually provided by Statistics Canada.

See footnote(s) on page 58.

This created some problems for the internal consistency of the analyses. First, it was not always possible to develop comparable categories for the variables as those used in published data were generally determined by considerations other than their relevance for the study of birthplace, ethnic origin and migration variables. Secondly, and perhaps more important with respect to published data, was the small number of variables for which data were published in any one particular cross-tabulation. Practical limitations imposed by page format and bulletin size considerations limited tabular presentation to the simplest types of statistical tables with minimal numbers of variables. Even more serious for this research was the fact that, in all of the published data for the 1971 Census, only two tables provided cross-tabulated data by birthplace of parents. One provided birthplace of parents data by sex for the Canadian- and foreign-born by province while the other presented the same cross-tabulation for Census Metropolitan Areas.

The 1% Public Use Sample Tapes represented a significant breakthrough by Statistics Canada for improving the accessibility of census data for the non-government researcher. Even so, there were difficult problems arising from the small size of the sample and the nature of the data included on the tapes. The 1% sample size imposed severe limitations on the number of variables and the categories that could be incorporated in any one cross-tabulation without running into the instability problem associated with small cell frequencies. In addition, the individual and combined categories for specific variables did not always permit the construction of the desired categories to match those of the special tabulations, nor was it possible to develop cross-tabulations involving variables from the different data files.

An additional limitation which restricted the value of the Public Use Sample Tapes was their incomplete coverage of the national population to which reference has been made. Small samples led to a concern over respondent anonymity in Prince Edward Island, the Yukon and the Northwest Territories. Therefore, sample data were not included for these areas. Data were provided for the remaining provinces, but not for Canada as a whole. Information was provided for the Toronto and Montréal Census Metropolitan Area populations; for two urban size categories (over and under 30,000 population), and rural non-farm and rural farm populations within provinces. Given that a completely comprehensive and consistent set of special tabulations was not feasible, due to financial and time constraints imposed on the project, the Public Use Sample Tapes proved to be an invaluable resource. It is to be hoped that

this vehicle for providing easier and more economical access to Canada's census data will be retained and improved for the 1981 Census of Canada.

1.3. Summary of Findings

1.3.1. Immigration Trends 1961-71

In the inter-censal period 1961-71, 1.42 million immigrants entered Canada of whom approximately one million were still resident at the time of the census. The contribution of immigration to population growth was further influenced by the inward and outward movements of those born in Canada. Precise estimates of these movements are not available, but it is estimated that net migration increased population by only 524,355 or 16% of the total growth, after allowing for census underenumeration. At the beginning of the decade, approximately 25% of the immigrants expressed an intention to settle in Quebec, but this fell to 15.8% by 1971. Over the decade, the proportion indicating that they had some knowledge of French also declined.

In 1962, Canada dispensed with preferential categories based on nationality and removed almost all direct racial and ethnic discrimination from its selection criteria. At the same time, the number of immigration offices abroad was increased, particularly in non-European countries. The effect was evident in the countries of last permanent residence reported by immigrants. The proportion of immigrants coming from Great Britain, Northern, Western, Central and Eastern Europe declined from 69.1% in the period 1946-60 to 41.6% in the decade 1961-71. At the same time, the proportion of immigrants from Southern Europe increased from 17.4% to 24.2%. There was an even more dramatic increase in the numbers from other parts of the world, from 13.5% to 34.2%. The consequence was a substantial diversification in the ethnic composition of immigration.

Throughout the decade, independent immigrants were selected on the basis of occupational criteria which were made explicit in new regulations introduced in 1967. A points system using units of assessment which gave substantial emphasis to educational qualifications and training was adopted. This also applied in modified form to immigrants nominated by close relatives. Some 28,000 refugees also came to Canada between 1961 and 1971. Whereas, between 1946 and 1960, 19.1% immigrants expressed the intention of entering farming or other primary occupations, the proportion fell to 4.1% in the decade preceding the 1971 Census. The proportion intending to enter

manufacturing and mechanical trades remained about the same, roughly 22.5% of the movement. However, there was a very substantial increase in the proportion whose intended occupation was in the Clerical, Professional or Managerial categories. These intended occupations rose 22.5% in the immediate post-war period up to 1961 and 46% in the following decade. Although immigrants from Southern Europe and others in the nominated streams continued to be recruited mainly for the construction and service industries, immigrants arriving between 1961 and 1971 were better educated and more highly qualified than earlier cohorts.

1.3.2. A Decade of Experience

The extensive analyses of data on the post-war immigrant population arising from the 1961 Census made possible an examination of the experience of the 1946-60 cohort of immigrants during the 1961-71 intercensal decade in comparison with their native-born counterparts. The decade was one of rapid economic growth, significant but cyclical immigration and unemployment levels accompanied by changing social attitudes reflected in new immigration regulations, increasing emphasis on multiculturalism and attempts to move towards official bilingualism. During the decade, the cohort of post-war immigrants which had been resident in Canada in 1961 changed in size and structure, mainly from the effects of emigration whereas mortality reduced the size of the native-born cohort more than net migration. Masculinity ratios actually increased for the post-war immigrant cohort in contrast to the decline for the native-born. The net effect of all these factors combined with internal migration during the decade was a more sensitive response on the part of the post-war immigrants to regional conditions. This could be seen in a greater proportional decline of numbers in the more economically depressed areas and increases in the proportions residing in the major growth areas.

Age composition accounts for the much larger proportion who were married among the post-war immigrant group. Conditions tending to increase and maintain the relative numbers of married persons through the early and later stages of the family life cycle appear to have been more favourable for the post-war immigrant cohort than for the native-born. The personal and family dislocation which accompanies immigration would seem to be the basis for the higher proportions of secondary families in post-war immigrant households at the beginning of the decade as well as

their smaller family size.³ However, the net effect of the intercensal changes was to reduce the differences between the two cohorts.

With respect to labour force characteristics, the post-war immigrant cohort varied significantly from the corresponding native-born cohort. The immigrant cohort had higher participation rates, their type of employment patterns were different, and they achieved higher levels of economic achievement defined in terms of average total earnings. For those of working age, trends in labour force participation rates were similar. In the case of both native and foreign-born males, rates were declining while those for females were increasing. In 1961 the rates for immigrant males and females were higher than for the native-born, while in the course of the decade, the gap between native-born and foreign increased for males and decreased for females. Sex was a more important determinant of changes in type of employment than birthplace over the decade. The significance of these observed differences was difficult to interpret in some cases because of problems in assessing the effects of emigration on the post-war immigrant cohort.

The overall effects with respect to relative income and changes during the decade were quite clear. The income status of the majority of age-sex groups in the two cohorts in the experienced labour force was reversed over the decade as the post-war immigrant group exhibited greater improvement in their total earnings than did the native-born. The same shift was apparent in total earnings of family heads as well as in total family earnings. The post-war immigrants generally achieved relatively greater decadal increases and obtained higher income levels than the native-born. This was the reverse of the situation at the beginning of the decade.

This increase in earnings was characteristic of all major ethnic origin groupings of the population. However, the general reversal in income positions for the two cohorts was limited to the Northern and Western Europeans, the Central, Eastern and Southern Europeans, and the residual "other and not stated" category. For those of British and French origins, the post-war immigrant cohort had higher average total earnings throughout the decade, while only the native-born of Jewish and Asiatic origins maintained their superiority. The amount of variation between ethnic groups in average total earnings declined during the decade for both the

See footnote(s) on page 58.

post-war immigrants and native-born cohorts, but more so for the former. The rank ordering of mean total earnings by ethnic origin was considerably more stable over the decade for the native-born than for the 1946-60 immigrant cohort.

Overall, there is little to suggest that the 1946-60 post-war immigrant cohort in any way failed to achieve a satisfactory level of economic adjustment in Canada during this decade. Some continued to outperform their native-born counterparts, while others overtook the native-born during the decade. Only a few relatively small groups of post-war immigrants failed to achieve comparable levels of economic success. As a whole, post-war immigrants who came to Canada between 1946-61 and were still living here at the time of the 1961 and 1971 Censuses, were economically well adapted.

1.3.3. Structure and Variations by Generation

In the past, the nature of available census data has limited much of the research on immigrant populations in Canada to comparisons between the native-born and foreign-born by period of immigration, and analyses of the foreign-born by country of birth and of the total population by ethnic origin. One major weakness of these studies has been their inability to identify the native-born children of the immigrant population, an important group for the study of assimilation and integration. The 1971 Census asked a question on birthplace of parents which provided the opportunity for a more precise analysis of changes between generation groups as well as between ethnic groups within the same generation. Because immigrants come from a variety of ethnic origins and have arrived in Canada at different times, knowledge of their structural characteristics is needed to assess the significance of other observed differences between these various groups.

Identifiable generation groups within Canada's population vary significantly from each other in their age-sex structures, marital status and ethnic origin composition. The excess of males, traditionally characteristic of immigrants, declines with each subsequent generation as does the median age, while the proportion of single persons among those 15 and over tends to increase. With respect to the ethnic origin composition of the population, it is not just the sheer size of the British and French origin groups in Canada that is important, but the fact that they have relatively large numbers of the third-plus generations who have been established longer in Canadian society.⁴ The potential influence of the various smaller ethnic

See footnote(s) on page 58.

and cultural groups on Canadian society is limited by their size, as well as by the recency of their presence in Canada. The influence of this factor is modified in some instances through regional and urban concentration. During the intercensal decade, 1961-71, both the number and sources of immigrants varied significantly while being more concentrated in urban areas. The predominance of Dutch, German and Italian immigrants during the early part of the decade gave way to other Southern Europeans, Asians and other immigrants of non-European origins during the latter half.

Variations in the distributions of ethnic origin groups by generation are so great that it is difficult to derive valid inter-ethnic comparisons without taking these structural differences into account. Similar precautionary statements must be made about comparative analyses of immigrant groups and their descendants (based on population data for the country as a whole) which do not take into consideration the important regional differences in the distribution of population characteristics. In this research, some major regional and cultural differences of particular relevance to the study of immigrant adjustment are taken into account by contrasting Quebec with the rest of Canada. In 1971, the Quebec population was 85% third-plus generation compared to only 59% for the rest of Canada, with the remaining proportions in both regions almost evenly divided between the first two generations. Surprisingly, the third-plus generation in Quebec is older than elsewhere in Canada while the first two generations are younger. Both the second and third-plus generations have lower masculinity ratios in Quebec, but its population of immigrants has a significant excess of males, particularly among those arriving just prior to the 1971 Census. The greater imbalance between the sexes in Quebec is also reflected in the higher proportion of single persons 15 years of age and older in all generations, as well as in every period of immigration of the first generation.

The major ethnic contrasts between Quebec and the rest of Canada are well known, but variations in their generational composition are less so. While the distributions by generation are not very different for those of British origin, the French have a higher proportion of the first and second generations outside Quebec than within it. Most of the other smaller ethnic groups are not significantly different with respect to their generational distribution inside or outside Quebec; but, for some recent post-war immigrants to Quebec, such as the Germans, Dutch, Polish, Russians, and Ukrainians, the proportion of the first generation is significantly higher in Quebec than in other parts of Canada where their ethnic counterparts were established during earlier settlement of the Prairies.

Interesting differences are also apparent in the age structures with Quebec's ethnic population generally tending to be older than their counterparts elsewhere. Similar comparisons of Toronto and Montréal reveal much the same results with both having somewhat older populations with lower sex ratios than their corresponding hinterland populations. Again, because of the greater influx of recent immigrants, the ethnic composition of the two largest urban centres differ dramatically from their hinterlands but Montréal has a relatively greater proportion of Jewish, Italian and French immigrants than Toronto.

1.3.4. Geographical Distribution and Ecological Patterns

Variations in the origins and timing of Canada's immigration during its history of settlement and development have produced ethnically differentiated patterns of residence both regionally and within its larger metropolitan centres. Regional populations range from the extremely homogeneous but ethnically contrasting populations in Newfoundland and Quebec to the very heterogeneous Prairie Provinces which were settled by a variety of ethnic origin and cultural groups. Recent immigrants have been increasingly concentrated in the larger urban centres and there, too, the resident populations have tended to be differentiated in varying degrees in terms of their ethnic, cultural and socio-economic status characteristics.

Analyses of lifetime migration data for the native-born generations show that British Columbia, Alberta and Ontario have been the principal benefactors from inter-provincial migration. Immigration has reinforced this pattern but has also reduced the effects of lifetime net out-migration from the remaining provinces. Lifetime mobility rates of the native-born as well as mobility rates for the five year period preceding the 1971 Census show significant variations by ethnicity and generation. Second generation Canadians were over-represented in interprovincial movements, while the third-plus generations were over-represented in intraprovincial migration and local mobility. First generation immigrants, who had resided in Canada for longer than five years, also tended to be disproportionately represented among intraprovincial migrants and local movers.

Comparisons of lifetime migration and recent mobility rates by ethnic origins revealed significant differences between generations and regions. Lifetime internal

migration tended to increase the ethnic homogeneity of the majority of the eastern provinces, including Quebec, while increasing the diversity of Ontario, Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Alberta and British Columbia, with the highest rates of lifetime in-migration rates for the native-born showed only a slight decline in ethnic diversity suggesting that they have tended to attract migrants of approximately the same ethnic origins as the resident population. None of the analyses suggests any significant movement towards a more uniform regional dispersion of Canada's ethnic populations.

Ethnic differentiation of the population by place of residence is also a characteristic of Canada's larger urban communities. The degree of residential segregation tends to vary significantly with respect to ethnic and cultural origins as well as length of residence and generation status. Furthermore, the analysis of Canada's largest urban centres shows that patterns of ethnic segregation are clearly affected by the dominant cultural milieu within which the urban community exists. Even so, the rank ordering of ethnic groups according to their degree of segregation is fairly consistent among Canada's four largest Census Metropolitan Areas, while levels of segregation tend to vary by region. Levels of segregation tend to be higher in Montréal than in Toronto or in western cities. In almost every metropolitan area, those of British and Northwestern European origins tend to be least segregated while Southern Europeans, Asians and Jews are more highly segregated.

Differences in the patterns of ethnic residential segregation are apparent between the foreign- and native-born generations that are consistent with both the Anglo conformity assimilation model and the pluralistic structural model. The broader cultural context and ethnic structures of specific communities appear to be important for understanding the residential segregation exhibited by specific ethnic origin groups. Variations in ethnic segregation by educational status are no less apparent and persist even when differences in generation status are controlled. The basic pattern which emerges is that of generally higher ethnic segregation in the lowest and highest status groups with minimum segregation occurring at the intermediate status level. Only when the effects of educational status differences are controlled, is there evidence of decreasing segregation by generation and this is limited to certain ethnic origins. Variations in the residential segregation of Canada's ethnic populations residing in its largest urban centres, considered by generation and educational status groups, provide little basis for simplistic

explanations of its ethnically differentiated spatial structures, such as that offered by theories of a melting-pot or anglo-conformity.

1.3.5. Family and Fertility

The influence of the foreign-born is considerably more than their actual numbers would first indicate since most of their children are included as part of the native-born population. Together, the first generation immigrants and their children (including those now adult) comprise one-third of the total population. At the same time, they account for 44% of all heads of census family units. In terms of family type, they differ little from families whose heads belong to the third and subsequent generations. The proportion of primary families, which is initially low, increases quickly with length of residence as immigrants become established and are able to set up and maintain single-family households.³ Forming multiple-family households appears to be a characteristic response by younger and older immigrant family heads to the problems of adjustment peculiar to certain stages in the family life cycle. This is more so than for their native-born counterparts. It is particularly evident in the high proportion of secondary type families among the most recent immigrants to Canada.

Family size tends to vary with family life cycle stage regardless of generation status. However, for family heads over 35 years of age, family size varies directly by generation. It is smallest for the first generation heads, larger for the second generation, and largest for those heads belonging to the third and subsequent generations. Younger family heads in the second generation had families either as large or larger than those of subsequent generations. Similar differences are reflected in the number of children at home under 25 years of age, but interesting differences in age composition suggest that children stay in the home longer in families with older first generation heads. This is consistent with school attendance data which show that the children of first and second generation family heads tend to remain in school longer than children from families whose heads are third-plus generation Canadians.

Because Canada's ethnic groups differ from each other in terms of their basic age-sex structures, differences are also found to exist in their distribution by

See footnote(s) on page 58.

family type, size, and age of children. Family size and number of children at home tend to reflect both differences in family life cycle stage and fertility. Although cumulative fertility data are a much better indicator of fertility, ethnic fertility differentials tend to be somewhat obscured by the interaction between fertility, education attainment, and generation status. Generation differences do not totally disappear when educational attainment levels are controlled. In fact, generational differences in fertility are greatest among those with the lowest educational attainment levels. Interestingly, the inter-ethnic group variation in fertility is also greatest among those with primary or no education.

The pattern of increasing fertility by successive generations in Canada as a whole is solely the consequence of the fertility behaviour of the two dominant groups, the British and French. The Scandinavians, Ukrainians, Italians, and Dutch exhibit declining fertility by generation while the remaining groups show higher fertility in the second generation and lower fertility in the third-plus generation, relative to the first. Even the recent reversal of the long-term decline in cohort fertility, which had characterized the cohorts of women born before 1917, was not shared by all ethnic origin groups, the most important exceptions being women of German and Italian origin.

Differences in family and fertility characteristics between Quebec and the rest of Canada are greatly affected by the obvious difference in ethnic origin of the population, and the less obvious difference in generation structure. Many of the variations can be accounted for by the fact that 81% of Quebec's population is third-plus generation compared with only 48% of the population outside that province. Family size and number of children at home, as well as fertility levels, are smaller than in the rest of Canada for young family heads and above-average for the older heads of families. The latter still contribute the most weight to the overall average. The transition in fertility among young women has been most dramatic in Quebec in recent years. Notwithstanding this dramatic decline, Quebec's tradition of high fertility and large families still appears to influence the fertility of all generations within the two major ethnic populations in Montréal, as well as the third-plus generation of most other ethnic origin groups. This contrasts with Toronto where only in the case of first and second generation non-British and non-French origin groups was family size higher in Toronto than in Montréal.

1.3.6. Education, Training and School Attendance

Although there was considerable variation by birthplace, on average immigrants were better educated and trained than the Canadian-born in 1971. Of those born in Canada and resident in Quebec, 8.4% had a university degree or some university education compared with 10% of the Canadian-born resident in other provinces. Highly qualified immigrants were clearly attracted to Quebec where 16.8%, compared with 11.9% in other provinces, had a degree or some university education. The proportion with university experience increased significantly from 5.8% of pre-war immigrants to 27.2% of those who arrived in 1966-71. This was partly a function of age, but considerable differences persisted when comparisons were made on an age-specific and age-standardized basis.

Immigrants in both Quebec and the rest of Canada were also more likely to have some vocational training than the population born in Canada. A completed vocational course was characteristic of 12.1% of the Canadian-born compared with 16% of the foreign-born. Again there was variation by birthplace. Immigrants from the United Kingdom and Western European countries tended to have the highest proportion with vocational training. Over the post-war period, the proportion of immigrants with such training did not vary as much as the proportion with university experience. Vocational training was most characteristic of those who arrived in 1956-60 and declined somewhat after that date.

There was considerable ethnic and generational variation in the level of education and qualifications of the Canadian-born. The Canadian-born of foreign parentage achieved, on average, education and training superior to that of the third-plus generation. The most educationally deprived ethnic groups in Canada were the Native Peoples, followed closely by those of French-Canadian origin and Southern European immigrants. Although the educational achievements of the Canadian-born of British origin were superior to those of French origin, those of British origin in the third-plus generation did not achieve as high a level of education as their first and second generation counterparts. This was partly a function of urbanization.

The probability of children remaining in full-time schooling over the age of 15 and, particularly in the age group 19-24 years, was closely related to the age and education achievement of the parents. Children of younger and better educated

parents tended to remain longer in school. Of children aged 19-24 years living with families, 37.5% of those whose family head was Canadian-born, compared with 44.3% of those with a foreign-born family head, were in full-time schooling. Children of second generation family heads had the greatest probability of continuing their education, while the least likely to do so were Native People and those of French-Canadian origin in the third-plus generation. Although education opportunity in Quebec increased in the decade prior to the 1971 Census, age-specific comparisons showed that French-Canadian children were less likely to continue in school than those of other ethnic origins.

1.3.7. Labour Force Participation

Labour force participation was related to sex and age, ranging from a low of 8.3% among females over 65 to a high of 92.8% among males 35-44. When sex and age were controlled, labour force participation rates for immigrant men and women were higher than for the Canadian-born. The highest participation rates were found among the 1951-60 immigrant cohort and rates were also higher in metropolitan areas, particularly in Toronto. Participation rates were generally lower in Quebec than in the rest of Canada, particularly among the Canadian-born. There was a substantial difference between Canadian-born and foreign-born women in Montréal. The age standardized participation rates were 36.4% for Canadian-born women and 44.7% for foreign-born women. Foreign-born women of Asian origin had exceptionally high rates as did male immigrants of German and other Northern and Western European origins.

Between the Census of 1961 and that of 1971, the experienced labour force grew by some 2.16 million workers, more than half of whom were female additions to the labour force. Of the net gain over the decade, 25% was due to immigration, but due to re-migration, death, retirement and other causes, there was a net loss of 205,000 pre-1961 male immigrants from the labour force, compensated by a net gain of 336,000 who immigrated after 1961. The increasing rates of female labour force participation led to a net gain of 23,000 among pre-1961 immigrants. A further 201,000 immigrant women who arrived in 1961-71 had joined the labour force by 1971. There were significant differences between immigrants and the Canadian-born in the proportion of wage-earners, unpaid family workers, those working on their own account and employers. After allowing for the fact that older workers were more likely to be employers or working on their own account, being a wage-earner was inversely related to length of residence in Canada for the foreign-born. The Canadian-born of foreign

parentage had the highest proportion who were self-employed or unpaid family workers. Ethnic groups with an above average probability of self-employment were the Northern, Western, Central and Eastern Europeans, and Jews and Asians. To some extent, this was related to the particular industrial distribution of certain ethnic groups. For instance, those of Eastern and Western European origin, together with pre-1946 immigrants and the Canadian-born of foreign parentage, all had an above average proportion employed in agriculture, where self-employment or being an unpaid family worker was most evident.

1.3.8. Industries

The decade 1961-71 saw an acceleration of certain trends in the Canadian economy that were evident throughout the post-war period. These involved a substantial decline in the labour force engaged in Agriculture and other Primary industries, together with a growth of the secondary and tertiary sectors. Immigrants tended to enter those industries that were expanding most rapidly at the time of their arrival in Canada. There were significant differences between Quebec and the rest of Canada in the distribution of the total labour force by industry. Whereas 7.8% of males and 3.2% of females were in the primary sector in Quebec, the proportions were 12.5% males and 6.7% females in the remaining provinces. Secondary industries provided employment for 47.3% of males and 26.5% of females in Quebec and 43.5% of males and 18.5% females in the rest of Canada. The tertiary sector, which had experienced the most rapid growth in the decade, employed 44.9% of males and 70.3% females in Quebec compared with 44.0% of males and 74.8% females elsewhere.

All generations of the Canadian-born were over-represented in the primary sectors, but the degree of relative concentration was greatest for the Canadian-born with two foreign-born parents. There was also a high degree of relative concentration in the primary sector of immigrants who entered Canada before 1946. Notwithstanding the fact that, between 1946 and 1960, many immigrants were brought to Canada specifically for employment in agriculture, all foreign-born cohorts were substantially under-represented in the primary sectors. All generations of the Canadian-born were somewhat under-represented in secondary industries, as were the pre-war immigrants. However, the Canadian-born with one or two Canadian-born parents had about the expected proportions in the tertiary sector. There was a relatively high concentration of immigrants who arrived in Canada in 1966-71 in the tertiary sector,

which reflected the deliberately selective nature of immigration policy as well as the demand for labour in these industries.

That post-war immigrants tended to concentrate in metropolitan areas influenced their industrial distribution. In Montréal, a somewhat higher proportion of immigrants was employed in manufacturing as well as in community, business and personal services, compared with Toronto which had a higher concentration of immigrants in construction. A higher proportion of immigrant women was employed in manufacturing in Montréal, whereas in Toronto, there was a greater relative concentration in Trade. In both metropolitan areas, there was a tendency for the second generation to be over-represented in Trade.

There were significant variations by birthplace and ethnic origin. Italian immigrants showed a high relative concentration in the Construction industry, although this was more marked in Toronto than Montréal. In both metropolitan areas, immigrant women from Italy and other Southern European countries were heavily concentrated in manufacturing industries. In Montréal, Jewish immigrants were over-represented in manufacturing; they were under-represented in these industries in Toronto where they were more likely to be found in construction or trade and in community, business and personal services.

1.3.9. Occupations

In 1971, 7.7% of the male labour force was employed in farming. The Canadian-born, together with immigrants born in the Netherlands, Eastern European countries, other than Poland, and those born in the United States tended to be over-represented in farming. They were generally immigrants who came to Canada before World War II or in the immediate post-war period. Also over-represented in farming and other primary occupations were some members of the second generation, particularly those of European ethnic origin living outside Quebec. The Canadian-born of Canadian parentage also exhibited relative concentration in such traditional occupations as hunting and fishing, farming, other primary occupations, and transportation. Immigrants were more likely to be found in professional and semi-professional employment, services, machining and construction. For example, outside Quebec, 9% of Canadian-born males were employed in professional and semi-professional occupations compared with 13% of foreign-born males; only 5% of Canadian-born women were employed in machining and fabricating compared with 12% of immigrant women.

The situation in Quebec revealed a substantial under-representation of French-Canadians in managerial, administrative, professional and semi-professional employment with corresponding over-representation of the British and other immigrants born in the United States, United Kingdom, Germany and the Netherlands were over-represented in managerial occupations, but this was not the case in Toronto. With the exception of those born in Italy, other Southern European countries and Poland, immigrants in Montréal were over-represented in professional and semi-professional occupations. The same was true in Toronto, except that the other Northern and Western European group was also under-represented among professional and semi-professional occupations. Foreign-born women in Montréal were more likely to be employed in professional, managerial, processing and machining occupations than those in Toronto where clerical employment was more typical, especially for women of British, German and other Northern or Western European origin. Although the third-plus generation of British origin in Toronto were proportionally over-represented in managerial and administrative employment, British immigrants who entered Canada in 1946-60 were even more evident in this category.

As a whole, the second generation was generally over-represented in professional and managerial occupations and there was also a somewhat above average proportion of the Canadian-born of foreign-parentage in farming. The distribution of age and education accounted for a substantial proportion of the variation in the proportion of each generation and ethnic group found in managerial, professional and semi-professional occupations. However, even after the influence of age and education are taken into account, there is a substantial over-representation of pre-1946 British immigrants and the second generation of British ethnic origin in managerial occupations. Although the third-plus generation of French origin is under-represented in managerial occupations, this can be explained statistically in terms of educational achievement. A similar pattern emerges in respect of professional and semi-professional occupations. All cohorts of British immigrants are over-represented in these occupations before and after the effects of age and education are controlled as are recent Asian immigrants. The Canadian-born of British origin have about the expected proportions in professional and semi-professional occupations, but all other ethnic groups are under-represented. Among the third-plus generation of French origin, this statistical under-representation in professions disappears when allowance is made for the effects of relatively low educational achievement.

1.3.10. Incomes

Various measures of income distribution were examined. They included individual total income in 1970; individual income from employment; the earnings of family heads; total family income and the distribution of "poverty" as measured by a low-income line among economic families and unattached individuals. The distribution of income was closely related to sex and age. There were also significant variations by region and between urban and rural areas. In comparing immigrants and the Canadian-born, differences in distribution by these demographic and geographic variables must be allowed for.

A multivariate analysis of income determinants showed that sex, age, number of weeks worked in 1970, education and occupation were the major factors influencing income, with urbanization also having an indirect effect. When these factors were controlled, the residual effects of nativity, ethnicity, language and generation were very small and almost entirely indirect. This points to the importance of structural variables in the determination of income. Particularly in the Atlantic Provinces and other areas of regional disparity, there was a clustering of various demographic and socio-economic influences that tended to place the third-plus generation of British, French and Native origin at a disadvantage, relative to immigrants in the larger metropolitan areas. Similar structural variables tended to favour the Canadian-born of foreign parentage, who, on average, had higher incomes than either the foreign-born or the Canadian-born of Canadian parentage.

At the national level, average incomes of the foreign-born in 1970 exceeded those of the Canadian-born. Overall, incomes reported by males born in Canada were 92.7% of the incomes reported by males born outside this country. Differences at the national level in women's incomes were smaller, the Canadian-born receiving 99.3% of those of immigrant females. In Quebec, there was little difference between immigrant and non-immigrant males between 20-34 years. But, over the age of 34, the gap between the Canadian-born and the foreign-born widened, with increasing age, in favour of the foreign-born. The pattern was somewhat similar for women in Quebec, although the discrepancy was somewhat larger than in other provinces where, overall, the differences were negligible. Average incomes of the Canadian-born outside Quebec were lower on average than those of the foreign-born, but the gap was not as wide.

The distribution of earnings from employment followed a similar pattern of that of total income. There was considerable variation by birthplace. Male immigrants from the United States and the United Kingdom tended to have above-average incomes, while those from Italy, Southern Europe and Asia were below-average. Length of residence in Canada was also an important determinant, before and after age was taken into account. Recently arrived immigrants tended to earn below the average, particularly in the first five years in Canada. Age specific comparisons between immigrants and the Canadian-born by occupation at a national level showed that, generally speaking, the foreign-born were at an advantage. However, much of the advantage was due to their greater degree of urbanization. Age specific comparisons at the metropolitan level generally favoured those born in Canada. Despite higher average educational and occupational qualifications, immigrants did not necessarily succeed in earning more than the Canadian-born in the same geographic locality.

The earnings of family heads were shown to vary considerably by province; they were particularly low in the Atlantic region, where the average earnings of family heads was only 78.7% of the national average. There were similar regional variations in total family income, but this was also related to the number of earners in the family. Using Statistics Canada's revised low-income criteria, poverty was more often found among pre-war immigrant families and unattached individuals, due largely to aging. Pre-war Asian immigrants were particularly likely to fall below the low income line as were the Native Peoples and the most recently arrived immigrants from Southern Europe, Asia and the all other ethnic groups (including Negro and White Indian). This was particularly true for unattached individuals. In absolute numbers, families and individuals with low incomes were predominantly Canadian-born and of British and French origin; reflecting the fact that these are the largest groups in the population.

The evidence suggests that immigrants who had been established in Canada for five years or more were earning above-average incomes largely because of their location in the larger metropolitan areas and in the economically more prosperous regions of the country. However, within these locations, they were not always earning as much as might have been expected given their high level of education and qualifications. This was particularly true of the most recently arrived immigrants.

population as a whole continued to reflect the significance of length of residence rather than age difference per se. The divorced continued to show higher propensities to acquire citizenship while the positive relationship between citizenship status and education continued to be dependent upon the location of residence as well as the particular country of birth or ethnic origin concerned. The educational attainment of immigrants from Northern, Western and Southern Europe showed the clearest positive relationship to citizenship while those from Eastern Europe showed high levels of citizenship at all levels of education. In contrast, immigrants of Jewish origin showed strong negative relationships to citizenship, while those from the United Kingdom and the United States exhibited more complex "U-shaped" distributions. The relationship of citizenship status to occupation is even more complex involving specific interaction with sex, age, country of birth and education.

For the most recent immigrants, who had completed their minimal residence requirements, the primary factors distinguishing those who became citizens and those who did not were language skills and use, and country of birth. Official language skills appear to be more important for recent male immigrants while cultural factors, reflected in specific countries of birth, are more important for female immigrants. For immigrant cohorts that have been in Canada somewhat longer, cultural factors associated with birthplace appear to become more important for males while language tends to become more important for females. The situation in Quebec for recent immigrants was very similar to that for Canada as a whole. The 1971 Census data show that language tends to be more important than birthplace for female immigrants in Quebec. For males, language skills are less important and are overshadowed by education and specific birthplace.

1.3.13. Epilogue

The period 1946-71 was clearly a favourable one for the absorption of immigrants in Canada. However, even by 1971 there was some evidence that the most recently arrived were having some economic problems. Changing demographic circumstances and deteriorating economic conditions since the 1971 Census have made it more difficult for immigrants to make as successful an adaptation as their predecessors.

Following the publication of a government Green Paper on immigration, new legislation has been passed and regulations introduced that are designed to relate

the numbers of immigrants admitted annually more closely to actual labour force requirements and to influence the occupational and other characteristics of immigrants in ways that are intended to facilitate absorption. At the same time, Canada has begun to make increasing use of temporary work permits that do not confer the right to settle permanently in the country.

FOOTNOTES

¹Out of the 3,295,535 foreign-born, 118,340 had two parents born in Canada, while an additional 98,920 had one parent born in Canada. (See Statistics Canada, 1971 Census of Canada, Bul. 1.3-6, Ottawa: Information Canada, 1974, Table 46.)

²In some cases tables containing data for Winnipeg and Vancouver have been deleted for reasons of economy in the cost of printing, although the text may still contain references to any significant variation. Some additional tabulations will be made available in a supplementary monograph available from the Ethnic Research Programme at York University.

³A primary family is defined for census purposes as "a census family in which the head of the family is also the head of the household. Members of a primary family are: the head of the household, his wife and unmarried son or daughter. Unmarried grand-son and grand-daughter, nephew and niece are included if they are under 21 years for whom no guardianship pay is received and who are not with parents". A secondary family is "a census family in which the head of the family is not the head of the household. It may be a related family; a lodging family or other non-related family". Statistics Canada, Dictionary of the 1971 Census Terms, Ottawa, 1972, pp. 7-8.

⁴Henceforward, "charter group" refers to those of British or French ethnic origin in the third-plus generation.

CHAPTER 2

IMMIGRATION TRENDS, 1961-71

In the inter-censal period 1961-71, 1,415,000 immigrants were landed in Canada, 130,000 less than in the previous decade. From 1961, the numbers increased steadily until 1967, declining again thereafter. Economic conditions in Canada in 1961 discouraged immigration and only 71,689 were admitted of whom more than half were sponsored by close relatives in Canada. By 1967, the numbers had risen to 222,876 of whom two-thirds were independent immigrants. In the calendar year 1971 only 121,900 persons were given landed immigrant status and the proportion of independent immigrants declined to half.

The most important characteristics of immigration during this period were increasing ethnic diversification in terms of source countries and a growing emphasis on the educational and occupational qualifications of those admitted. After 1968, even those who were nominated by close relatives were required to meet certain minimal requirements in addition to the usual health, security and other checks designed to ensure that the potential immigrant did not fall into one of the prohibited classes (Hawkins, 1970). The selective nature of immigration to Canada between 1961 and 1971 was a result of deliberate policy decisions reflected in the immigration law and regulations which had been extensively revised in the course of the decade.

2.1. Immigration Policy and Regulations

Throughout the decade, Canada continued to be governed in its immigration policies by the Act of 1952, but the period between 1961 and 1971 was one of momentous change with regard to who was admissible to Canada for permanent residence. These changes were achieved by Orders-in-Council and by certain amendments to the Act of 1952, introduced in 1967 and 1968. In 1957, an Order-in-Council (PC1957-1675) had provided that landed immigrants, as well as Canadian citizens, might sponsor their spouses, unmarried minor children, and aged parents from Asia or Africa, thereby removing some elements of discrimination against non-white immigrants. A more significant step in this direction was taken in 1962 with new regulations that came into force on February 1 of that year (PC 1962-86). Section 31, replacing Section 20 of the old regulations, contained a key clause which defined the requirements for the landing of immigrants in Canada. It emphasized education, training and

skill rather than country of origin, thereby effecting a major shift in the nature and composition of immigration to Canada, which was to be reinforced by further changes later in the decade.

In 1961, strong preference was still given to immigrants from Britain and the old Commonwealth countries, together with France and the United States. The wording of the regulations carefully excluded unsponsored immigrants, whether British subjects or not, who came from the new Commonwealth countries, although certain quotas from India, Pakistan, and Ceylon were permitted.¹ Special arrangements also existed for a limited annual number of female domestic workers from the West Indies.² However, despite the preference for British immigrants, economic conditions and the snowballing effect of sponsorship meant that, in practice, Italy held first place among source countries in 1961, as it had done for several years. Notwithstanding their preferential status, there were few immigrants from France.

Commenting upon the implication of the 1962 Regulations, Mrs. Ellen Fairclough, then minister of Citizenship and Immigration, suggested that

"The general effect of Section 31, taken as a whole, is to improve the position of nationals of all countries, without weakening the position of any. The chief beneficiaries will be the Asians, Africans, and nationals of Middle Eastern countries. Not only will sponsors in Canada be able to apply for a wider circle of relatives from these countries than formerly, but for the first time unsponsored applicants from these parts of the world with the necessary qualifications will be admissible to Canada. Heretofore, qualified persons from these areas without relatives in Canada could only be admitted by Order-in-Council.

"Next to the Asians, Africans and nationals of Middle Eastern countries, persons from the Central and Latin American countries, including the West Indies, stand to benefit. Nationals of these countries will for the first time come within the admissible classes on the basis of their education, training, and skills.

"To a less significant extent, the nationals of European countries will also benefit under the present Regulations. In the past, persons from Continental European countries other than Britain and France could be admitted if they came to Canada to enter approved employment or to establish themselves in approved business, trade or profession, or in agriculture. Henceforth, they will come within the admissible classes if they have the necessary training and skills to qualify and have sufficient means to maintain themselves in Canada pending their successful establishment" (Fairclough, 1962, p. 4).

See footnote(s) on page 72.

These regulations, which were in operation until 1967, had significant influence on the national origin of those coming to Canada and on the level of qualification of the unsponsored immigrants. This is reflected in the admission statistics discussed below. However, some elements of discrimination by nationality persisted and were not removed until 1967.³

Following a major review of immigration policy and the publication of a White Paper (Marchand, 1966), a closer integration of immigration and economic policy was achieved by the amalgamation of the National Employment Service, elements of the Department of Labour and the immigration service, into a new Department of Manpower and Immigration (CIPS 2, p. 30). The Citizenship Branch was placed under the jurisdiction of the secretary of state, thereby separating responsibility for the selection and short-term economic adjustment of immigrants from questions of long-term social, cultural, and political integration.

New regulations came into effect 1 October 1967. They continued to govern the selection of immigrants beyond the end of the decade. Emphasis was placed on the principle of non-discrimination by nationality or ethnic origin, together with the continuing recognition of family reunion as a legitimate goal and the importance of relating immigration to economic needs. For the first time, the principles governing the selection of immigrants were spelled out in detail in the regulations. Units of assessment, designed to be applied on a universal basis, took into account short- and long-term factors believed to be important in influencing the adaptation of immigrants to Canada. Long-term factors included age, education, and training, occupational skill, occupational demand, and personal qualities assessed by the immigration officer. Short-term factors included arranged employment or willingness to accept employment designated as urgent, area of destination, knowledge of English or French, and having a relative in Canada. (For a more detailed account of the "points system" and its application see Hawkins, 1970 and CIPS 2, 1974.)

From the implementation of the points system of selection until some time after the Census of 1971, 50 points were needed by independent immigrants to be eligible for admission to Canada. Nominated immigrants received credit in respect of the short-term factors depending upon the closeness of the relationship with the nominator and whether he was a Canadian citizen or a landed immigrant. Thus, for example, the brother or sister of a nominator who was a naturalized Canadian needed

See footnote(s) on page 72.

only 20 out of the first 70 units of assessment (for long-term factors); if the nominator was a more recent immigrant, or had not become a citizen, 25 units were needed. More distant relatives required at least 30 units, or 35 if the nominator was not a citizen. One of the consequences of this system was to build an element of ethnic stratification into the occupational selection procedure. Independent immigrants, who came mainly from Britain, the United States, Western Europe, and later from some Third World countries, tended to be well educated and highly qualified. Although nominated immigrants were generally better qualified than earlier-sponsored immigrants, they tended to come from Southern European countries and to be less well educated than the independent stream.

Another component of immigration during this period was the refugee movement. Although fewer than in the immediate post-war era, some 28,000 refugees came in the intercensal period. Until 1966 the largest single nationality was Yugoslavian, but in 1968-69 Canada admitted 12,000 refugees from Czechoslovakia under an emergency program designed to facilitate initial adjustment. There was some degree of selection, but refugees were generally admitted under relaxed criteria, particularly if sponsored by a relative, friend, or responsible agency in Canada (CIPS 2, p. 105).

New provisions which permitted landing after arrival in Canada, incorporated into the assessment system introduced in 1967, added to the number of immigrants not subject to normal selection procedures. Indeed, the removal of previous bases of discrimination by national origin, a pent-up demand for emigration in many Third World countries, and the inability of Canadian immigration offices abroad to handle large numbers of applications quickly, combined to provide the incentive for a deliberate evasion of the normal application processes abroad. Aided and abetted by travel agents and transportation companies, large numbers of unqualified persons came to Canada after 1967 as visitors, almost immediately applied for permanent residence and, if refused, appealed against any order for deportation. An appeals procedure was established in 1956 and substantially amended and enlarged by the Immigration Appeal Board Act of 1967. The tide of applications was overwhelming and by 1971 there was a backlog that would have taken several years to remove. Meanwhile, the appellants received permission to stay and work in Canada until their status was ratified. The end result, as the subsequent Green Paper expressed it, "was loss of control of immigration policy and the immigration programme" (CIPS 2,

p. 36). The outcome was an amnesty in 1972 which gave many people in Canada, at the time of the 1971 Census, permission to stay permanently, although some did not formally obtain landed immigrant status until several months, or years, later. Such permission was often granted on much relaxed criteria (Richmond, 1975a; CIPS 2, p. 37). By 1971, almost a third of those admitted as immigrants had not undergone examination and selection before coming to Canada and many had been refused landing initially.⁴

2.2. Immigration and Emigration

Official immigration statistics refer only to persons given landed-immigrant status and are published by the date on which the immigrant was landed and not according to the date of entry to the country. Between 1967 and 1972, a person could be admitted to Canada as a non-immigrant and apply for landed immigrant status after arrival; this did not preclude such a person from obtaining employment in Canada, bringing his or her family, purchasing a home, or otherwise establishing residence. It is not clear how such semi-permanent residents were classified in the 1971 Census. Had they reported themselves as visitors they would have been excluded from the census count. However, it seems more likely that the majority would have reported themselves as resident in Canada.⁵ In addition, there were others who, strictly speaking, should have been counted as immigrants for demographic purposes including persons in Canada on renewable Minister's Permits who, while being ineligible for landed immigrant status, had permission to remain for 12 months or more.⁶ Canadian citizens and landed immigrants who were absent from the country for a year or more should, for demographic purposes, also have been counted on their return.

Statistics of emigration are even less reliable demographic indicators than those of immigration. No records of the outward movement of population from Canada are kept by the Canadian government. In practice, annual estimates of emigration are less accurate than the residual method of calculation which involves adding natural increase to the population at the time of the previous census and comparing this with the subsequent census count. This gives an estimate of net migration, subject only to errors that may be due to census under-enumeration or errors in the recording of births and deaths.⁷ If the total number of immigrants is deducted from the net migration figure, this provides an estimate of emigration. However, if the data on immigration are deficient, this is likely to result in an underestimation of the outward movement.

See footnote(s) on page 72.

Using the residual method of calculation and official statistics of immigration, Statistics Canada estimated intercensal emigration for 1961-71, at 706,112, without allowing for differential census under-enumeration. When this is taken into account the estimate is 904,540 (Kelly, 1977, p. 62). As the official statistics of immigration underestimate the actual numbers of immigrants, in a strictly demographic rather than an administrative sense, a method of calculating emigration that only corrects for census under-enumeration is also likely to underestimate the true figure. As noted above, if one is interested in the actual number of persons entering a country in order to reside for one year or more (which is the normal demographic sense of immigration) there are two sources of error in the official statistics of immigration published by the Department of Immigration. Firstly, these figures relate to the year in which a person receives landed-immigrant status and not to the year in which he or she entered the country. Secondly, the official immigration figures do not include returning Canadian residents and other persons who, at the time of the census were enumerated as residents of the country, but for various reasons were not counted as landed-immigrants. Besides the undocumented or illegal immigrants there were those who were in Canada with the authority of a Minister's Permit under Section 8 of the 1952 Immigration Act.

Prior to 1967, the percentage landed after arrival in Canada was negligible. However, the proportion rose from 5.8% in 1967 to more than a third in 1973. Since permission to apply for landed-immigrant status in Canada was rescinded in October 1972, there is reason to suppose that a high proportion of those given landed-immigrant status in 1972 and 1973 were already in the country at the time of the 1971 Census. Therefore, adjusted total immigration figures for the years 1961 onwards have been calculated using unpublished data supplied by the Department of Manpower and Immigration. The result is to increase the number of immigrants admitted in the intercensal period from 1,428,895 to 1,487,536. However, to these must be added those in Canada on Minister's Permits, returning Canadian residents, and other permanently resident non-immigrants. These may be estimated at approximately 275,000 in 1971.⁸ On this basis, total immigration for the intercensal period was nearly 1,762,000. When allowance is made for census under-enumeration net migration was approximately 524,355. This gives a revised estimate of emigration by the residual method of 1,238,000 for the decade.

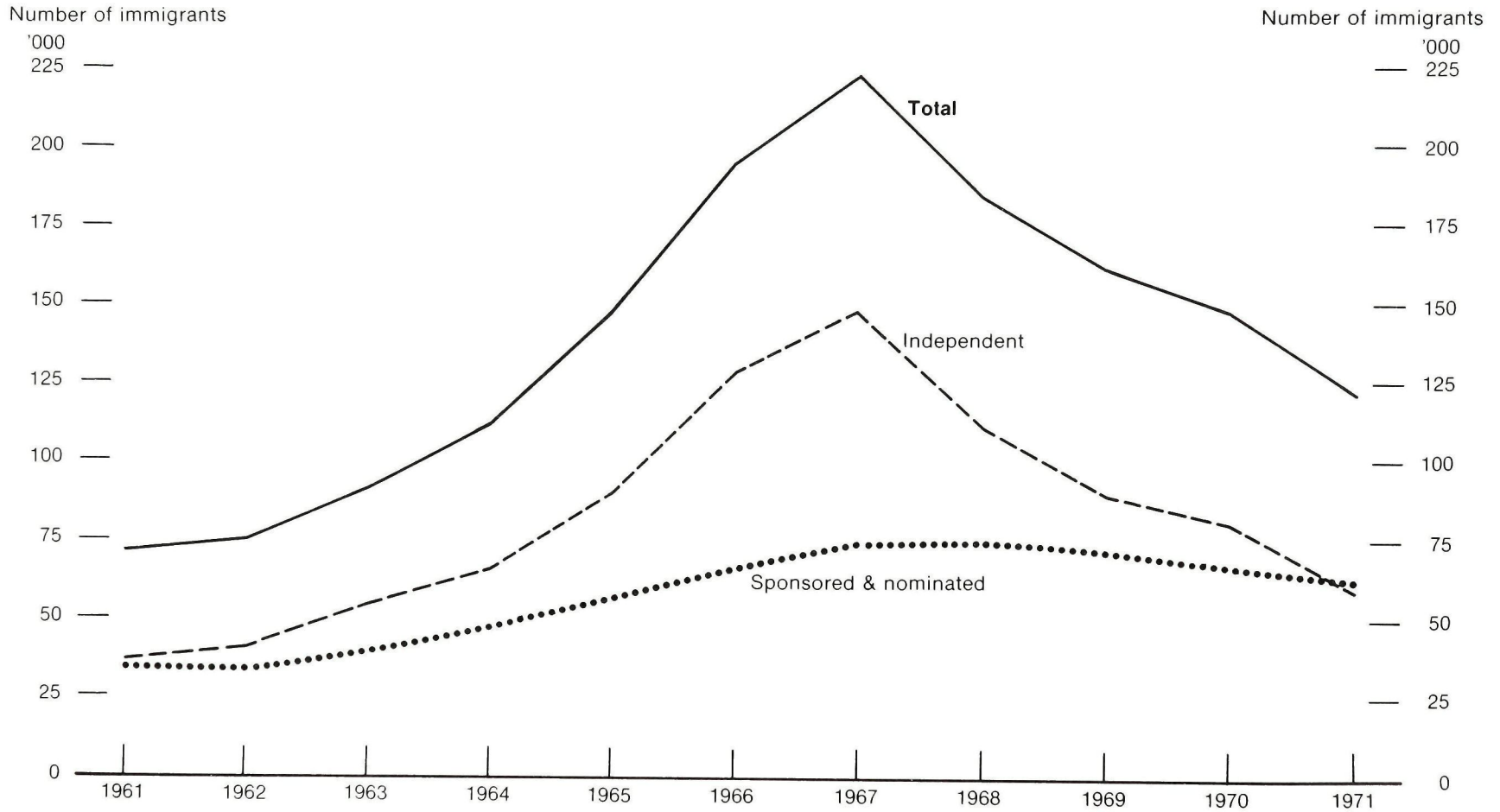
See footnote(s) on page 72.

Using the unadjusted figures, published by the Department of Manpower and Immigration, it is possible to examine the effects of changing regulations upon the characteristics of immigrants admitted to Canada for permanent residence in 1961-71. Chart 2.1 shows the annual distribution of sponsored, nominated, and independent immigrants. Until October 1967 the nominated category was not distinguished from sponsored dependents and independent immigrants were described as unsponsored. At the beginning of the decade, when total immigration was small, there were almost equal numbers of sponsored and unsponsored immigrants, the latter constituting 51% of those admitted in 1961. The proportion of independent immigrants rose steadily until 1967 when they constituted more than two-thirds, but subsequently declined to 49% only of those admitted in the calendar year 1971. On average, over the 11 years, 59% were in the independent category.

In view of the relaxation of previous restrictions on immigration from various countries, it is not surprising to observe the diversification in source areas that took place over the decade. Prior to 1961, 86.5% of all immigrants came from Britain or other parts of Europe, whereas by 1971 this was true of only 42.4% (see Chart 2.2). The proportion coming from Britain was only 17% in 1961; it rose to almost a third in 1966, falling again to less than 13% by 1971. Southern Europe contributed 31% in 1961, but the proportion fell steadily through the decade and was only 19% in 1971. Although the absolute numbers coming from the United States rose steadily throughout the decade, the percentage fluctuated a good deal. The average immigration from the United States over the 11-year period was 12.5%. Needless to say, those countries which had experienced the maximum restriction prior to 1962 showed the largest increases in absolute and proportional terms. Central America and the West Indies contributed only 2% in 1961, rising to 9.4% in 1971. Immigration from Asia (excluding Asia Minor) rose from 2.3% in 1961 to 13.6% in 1971. Immigration from the Middle East also increased and averaged 2.9% over the period.

Country of former residence is not a reliable indicator of the racial or ethnic origin of immigrants. Many immigrants have made one or more previous international moves and are not coming directly from the country of their birth. Even birthplace is not a substitute for racial or ethnic origin. For example, many Europeans were born in non-European countries and vice versa. Until 1966, Canada collected information on the ethnic origin of immigrants but subsequently ceased to

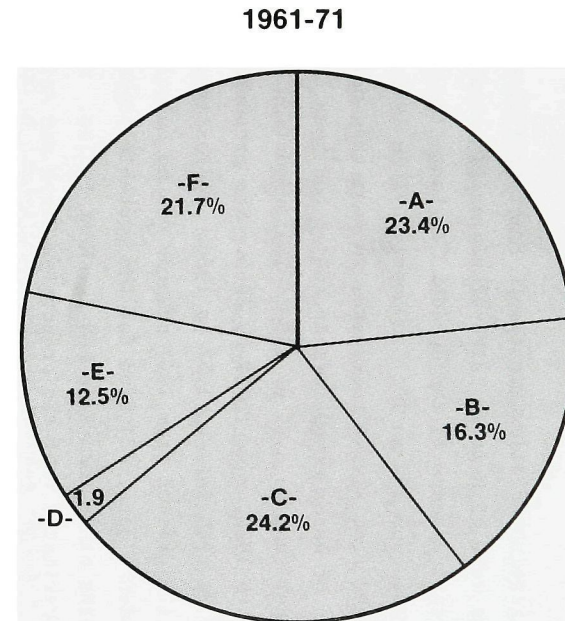
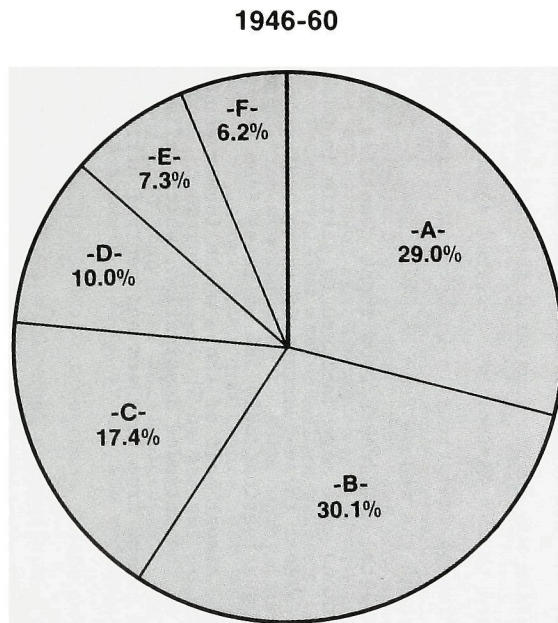
Chart 2.1
Trends in Immigration, Canada, Calendar Years, 1961-71



Source: Department of Manpower and Immigration

Chart 2.2

Percentage Distribution of Immigration to Canada by Country of Last Permanent Residence, 1946-71



Legend

- A- Great Britain
- B- Other Northern and Western Europe
- C- Southern Europe
- D- Other Europe
- E- U.S.A.
- F- All others

Source: Department of Manpower and Immigration

do so to avoid any suggestion of discrimination. Prior to 1961 a little over one-third of all immigrants were of British Isles ethnic origin, and this average was maintained in the first five years of the decade. In fact, the proportion of British Isles origin rose from 26% in 1961 to nearly 37% in 1966. However, other European origins declined from almost two-thirds to less than half of all immigrants. The proportion of Asian ethnic origin, which had been less than 2% before 1961, rose from 3.2% that year to 6.7% by 1966. The proportion of Negro origin, which was only 0.3% up to 1960, rose to 3% by 1966. The proportion of Jewish immigrants which was 3% up to 1960 fell to 1.5% by 1966. Approximate estimates of the ethnic composition of immigration from 1967 onwards can be calculated by using the country-of-former-residence data, adjusted for the probable proportion of those who immigrated from countries other than Asia and the West Indies. As a proportion of all immigrants, it is estimated that the proportion Black and Asian rose from 14.6% in 1967 to 28.8% in 1971 (Richmond, 1975b). Using birthplace as a criterion the proportion of Third World immigrants rose from 8% in 1961 to 36% in 1971 (Lanphier, 1977).

It is of interest to note that immigrants of French ethnic origin constituted 2.6% of all immigrants up to 1960 and an average of 3.4% between 1961 and 1966. Over the decade, immigrants from France, Belgium, and Switzerland constituted less than 4% of the total. There was some francophone immigration from other countries, but it was a small proportion of the total. Francophone immigration to Quebec is of particular interest. At the beginning of the decade, 23% of the immigrants whose intended destination was Quebec indicated they had some knowledge of French. The proportion increased to 29% in 1967 but declined again to less than 15% in 1971. Meanwhile, the proportion of immigrants to Quebec with prior knowledge of English increased steadily through the decade from 28.5% in 1962 to 39% in 1971 (Quebec, 1974). As would be expected immigrants from those countries having substantial French-speaking populations were more inclined to settle in Quebec but did not invariably do so. While almost three-quarters of those coming from France indicated Quebec as the intended destination, only 58% of those from Belgium and 46% of those from Luxembourg did so. Almost half of those whose former country of residence was in Africa gave Quebec as the intended destination, which reflects the fact that many of the immigrants coming from northern and central Africa were French-speaking.

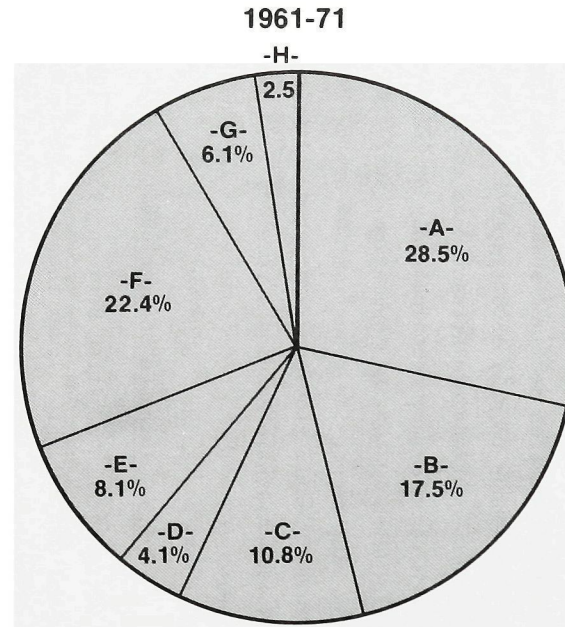
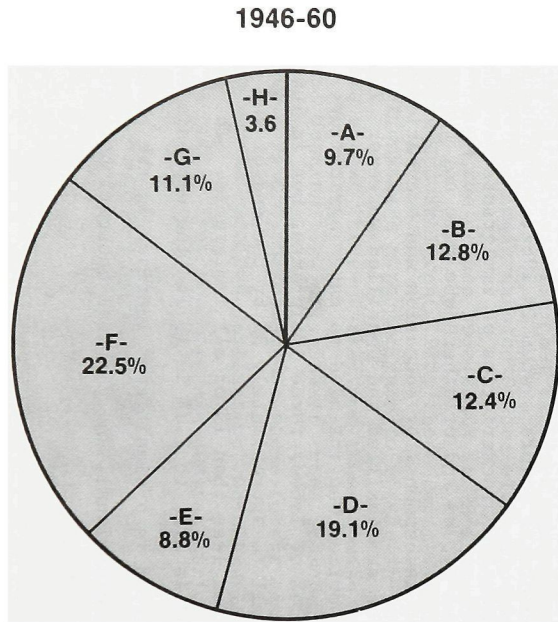
Overall, Quebec, which had 28% of Canada's population, initially received 20% of all immigrants. The proportion declined steadily from approximately a quarter at the beginning of the decade to only 15.8% in 1971. There was a further loss due to re-migration. Ontario continued to attract more than half of all immigrants coming to Canada, although the province contained only 35.7% of the country's population. British Columbia, with 10% of the population, attracted an average of 12.5% of all immigrants. Its proportion rose from 10% at the beginning of the decade to 15.5% in 1971. The Prairie Provinces attracted a little over 7% of all immigrants in the decade. The Atlantic Provinces received less than 2.5% of all immigrants arriving in 1961-71.

2.3. Intended Occupations

The proportion of immigrants admitted between 1961 and 1971 who intended to enter the labour force was 51%, slightly lower than the average between 1946 and 1960. It fluctuated from 48.6% at the beginning of the decade to 53.6% in 1967, declining again toward the end of the period. To some extent, this reflected the proportion of sponsored immigrants, including dependents admitted annually. Wives not intending to enter the labour force averaged 18% and children 25% of the total movement over the decade. In fact, these figures probably underestimate the proportion who actually obtained employment soon after arrival. Many wives and older children, who may not have intended to seek employment initially, subsequently joined the labour force.

The more selective nature of immigration after 1962, and particularly following the introduction of the points system in 1967, resulted in significant changes in the occupational characteristics of immigrants (see Chart 2.3). The existence of the nominated stream and of others who were not required to attain the same number of units of assessment for education and occupation meant that there was a continuing flow of semi-skilled and unskilled workers. The most significant decline was in the proportion who intended to enter agriculture. Up to 1960 farmers had constituted 16.4% of labour force immigrants, but in 1967 the proportion was only 6.7% and it fell to approximately 3% by the end of the decade. Other primary industries attracted less than 1% of all immigrants. The proportion of labourers fell from 11.4% in 1961 to 2.2% in 1971. The emphasis on education and occupational skills resulted in a significant increase in the proportions intending to enter managerial, professional, and clerical occupations. At the same time, it

Chart 2.3
**Percentage Distribution of Immigration to Canada
 by Intended Occupation, 1946-71**



Legend

-A- Managerial - administrative and professional

-C- Services and recreation workers⁽¹⁾

-E- Construction trades

-G- Labourers

-B- Clerical, commercial sales workers, and financial sales workers

-D- Farmers, fishers, trappers, loggers, and miners

-F- Manufacturing and mechanical trades

-H- Other, including transportation and communication trades

(1) Includes domestic workers

Source: Department of Manpower and Immigration

must be recognized that not all immigrants actually entered their intended occupation on arrival (Richmond, 1967; CIPS 4, 1974). Prior to 1961, less than 1% of all immigrants intended to enter managerial or administrative employment. By the end of the decade almost 6% were in this category. Before 1960 less than 9% were in the professional and technical category. In 1961 the proportion was 19.2% and rose to 31.9% by 1969, declining somewhat in the following two years. The proportion intending to enter clerical employment increased from 12.2% in 1961 to 16% in 1971. The service and recreational workers category declined from 18.8% in 1961 to 10.4% in 1971, but this was due almost entirely to a reduction in the number of domestic workers. In 1961, 12.4% intended to enter domestic work but, by 1971, only 4.4% expressed this intention.

The proportion intending to enter the construction industry was below-average at the beginning of the decade but rose to a peak of 9.6% in 1966, declining again after that date. There was a similar trend in the manufacturing and mechanical trades. These averaged 22.4% over the decade, a quarter of all immigrants in 1966. In absolute terms, 1967 was a peak year for immigration; almost 120,000 workers were admitted, of whom nearly 31,000 were intending to enter employment of a professional or technical nature. Using an alternative classification of immigrants into skilled (including professional and technical workers), semi-skilled, and unskilled workers, Parai has shown that the proportion of unskilled workers entering Canada fell from 32.4% in 1961 to 13.7% in 1971. Over the same period, the proportion of semi-skilled workers increased from 25.1% to 30.7%, while the proportion of skilled workers rose from 23% in 1961 to 29.9% in 1966 but declined to 25.8% by 1971 (Parai, 1974, p. 101).

FOOTNOTES

¹Quotas for immigrants from India (150), Pakistan (100), and Ceylon (50) were introduced in 1951 and were in addition to the close relatives who could be sponsored by Asian citizens of Canada. In the case of India the limit was raised in 1957 to 300 but this number was rarely achieved in practice before 1962, when the quota ceased to be applicable, due to lack of promotion and facilities for processing applications in India.

²The scheme for bringing female West Indian domestic workers to Canada was introduced in 1955 initially for Jamaica and Barbados and subsequently extended to Trinidad, British Guyana, St. Lucia and St. Vincent. In the first year only 100 were admitted; this increased to 230 in 1958. After 1962 applicants from the West Indies could be admitted as unsponsored or sponsored immigrants if they met the same criteria as all immigrants.

³Section 31 (d) of the regulations prevented immigrants in Asia and Africa (except Egypt) from sponsoring relatives, other than immediate family and dependents. It has been suggested that this was a last-minute addition to the new regulations designed to prevent a large influx of non-European relatives (Hawkins, 1972, p. 131). A minor amendment in August 1964 placed a fiancé in the same category as a fiancée, thus eliminating some discrimination against males from non-traditional source countries. Administratively, there was also indirect discrimination arising from the distribution of immigration offices abroad. The distributions of Canadian immigration offices abroad continued to favour Britain and Europe, although the situation improved over the decade as the following figures show:

	<u>1961</u>	<u>1971</u>
United Kingdom and Ireland	7	6
Northern Europe	14	12
Southern Europe	3	7
Middle East	1	3
Asia	2	5
Central and South America	0	3
United States	4	3

⁴Until 1972 applicants who were non-immigrants in Canada at the time of application were at a disadvantage, but a special adjustment procedure in that year gave landed-immigrant status to many who were in Canada at the time of the 1971 Census on much reduced criteria. In many cases, had these applicants applied abroad they would not have been admissible (CIPS 2, p. 36).

⁵A personal communication from Mr. J.K. Scott, characteristics officer, Demographic and Spatial Group, Census Field, Statistics Canada, states that there was no formal definition of visitor to Canada, as such. The term actually used was foreign resident, which was defined as a person with usual place of residence outside of Canada. Examples given on the census questionnaire included temporary visitors, students and armed forces of another country; all of these were excluded from census enumerations. Many persons not having landed-immigrant status in 1971 were employed at the time of the 1971 Census. The majority intended to settle permanently and may already have applied for permission to do so. Given the self-enumeration procedure it seems likely that such people reported themselves as Canadian residents and were included in the enumerations. There is no way of estimating the proportion.

⁶The precise number of Minister's Permits actually valid and in use at any particular time is not known. There is some duplication of statistics since a Minister's Permit might be converted to landed-immigrant status either by regular procedure or special Order-in-Council. Between 1966 and 1971, 5,498 persons were admitted by Minister's Permit. Although officially for temporary residence, such permits were generally renewed on an annual basis to persons not normally admissible under the ordinary provisions of the law. Additional persons were landed by special Order-in-Council, but these were normally counted in the regular immigration statistics, whereas those admitted by Minister's Permit were not (CIPS 3, p. 47).

⁷Proportionally speaking, census under-enumeration was greater in 1961 than 1971 (3.3% compared with 1.9%) so that the actual growth of the population over the decade was less than the 3,330,063 officially estimated. An alternative estimate is 3,131,635 (see Kelly, 1977, p. 62). Unfortunately, Kelly's estimate of emigration is too low because he does not allow for the deficiencies of the official immigration figures supplied by the Department of Manpower and Immigration.

⁸The 1971 Census showed that, of those aged five and over, there had been 134,500 Canadian-born living outside Canada in 1966 who were resident again at the time of the census. This suggests an average annual return rate, for all countries, of approximately 26,900 persons per annum, although over the decade, some people may have departed and returned to the country (after absences of more than a year), on more than one occasion.

CHAPTER 3

POST-WAR IMMIGRANTS: A DECADE OF EXPERIENCE

3.1. Introduction

The post-war period of 1946-61 was one of unprecedented economic and population growth. A resurgence of immigration combined with low emigration and high levels of natural increase produced some of the highest average annual growth rates per decade since the mass migration era of the early twentieth century. The population of Canada increased by approximately 5,500,000 during this period with the major source of growth, natural increase, contributing a little over three-fourths of this increment, while the post-war immigrant stream contributed just between one-fifth and one-quarter of the total. Approximately 1,851,000 reported immigrants arrived in Canada during this period, but the foreign-born population enumerated at the time of the 1961 Census who had reported themselves as having arrived during the 1946-60 period was 1,476,681. The discrepancy was the result of emigration and the normal inroads of mortality that would be expected to reduce the size of any cohort of immigrants that is the focus of interest.

The 1971 Census presents a unique opportunity to revisit this group of post-war immigrants, to see how they fared during the 1961-71 inter-censal decade. In the most general terms, this decade was one of continuing economic growth for the country as a whole, a period of growth for the labour force, and one of cyclical unemployment which declined from a high of around 8% to about 3.5% at mid-decade before rising again to approximately 6% at the time of the 1971 Census. Concomitantly, labour force participation rates for males continued their long-term decline while female rates climbed sharply. The latter trend, combined with large entering cohorts of young workers, contributed to an overall increase in the labour force of about 3.2% per year during the last five years of the decade (Economic Council of Canada, Ninth Annual Review, Ottawa: Information Canada, 1972, p. 16).

The rate of overall population growth during this decade of post-war immigrant experience declined from 1.9% to 1.7% for the latter half of the period. Both declining fertility and a cyclical flow of immigrants, closely paralleling the economic swings, were major factors underlying this pattern of change. Continuing but slower growth was reflected in the increase in average annual numbers of marriages

and net family formation. Population and economic growth, while still positive in the long-term sense, was not without its problems of unemployment and inflation. Immigration policy went the full circle from the optimism of the 1966 White Paper which stressed the continuing need for all the immigrants that Canada would attract, to the concerns of the 1974 Green Paper which suggested the need for greater controls and for quotas determined by provincial labour force requirements. Another major downturn in the economy occurred during the latter years of the 1960s. The changes that occurred in Canadian society during the intercensal period 1961-71 would have affected both the foreign- and native-born populations. By examining the changes that occurred in the 1946-61 cohort of immigrants, in relation to the native-born population who were in Canada at the same time, an estimate of their relative adaptability may be made.

3.2. The Post-war Immigrants in 1961¹

Immigrants to Canada characteristically have been young adults seeking employment in this country. While the age and sex characteristics of immigrants tend to be fairly constant, the conditions during the years of the Great Depression and World War II were quite disruptive of normal patterns. Excess numbers of women and children characterized the immediate post-war period, but thereafter the flow was characterized by an excess of males until 1958 when the pendulum again swung back to excess numbers of women, a condition which persisted until 1961.

Variations in the age and sex characteristics of arriving immigrants have clearly contributed to the character of the foreign-born population in Canada, as has emigration and mortality. The net effect, in the case of the growing post-war immigrant population, was a relatively young foreign-born population (median age equals 31.4 years) with a slight excess of males (masculinity ratio equals 107.0). In view of the fact that a major peak in immigration occurred in 1957, it is not surprising to find the largest proportions of men and women in the 25-34 year age range. Had immigration tapered off from either of its earlier peaks in 1948 or 1951, the average age of the post-war foreign-born population would have been somewhat older. The age of the immigrant population is quickly affected by fluctuations in the volume of immigration, and any reduction or cessation of its flow is quickly translated into more rapid aging of the foreign-born.

See footnote(s) on page 123.

In 1961, the post-war immigrant population was younger than the pre-war immigrants, older than the native-born, and had a significantly greater concentration in the younger labour force ages between 15 and 45. As may be seen in Table 3.1, almost two-thirds of the post-war immigrant population, or 65.0%, were within this age range compared to 41.1% for the native-born and just 13.7% for the pre-war immigrant population. The post-war immigrants and native-born had approximately the same proportions in the older working ages (45-64), but the former group had less than half the proportion of children 0-14 years of age and persons 65 and over, than did the native-born. The respective distributions for these two groups clearly show that post-war immigrants have a much lower ratio of dependent population to working-force-age population. Their total dependency ratio (in 1961) was 24.5 compared to 78.6 for the native-born population.

3.2.1. Distribution and Cultural Origins

That the majority of immigrants are relatively young adults concentrated in the prime working years is reflective of the economic nature of immigration to Canada. Therefore, it does not seem unreasonable to expect that under conditions of economic growth most immigrants tend to be attracted to those areas offering the greatest economic opportunities. Distributional data in Table 3.2 from the 1961 Census show greater relative concentrations of post-war immigrant (PWI) populations in Ontario and British Columbia than is the case for the native-born. In addition, a comparison of intended destination data for immigrants at the time of their arrival in Canada in the five year period preceding the 1961 Census with their actual distribution at the time of the census provides evidence of additional internal movement after their arrival. This continuing effort to find the best location to live and work appears to have favoured all regions at Quebec's expense (Kalbach, 1974, p. 48). Of the 1,851,000 immigrants to arrive between 1946 to 1961, approximately 82% were enumerated as residing in Canada at the time of the 1961 Census and over half of these, or 313,000, were residing in Ontario. The high degree of concentration of the PWIs in Ontario is clearly evident in the fact that Ontario had only 32% of the native-born population and 34% of Canada's total population at the time of the 1961 Census.

Between 88% and 85% of the immigrants to Canada during the 1950s were coming from Europe, and their contribution to the ethnic and cultural composition of the post-war immigrants was reflected in the 1961 Census. Approximately 26% of the

TABLE 3.1. Post-war and Pre-war Immigrants and Native-born Population by Broad Age Groups, Canada, 1961

Age group	Foreign-born population		Native-born population
	Post-war immigrants	Pre-war immigrants	
0-14	17.8	-	38.5
15-44	65.0	13.7	41.1
45-64	15.0	48.4	14.9
65+	2.2	37.9	5.5
Total: Per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	1,507,000	1,337,000	15,394,000

Source: Kalbach, W.E., *The Impact of Immigration on Canada's Population*, Table 4.8, p. 172.

TABLE 3.2. The 1946-60 Post-war Immigrant and Native-born Populations by Region, Canada, 1961

Region	1946-60 ¹ post-war immigrant population		Native-born population	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Atlantic Provinces	30,936	2.1	1,831,884	11.9
Quebec	241,214	16.3	4,864,499	31.6
Ontario	818,036	55.4	4,879,893	31.7
Prairie Provinces	208,917	14.1	2,570,795	16.7
British Columbia	174,562	11.8	1,200,731	7.8
Territories	3,016	0.2	30,788	0.2
Total	1,476,681	100.0	15,393,984	100.0

¹1946-60 period of immigration excludes those immigrants who arrived in Canada during the first five months of 1961.

Source: 1961 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

foreign-born who had arrived during this post-war period were born in the United Kingdom and other Commonwealth countries. Another 25% were born in other Northern and Western European countries, while Southern Europe accounted for 21% and Central and Eastern Europe, another 18%. Relatively small numbers had been born in the United States, the Middle East, Asia, or elsewhere.

As one would expect, 95% of the post-war immigrants born in the United Kingdom were of British origin. Two-thirds of those born in the remaining Northern and Western European countries were either German or Dutch, while the single largest ethnic group born in the remaining areas of Europe was Italian (39%), followed by the Poles (just under 10%), and the Hungarians and Germans (8% and 7%, respectively). Of those born in the ethnically heterogeneous United States, half were of British origin, while Germans (12%) and French (10%) were the next largest. Of the 49,000 born in other countries, Asians comprised more than half (56%), while British and Jewish were the next largest contingents with 7% and 6%, respectively (Kalbach, 1970, pp. 158-159).

Birthplace data, while providing information on the nationality of immigrants, are not totally unambiguous. It is generally understood that not all those born in a specific country are necessarily of the same ethnic or cultural group and that the degree of ethnic diversity can be quite high in some countries, particularly those that have continued to suffer from the vicissitudes of recurring wars. Nor have all immigrants of the same ethnic origins necessarily been born in the same country. To further complicate matters, there are several significant ethnic and cultural groups which have no corresponding national identity (the Ukrainians and, until recently, the Jews). There is clearly no one-to-one relationship between country of birth for the foreign-born and their ethnic or cultural origins. For these reasons, plus the fact that ethnic origin data are the only data that provide information on the cultural linkages of the foreign-born and native-born components of the population, it is important to examine the ethnic origin composition of the post-war immigrants as well.

Data on the composition of the 1946-60 post-war immigrant cohort, at the time of the 1961 Census, with respect to both place of birth and ethnic origin indicate that, while 24% were born in the United Kingdom, 28% were of British origin. Similarly, only 1.8% of the post-war immigrants were born in France, yet 2.5% were

French in origin. On the other hand, there was little difference between the proportions born in Italy and those of Italian origin. The Russians provide an interesting contrast to all of the previous examples. While 5.3% were reported as having been born in Russia, only 0.6% indicated that they were of Russian ethnic or cultural origin. The others reported themselves as Ukrainian, Jewish or one of several other ethnic populations now within Russia's present boundaries (Latvian, Polish, Estonian).²

While part of this lack of a one-to-one relationship between country of birth and ethnic origin results from the existence of such countries as the United States, Australia, and many Latin American nations which have experienced considerable immigration and do not qualify as distinctive and homogeneous cultural or ethnic populations, much of this lack of correspondence in other countries can be attributed to the considerable volume of international migration which has characterized the last century of colonization, industrialization and intermittent warfare. In any event, and by whichever method of classification one wishes to use, the composition of the post-war immigrant group in Canada, in 1961, was predominantly Northern and Western European and almost completely European, overall.

3.2.2. Religious Composition

Immigration in the post-war period tended to reverse the historical decline in the proportion of foreign-born which many of the religious populations had experienced since the 1930s. The Roman Catholics, Greek Orthodox and the Lutherans in particular benefited from the resurgence of immigration and were, in fact, the only denominational groups to have achieved larger numbers and larger proportions of post-war immigrants than they had of pre-war immigrants (Kalbach, 1970, p. 161). The shift in the religious character of post-war immigration tended to strengthen the position of the Roman Catholics who comprised the single largest denomination and accounted for 41% of all post-war immigrants in 1961. Anglicans (14%) were the second largest followed by Lutherans (11%), United Church (8%) and Presbyterians (5%). In terms of broader religious groupings, the Roman and Ukrainian Catholics, along with the Greek Orthodox, accounted for almost one-half or 47% of the post-war immigrants, while seven combined major Protestant denominations³ accounted for slightly less or 42%. The balance included Jewish (3%) and a residual category (8%).

See footnote(s) on page 123.

The religious composition of the post-war immigrant population represented a major shift from that of the pre-war immigrant population in which the same seven major Protestant denominations accounted for almost two-thirds of the foreign-born population. The Catholic groups and the Greek Orthodox comprised only 26% of the total of this earlier group of immigrants. The religious composition of the post-war immigrant population was much closer to that of the native-born population in 1961 than was the case for pre-war immigrants at that time.

The post-war immigrant population was the product of several immigration streams from different geographical areas. Variations in the religious characteristics of immigrants in relation to the place of birth should be examined to better understand the cultural complexity of the post-war immigrants as a group. Two-thirds of those born in Central, Eastern, and Southern Europe were Roman Catholic compared to only 14% of those born in the United Kingdom. The proportion Anglican among immigrants still living in Canada in 1961 varied from 46% of those born in the United Kingdom to less than 1% of those born in other (mainly Southern) European countries.

Immigrants coming from various geographical origins tend to vary in their degree of cultural homogeneity as reflected in the variety of ethnic origin and religious combinations observed among the resident foreign-born. Among the most homogeneous are the French, Italians, Hungarians, and Poles who are predominantly Roman Catholic. For these groups the Roman Catholic proportions run between 67% and 98%. In this sense the British origin population is more heterogeneous with less than half reported as Anglican, and equal proportions of United Church, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholics (about 16% each). Similarly, German Lutherans comprise almost half (48%) of their total ethnic population, with Roman Catholics accounting for the next largest share, or 26% of those reporting their ethnic origin as German. Almost the same picture emerges for the Dutch if the major Protestant denominations are combined (to account for almost half) and compared with the 28% Roman Catholic. Scandinavians were among the more homogeneous groups with 68% Lutheran. The Russian ethnic origin population was almost half (48%) Greek Orthodox. The Russians also had the largest proportion of Jews (14%), followed by the Poles (10%), the Hungarians and other Central Europeans (8% and 6%, respectively). Asians were notable for their relatively high proportion associated with the United Church (25%) and the 44% belonging to other religions, most likely non-Christian.

Of the major ethnic origin populations in Canada, the Italians and the French are the only ethnic origin groups that exhibited a high degree of ethnic and religious homogeneity at the time of the 1961 Census. The British and Scandinavian origin populations might be considered to be more homogeneous if several of the Protestant denominational groups could be combined without doing violence to the concept of cultural homogeneity, e.g., combining Anglicans with United Church and Presbyterians in the case of the British, and Lutherans with the United Church in the case of the Scandinavians. Immigrant populations from Central and Eastern Europe tend to exhibit a somewhat greater degree of cultural diversity because of the presence of the Greek Orthodox in addition to relatively large numbers of Roman Catholics. This is also the case for Southern Europeans, except the Italians. In short, the range and variety of religious groups that characterize the major ethnic origin populations is considerable within the post-war immigrant population and represents a rich mixture of national, ethnic and religious cultures.

3.3. Components of Change: 1961-71

The major concern of this chapter is an examination of changes in those social and economic characteristics of a specific population during a decade that would be indicative of its adaptation and integration to the larger society of which it is a part. There are a number of underlying demographic processes that effect any population cohort through time and it is important to understand these and to estimate their probable effects. The group of post-war immigrants who were residents of Canada in 1961 and who had arrived in the country during the 15 year period, 1946-60, are examined again in the 1971 Census. The population cohort is by definition a closed population; no new members can be added who were not members at the time of the 1961 Census, and the population can only be affected by the aging process, mortality, and migration.

The aging process would affect both immigrants and native-born alike, aging all members by 10 years. Mortality could conceivably show a differential effect if age-sex specific mortality data were available for native- and foreign-born elements of the population. In lieu of such information for the 1961-71 decade, it can only be assumed that the mortality experience for both groups was essentially the same. However, crude mortality rates may very well vary depending upon the age-sex structures of the respective populations.

In addition to mortality effects associated with aging, the size of a specific cohort can be affected by migration. In the case of the 1946-60 post-war immigrants, it is possible that many would have emigrated during the subsequent intercensal decade and some may have returned to Canada who had been absent at the time of the 1961 Census. The same would apply to a somewhat lesser degree to the native-born population, but there is no reason to believe that the relative net gains or losses experienced by the foreign- and native-born components would necessarily be comparable. In this analysis, an attempt is made to estimate the reduction in size of the two populations due to mortality by applying a forward survival technique using average 10 year survival ratios based on Canada Life Tables for 1961 and 1971.⁴

Estimates of net migration were based on the residual method with the difference between the survived population of a specific age and sex group, and the number enumerated at the time of the 1971 Census providing the estimate of net migration. With this estimation procedure, any over or underestimate of mortality would be directly reflected in the estimate of net migration as well as including any error term arising from enumeration and data processing procedures.⁵

The unique aspect of this analysis is its longitudinal aspect which focuses on changes in the 1946-60 cohort of immigrants residing in Canada between 1961 and 1971. The post-war immigrants, as a whole, can only be expected to decline in size but changes in the social and economic characteristics of individuals as well as in the group as a whole during the 1960s in relation to the comparable age and sex cohorts of the native-born will provide a basis for evaluating their degree of adaptation to Canadian society during this period.

The post-war immigrant group and its labour force age population can be examined as well as specific age and sex groups within the main range of working-force ages. It is to be expected that the extent and patterns of labour force participation will change as the various age and sex cohorts pass through the various stages of the individual and family life cycles. The extent of their success in financial terms will also be expected to vary with time and its analysis in comparison with comparable native-born cohorts will permit an assessment of their relative level of achievement during this period.

See footnote(s) on page 123.

Ideally, there should be no major procedural or conceptual changes during the period covered by the longitudinal analysis. However, the political and bureaucratic imperatives of census operations tend to mitigate against the achievement of this primary and fundamental necessity for successful longitudinal analyses. The major change with perhaps the greatest impact on the comparability of the data obtained in 1961 and 1971 was the introduction of self-enumeration in the 1971 Census. Part of the observed changes in the characteristics of the population over the decade must be attributed to the changes in basic census procedures.

Possible effects of changed procedures are found in the educational data for the immigrant population that had arrived in Canada prior to the 1961 Census. That a larger number of this population reported no schooling in 1971 than they had in 1961 suggests that self-enumeration procedures made it easier for individuals to indicate that they had had no formal schooling (Kalbach, 1970, p. 70). The ethnic origin data present additional evidence to indicate that census procedures can have a significant effect. The 1971 Census reported almost double the number of persons in the 1946-60 post-war immigrant group of Jewish origin than in the 1961 Census. Census data on ethnic origins have been known to be affected by the political and social climate of the times, particularly in those censuses that occurred during or following major world wars.⁶ While it is possible that the introduction of self-enumeration procedures might have encouraged more persons to report themselves as Jewish in origin, the size of the increase would suggest the possibility of some additional explanation. The answer to the puzzle in this case is to be found in a procedural change introduced in the editing stage of the data processing by Statistics Canada.⁷

There were a number of other changes of a definitional nature that have limited the scope of this longitudinal analysis. Most important was the drastic revision of the occupational classification system which precluded the production of any occupational tabulations from the 1971 Census in categories comparable to those used in the 1961 Census. Other, but less drastic, changes in definitions of the experienced labour force, industry categories, and other census concepts are sometimes troublesome but can be handled with some caution in the interpretation of differences which may be observed between subgroups within the population.⁸

See footnote(s) on page 123.

Another problem in dealing with specific immigration cohorts arises from the fact that some of the tabulations of characteristics of the post-war immigrants at the time of the 1961 Census included those who had actually arrived between January 1 and June 1, 1961. Periods of immigration in the census data are generally defined in terms of calendar years. More specifically, period of immigration is stated in terms of five year groupings (1946-50, 1951-55), except for the five-year period preceding the decennial census, which also includes the additional five-month period (1956-61 or 1966-71 in the case of the 1971 Census).⁹ Data for post-war immigrants by period of immigration provided in the 1971 Census are for the calendar years 1946-60. Thus, wherever possible, the 1961 Census data have been adjusted to exclude those who had arrived during the first five months of 1961 so that the period of immigration groups would be comparable for the 1961 and 1971 Censuses.¹⁰

There are two aspects to the longitudinal analysis that deserve some comment. Taking the post-war (1946-61) immigrant group as a whole, most of the changes during 1961-71 are due to mortality and emigration. The situation is somewhat more complicated when examining changes in the characteristics of those in the labour force. Complications are minimal for those age and sex cohorts who remain in the most active age range of the working force population during the decade. However, the interpretation of changes within cohorts who move beyond retirement age is complicated by the increasing significance of mortality; while the situation for the new cohorts entering the labour force age range, i.e., those who were 5-14 years of age in 1961, have no data base against which to evaluate the significance of their economic characteristics in 1971 vis-à-vis their economic adaptation. Rather than compare their characteristics in 1971 with their corresponding characteristics in 1961 (which they did not have), they can only be contrasted with the 15-24 year old group at the time of the earlier census. Comparing each to their native-born counterparts will permit an evaluation of their relative standing and the detection of any improvement in their position over the decade. For the same reasons, the 65 years of age and over group in 1961 will be contrasted with the 75 and over in 1971 to detect changes in the specific cohort during the 10-year period. The 65 and over group in 1961 will also be compared with the 65 years and over age group in 1971 in order to determine whether or not there has been any relative change in this group's position vis-à-vis the native-born.

See footnote(s) on page 123.

TABLE 3.3. The 1946-60 Post-war Immigrant Cohort and the Native-born Canadian Residents in 1961 by Region of Residence Showing Relative Change and "Retention-redistribution" Ratios, Canada, 1961 and 1971

Region	1961		1971		Relative change in proportionate share of popula- tion: 1961-71	Retention- redistribution ratios
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent		
<u>1946-60 post-war immigrant cohort</u>						
Atlantic	30,936	2.1	23,245	1.8	-14.3	0.751
Quebec	241,214	16.3	184,655	14.4	-11.7	0.766
Ontario	818,036	55.4	738,310	57.4	3.6	0.903
Prairies	208,917	14.1	163,810	12.7	- 9.9	0.784
British Columbia	174,562	11.8	174,395	13.6	15.3	0.999
Territories	3,016	0.2	1,940	0.2	0.0	0.643
Total	1,476,681	100.0	1,286,355	100.0		0.871
<u>Native-born population¹</u>						
Atlantic	1,831,884	11.9	1,555,245	10.8	- 9.2	0.849
Quebec	4,864,499	31.6	4,470,285	31.1	- 1.6	0.919
Ontario	4,879,893	31.7	4,661,115	32.4	2.2	0.955
Prairies	2,570,795	16.7	2,324,750	16.2	- 3.0	0.904
British Columbia	1,200,731	7.8	1,321,290	9.2	17.9	1.100
Territories	30,788	0.2	33,360	0.2	0.0	1.084
Total	15,393,984	100.0	14,366,045	100.0		0.933

¹ Native-born population in 1961 is the total population while in 1971 it is the population 10 years of age and over only.

Source: 1961 Census of Canada, unpublished data; and 1971 Census of Canada, Cat. No. 92-740, Bulletin 1.4-12.

24.5% to 8.1% during the decade, this was primarily the consequence of the very rapid decline of the age groups under 15 years and their passage into the productive labour force age range, 15-64 years of age. Of course, the young dependency ratio will be quickly reduced to zero and the older dependency ratio will continue to increase at an increasing rate. Note that the young dependency ratio for the post-war immigrant cohort declined more rapidly than the native-born. Both populations exhibited increases in their old age dependency ratios, but the ratio for the post-war immigrant cohort increased more rapidly. Overall, the total dependency ratio for the native-born decreased less rapidly during the decade than that for the post-war immigrants.

TABLE 3.4. Dependency Ratios for the 1946-60 Immigrant Cohort and the Native-born Population,¹ Canada, 1961 and 1971

Dependency ratio	1946-60 immigrant cohort		Native-born population	
	1961	1971	1961	1971
Young dependency ratio	21.8	2.6	68.7	19.8
Old dependency ratio	2.7	5.5	9.9	10.8
Total dependency ratio	24.5	8.1	78.6	29.8

¹Native-born population in 1961 is the total population while in 1971 it is population 10 years of age and over only.

Source: 1961 and 1971 Censuses of Canada, unpublished data.

In relative terms, the post-war immigrants as a whole experienced a loss of about 13% or twice that of the native-born which showed a 7% decline in numbers during the 10-year intercensal period. Table 3.5 provides data to show that for the post-war immigrants, slightly more than one-third of their decline could be attributed to mortality with the remaining two-thirds resulting from an estimated net emigration. This contrasts significantly with the native-born during the same period, where almost 96% of their loss could be attributed to mortality, compared to only a 4% loss resulting from net emigration. Since the age-specific survival rates have been consistently higher for women than for men, the explanation for the increase in sex ratios for the immigrant group mentioned earlier must lie in the different migration experience for each group. This is consistent with the estimates shown in Table 3.5, where the estimated net emigration for the immigrant cohort was -103.4 per 1,000 females, or 37% higher than the estimated net emigration for males at -75.5 per 1,000 population.

TABLE 3.5. Estimates of Deaths, Survivors, Net Migration, and Percentage of Population Change Due to Mortality and Net Migration, by Sex, for the 1946-60 Post-war Immigrant Cohort and the Native-born Population, Canada, 1961 and 1971

Sex	1961 population	1961-71 estimated number of deaths	1971 estimated number of survivors	1961-71 estimated net migration	1971 enumerated population	Total change 1961-71	Per cent of change due to:	
							Mortality	Net migration
<u>1946-60 post-war immigrant cohort</u>								
Males	765,136	39,833	725,303	-54,222	671,081	-94,055	42.4	57.6
Females	711,545	27,682	683,863	-68,593	615,270	-96,275	28.8	71.2
Total	1,476,681	67,515	1,409,166	-122,815	1,286,350	-190,330	35.5	64.5
<u>Native-born population¹</u>								
Males	7,737,183	574,737	7,162,446	-13,796	7,148,650	-588,533	97.7	2.3
Females	7,655,210	405,722	7,249,488	-32,083	7,217,405	-437,805	92.7	7.3
Total	15,392,393	980,459	14,411,934	-45,879	14,366,055	-1,026,338	95.5	4.5

¹Native-born population in 1961 is the total population while in 1971 it is the population 10 years of age and over only.

Source: 1961 Census of Canada, unpublished data; and Vital Statistics, 1961-71.

3.4.2. Life Cycle Related Changes regarding Marital Status, and Family Type and Size

With aging comes a succession of changes in one's characteristics associated with the various stages of the individual and family life cycle. Marital status is one such characteristic inexorably tied to the basic life cycle of individuals, and the question here is to what extent the experience of the immigrants, who arrived in Canada during 1946-60 follows that of their native-born counterparts. Table 3.6 shows a difference in the marital composition of the two populations. A large proportion of the foreign-born are married before they reach Canada; perhaps it is not surprising that a larger proportion of the 1946-60 PWI cohort, 15 years and over in 1961, was married as compared to the native-born.

TABLE 3.6. Marital Status for the 1946-60 Post-war Immigrant and Native-born Populations, 15 Years and Over, Canada, 1961 and 1971

Marital status	1961	1971
1946-60 PWI		
Single	22.4	17.4
Married	74.2	77.3
Widowed	2.9	3.7
Divorced	0.6	1.6
Total	100.0	100.0
Native-born		
Single	29.4	31.1
Married	64.8	62.4
Widowed	5.4	5.4
Divorced	0.4	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: 1961 and 1971 Censuses of Canada, unpublished data.

The decade's experience, in this instance, provides no evidence of a convergence between the two groups insofar as their marital composition is concerned. The proportion married in the PWI cohort increased from 74% to 77%, while the native-born declined from 65% to 62%. The trend for the proportion single is the reverse of this, as the proportions widowed and divorced were relatively small and produced small increases for each group during the decade. While the differences increased during the decade with respect to the proportions single and married, the two groups became more alike with respect to their proportions widowed and divorced.

The proportions married by 10-year age groups show consistent increases during the decade with the exception of the youngest category (15-24 years) for both populations, and the 65 year and over category for the native-born and the 75 years of age and over for the post-war immigrants. The overall decline in the proportion married for the native-born must be the consequence of differences in the age structure, particularly the relatively greater numbers of the native-born under 25 years of age, and 65 and over, the very same age groups that experienced a decline in their proportions married during the decade.

As the various cohorts age, the proportion married within each cohort tends to increase up to the 35-44 year old age group, and then subsequently declines as the other combined statuses increase. Table 3.7 shows that both the PWI and the native-born cohorts tend to follow the same general pattern, although the PWI cohorts under 45 years in 1961 showed greater relative increases in the proportion married within their groups during the decade and smaller relative declines for those cohorts over 45 than did the comparable native-born cohorts. The conditions tending to increase and maintain the relative numbers of married persons through the early and later stages of the family life cycle would appear to have been more favourable for the PWI cohorts.

Complimentary to these changes in proportions married are the changes in the proportions divorced within each of the cohorts as they live through the additional decade of experience. Examination of the proportion divorced for each age cohort at the beginning of the decade, and the same group 10 years later (e.g., the 25-34 years olds in 1961 who become 35-44 years of age 10 years later) will show that the relative increases in the proportion divorced are much greater for the native-born cohorts up to the 45-54 year group (in 1961). However, for the two remaining older cohorts, the decade increases in proportion divorced are relatively greater for the PWI cohorts.

The younger married population of the PWI cohort would appear to have been more successful than their native-born counterparts insofar as the proportion divorced in a population might be considered as an overall measure of success or failure. However, it should be remembered that the proportion married would increase if the divorced experienced higher mortality or emigration rates. While considerable care should be taken in the interpretation of these differences, it

TABLE 3.7. Percentage Married and Divorced for Specified Age Cohorts of Post-war Immigrants and Native-born Population, Canada, 1961 and 1971

Age in 1961	1961			1971			Age in 1971
	Cohort total	Per cent married	Per cent divorced	Per cent married	Per cent divorced	Cohort total	
<u>1946-60 cohort of post-war immigrants</u>							
15-24	231,638	29.4	0.1	83.6	1.9	213,700	25-34
25-34	402,847	81.9	0.4	92.1	1.7	351,000	35-44
35-44	327,859	90.8	0.7	91.2	1.7	282,300	45-54
45-54	158,059	88.7	1.1	84.5	1.9	137,200	55-64
55-64	65,235	78.6	1.3	66.8	2.1	47,600	65-74
65+	31,963	49.1	0.8	36.5	2.5	15,900	75+
<u>Native-born population</u>							
15-24	3,551,500	22.4	0.0	82.0	1.6	2,328,100	25-34
25-34	2,030,617	80.8	0.4	87.6	2.0	1,950,200	35-44
35-44	1,928,665	86.7	0.6	84.9	1.9	1,814,200	45-54
45-54	1,466,818	83.9	0.7	77.0	1.5	1,322,300	55-64
55-64	828,010	74.7	0.5	61.7	0.7	679,900	65-74
65+	851,263	52.6	0.2	35.8	0.4	414,200	75+

Source: 1961 and 1971 Censuses of Canada, unpublished data.

seems clear that the experience of specific age cohorts of PWIs through 1961-71 differs in significant ways from the experience of the same age cohorts of the native-born.

One of the consequences of rapid growth and crowding is an increase in the relative numbers of secondary families in households, a doubling up of related families, or lodging and other non-related families. In particular this seems to be characteristic of immigrant families who tend to share housing to a greater extent than families with native-born heads. In 1961, 93% of the total families with foreign-born heads were enumerated as primary families compared to 95% for the native-born. However, considering only the foreign-born who had arrived in Canada during 1946-60, only 88% of the families were classified as such. Table 3.8 shows that conditions during the decade appeared to favour the establishment of more primary families and by the end of the decade the distribution of families by type for the PWI families was almost identical to that of families with native-born heads.

TABLE 3.8. Distribution of Family Types for the 1946-60 Post-war Immigrant and Native-born Populations, Canada, 1961 and 1971

Family type	1946-60 PWI family heads		Native-born family heads	
	1961	1971	1961	1971
Primary families	88.2	97.4	94.7	97.1
Secondary families	11.8	3.0	5.3	2.9
Related	5.7	2.4	3.8	2.2
Lodging and other	6.2	0.6	1.4	0.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: 1961 and 1971 Censuses of Canada, unpublished data.

Examining changes for specific age cohorts (cross-sectionally) highlights a considerable degree of variation in the distribution of primary and secondary type families. The proportion of secondary families tends to be distributed in a "U-shaped" curve, with high proportions at both the younger and older ends of the age distribution and minimal proportions for the middle age category (45-54). The decline in proportions of secondary families within age categories between 1961 and 1971 was significant and generally similar for the same age groups of PWIs and the native-born but considerably greater in the case of the PWIs.

Secondary type families are predominantly related families rather than lodging and other non-related families. The only exception occurred in the PWI group who were 25-54 years of age in 1961. However, by the end of 1971 this deviation from the general pattern had worked itself out and the distribution of related and non-related secondary families was almost identical to that for the native-born family heads.

Between 1961 and 1971 the average family size in Canada had declined from 3.9 to 3.7 persons. This represented a net change resulting from two opposing trends within the foreign-born and native-born populations. An earlier analysis had shown that family size for families with native-born heads had declined while those families with foreign-born heads had actually increased in size (Kalbach, 1974, p. 65). Changes in the age of family heads and in the number of children had contributed to the overall change during the decade (Table 3.9).

TABLE 3.9. Average Family Size for Native-born and Foreign-born Populations, Canada, 1961 and 1971

Nativity of head	1961	1971
Native-born heads	4.1	3.8
Foreign-born heads	3.3	3.4
1946-60 PWI heads	3.6	3.8
Total	3.9	3.7

Source: 1961 and 1971 Censuses of Canada, unpublished data.

Information on family size by age of head for the census years 1961 and 1971 clearly shows the typical rise and fall of family size as the family head ages, with the peak size occurring in the 35-44 age group. Taking PWI and native-born family heads separately and following each 10-year age group longitudinally through the decade shows that both groups follow the same general pattern, but that the size of the PWI families increased more rapidly during the early phase of the family life cycle and decreased more slowly during the later phase than native-born families (Table 3.10). Since the family size for the PWIs was somewhat smaller for every age group than the average family size for the native-born, the differing rates of change have tended to produce a convergence in average family size for the two groups.

TABLE 3.10. Post-war Immigrants and Native-born Family Size (Average) by Age of Family Head in 1961 and 1971, and Percentage Change, Canada, 1961-71

Age of family head in 1961	Family size		Age of family head in 1971	Percentage change 1961-71
	1961	1971		
<u>1946-60 post-war immigrants</u>				
5-14	-	2.6	15-24	-
15-24	2.7	3.6	25-34	33.3
25-34	3.4	4.4	35-44	29.4
35-44	4.0	3.9	45-54	- 2.5
45-54	3.7	2.9	55-64	-16.2
55-64	3.0	2.9	65+	-
65-69	2.4			
70+	2.3			
<u>Native-born population</u>				
5-14	-	2.6	15-24	-
15-24	2.9	3.7	25-34	27.6
25-34	4.1	4.9	35-44	19.5
35-44	4.9	4.3	45-54	-12.2
45-54	4.4	3.1	55-64	-29.5
55-64	3.3	2.4	65+	-
65-69	2.6			
70+	2.4			

Source: 1961 and 1971 Censuses of Canada, unpublished data.

3.4.3. Contribution to the Labour Force

The proportion of the population old enough to work that actually enters and remains in the labour force is a variable and tends to fluctuate in response to economic conditions, individual economic needs, personal health, etc. In addition to fluctuations in the size of the labour force caused by movement into and out of the larger pool of the working age population, this labour force reserve and the labour force population itself is continuously augmented by young persons reaching the working age. The relative size and significance of this annual manpower increment is directly related to previous fluctuations in the birth rates of the resident population as well as in the size and number of immigrant families entering the country. The particular interest here lies with the younger native-born and the young foreign-born who became 15 years of age during the 1961-71 decade. The contributions made by persons moving into the labour force who were already of working age during this period will be examined in a subsequent section of this chapter.

Those entering the labour force during 1961-71 were 5-14 years of age at the time of the 1961 Census. The native-born component of this group will far outnumber their foreign-born counterparts who had arrived in Canada as children after World War II. While their relative sizes are important with respect to the size of the manpower pool, this aspect is not the major point of concern; it is the relative contribution that each of these age-nativity specific populations have made to the country's current experienced labour force that will be examined.

Of the 5-14 year olds in 1961, both the PWI cohort and the native-born component can be expected to diminish in actual size through the continuing exposure to mortality and emigration. There is evidence that both groups experienced net emigration; the data in Table 3.11 show that about 8% of the estimated survived population of the 5-14 year old PWI cohort were lost to emigration compared to an estimated 2% for the same age group of native-born for the same period of time. A somewhat larger proportion of the original 1946-60 PWI cohort entered the current experienced labour force than the native-born, the percentages being 58% and 52%, respectively.

There appears to have been some important sex differentials in survival rates and net migration that would affect estimates of their relative contributions to the labour force population. Sex differentials reflected in survival rates

TABLE 3.11. Contribution Made by the 1946-60 Post-war Immigrants and Native-born 5-14 Year Old Pre-labour Force Population to the Current Experienced Labour Force, Canada, 1961-71

Sex	5-14 year olds in 1961	Estimated survivors in 1971	Estimated net migration 1961-71	15-24 year olds in 1971	15-24 year olds in CELF ¹	15-24 year olds not in CELF	15-24 year olds in CELF as per cent of 1961 cohort	Per cent of 1971 15-24 year cohort in CELF
<u>1946-60 post-war immigrants</u>								
Males	117,390	116,200	-8,855	107,345	75,495	31,850	64.3	70.3
Females	108,938	108,467	-9,457	99,010	56,420	42,590	51.8	57.0
Total	226,328	224,667	-18,321	206,360	131,915	74,445	58.3	63.9
<u>Native-born population</u>								
Males	1,882,596	1,864,836	-48,806	1,816,030	1,111,370	704,660	59.0	61.2
Females	1,822,474	1,814,899	-38,379	1,776,520	799,870	976,655	43.9	45.0
Total	3,705,043	3,679,735	-87,185	3,592,550	1,911,240	1,681,315	51.6	53.2

¹CELFF = Current experienced labour force.

Source: 1961 and 1971 Censuses of Canada, unpublished data.

derived from the 1961 and 1971 Canada Life Tables were applied without further differentiation or adjustment to both native-born and foreign-born populations. The estimates of net migration, which utilized the derived survival rates, suggest that the foreign-born women experienced a higher net emigration than foreign-born males. The reverse seemed to be the case for native-born women. The foreign-born women had a much higher proportion of the original 1961 cohort of 5-14 year olds in the current experienced labour force than native-born women with 52% and 44%, respectively. In relative terms, the 1946-60 PWI cohort of 5-14 year olds in 1961 made a significantly greater contribution to the current labour force than did the native-born.

Those of the PWI cohort under 25 years of age in 1971 who were in the experienced labour force were almost entirely wage and salary workers with 95% males and 96% females employed in that capacity. The native-born cohort of the same age group had slightly lower percentages of wage and salary workers (Table 3.12). The difference would appear to be due almost entirely to the larger proportion of the native-born being reported as unpaid family workers. The proportion of employers or working for own account was approximately the same for each group and relatively small, at just under 2%.

During the decade there was very little change in the distribution by class of worker for the youngest age groups. There was essentially no change for PWIs under 25 years of age between the 1961 and 1971 Censuses, being 95.5% and 95.7% wage earners, respectively. On the other hand, the proportion of wage-earners for native-born males under 25 years of age increased from 89.7% to 92.0% during the same period and decreased from 97.4% to 95.1% for native-born females. This change seemed almost totally attributable to the decline in the proportion of unpaid family workers among males from 7.2% to 5.7% and an increase among females from 1.8% to 4.1% at the end of the decade.

3.5. Labour Force Participation and Income: The Post-war Immigrant and Native-born Cohorts

The 1946-60 post-war immigrant group has been examined both in terms of its totality and with respect to specific age and sex groups for evidence of change during the decade. Where changes have occurred, they were contrasted with the comparable segment of the native-born population in order to assess their significance. The two populations differ with respect to their demographic characteristics, so

TABLE 3.12. Class of Worker by Sex for Post-war Immigrants and Native-born Population, 15-24 Years of Age, Canada, 1961 and 1971

Class of worker	1961			1971		
	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females
<u>1946-60 post-war immigrants</u>						
Wage earner	95.50	94.60	96.82	95.67	95.21	96.30
Unpaid family worker	2.24	2.77	1.46	2.67	2.68	2.67
Employer	0.87	1.29	0.24	0.67	0.88	0.40
Working for own account	1.40	1.34	1.48	0.98	1.23	0.66
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
<u>Native-born population</u>						
Wage earner	92.77	89.72	97.44	93.29	91.95	95.14
Unpaid family worker	5.03	7.15	1.80	5.01	5.69	4.08
Employer	0.51	0.75	0.14	0.45	0.63	0.21
Working for own account	1.69	2.39	0.63	1.25	1.74	0.57
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: 1961 and 1971 Censuses of Canada, unpublished data.

much so in relationship to their age-sex structures that the same trends affecting specific age and sex groups can and have produced different overall effects. While it is important to look at changes in the characteristics of these groups as wholes, much more insight can be gained with respect to understanding the adaptation and integration processes if smaller age and sex cohorts can be isolated and followed over a specific time period so that the changes that are observed can be assumed with greater confidence to have occurred with respect to the same group of individuals.

When looking at changes in the characteristics of the labour force age-group over time, one of the significant causes of change is the continuous injection of young persons into the labour force population as they become of working age, and the continuous departures throughout the age range because of emigration and at the other end of the age range because of retirement and death. Restricting the analysis of change to those cohorts that remain within the normal age range of the labour force will eliminate most of the effects produced by the entrance and terminal groups on the labour force as a whole. Even so, when the characteristics of a five or 10-year age cohort of males or females change over a 10-year period, some of that change will still be due to the characteristics of the original members of the cohort who die, emigrate or return to Canada between the two census dates. If those who emigrate (or the net migrants for any cohort) or die during the intercensal period are different in terms of the characteristics being analyzed from those who survived and remain in the country, the character of the cohort will change even though the characteristics of the actual survivors have remained constant in every way (except for becoming 10 years older). Thus, the greater the depletion of any cohort from either of these causes, the greater the caution required in interpreting intercensal decade changes. Those over 55 years of age in 1961 and under 25 years in 1971 clearly pose more complex problems of analysis; accordingly, the focus will be on those 10-year age and sex groups who were 15-55 in 1961.

3.5.1. Labour Force Participation

The number of PWIs in the current experienced labour force increased by 8.5% and the participation rate rose from 65.2% to 68.5% during the decade. While this is a considerably higher level of participation than that experienced by the native-born whose rate increased from 53.7% to 56.6% during the same period, the actual numbers of PWIs in the current experienced labour force were considerably

smaller, as was their percentage increase. The native-born, for example, increased by about one-third in size during the decade.

Both the levels of participation and trends for each of the male and female components of the current experienced labour force were similar for both populations and consistent with the overall change that occurred in labour force participation - an increase for women and a decrease for men, with higher levels for both sexes in the post-war immigrant population than in the native-born. Variations in the age-sex specific rates in 1961 and 1971, showed the characteristic curves for participation by sex; the male participation rates peaked at middle age while the female rates displayed a double peak with the major one occurring in the 20-24 year age group and the secondary peak coming after the childbearing period or in the 45-54 year age group. Given these general similarities, to what extent did the separate age and sex cohorts conform to or diverge from the general patterns?

For the male population, participation in the current experienced labour force increased more rapidly for the native-born cohort, 15-24 years in 1961, and decreased more rapidly during the decade for the remaining cohorts (Table 3.13). The net effect was an overall increase in the difference in participation rates, for all age groups combined, between the post-war immigrant and native-born groups. In 1961, the rates for all ages combined differed by 14%, and by 1971 the difference had increased to 18%. The picture for women was the reverse of that for males. The native-born women showed larger increases in their participation rates for every age cohort up to the 45-54 year age group (in 1961) and similar or smaller decreases for the oldest two groups. The net effect, in view of the generally higher participation rates for foreign-born women, was to reduce the differences between the two groups from 33% in 1961 to 22% in 1971.

The reasons for the differences in trends by sex are not entirely clear. The foreign-born clearly had higher participation rates than the native-born for both males and females. But why the decade's experience tended to produce a convergence between the foreign-born and native-born females on the one hand and divergence between the two male groups on the other hand remains to be explained. The only age group which showed any degree of convergence for males was 15-24 years (in 1961) which became 25-34 years in 1971. All the other male 10-year age cohorts showed larger relative declines in participation rates for the native-born in

TABLE 3.13. Current Experienced Labour Force Participation Rates for Selected Age/Sex Cohorts of the 1946-60 Post-war Immigrants and Native-born Population, and Percentage Change in Cohort Participation Rates, Canada, 1961 and 1971

Age in 1961	PWIs in CELF		Native-born in CELF		Age in 1971	Percentage change in cohort participation rates in CELF	
	1961	1971	1961	1971		Post-war immigrants	Native-born population
<u>Males</u>							
5-14	-	70.3	-	61.2	15-24	-	-
15-24	67.5	94.7	59.8	91.5	25-34	40.3	52.9
25-34	96.3	96.3	93.4	91.3	35-44	- 0.0	- 2.3
35-44	96.7	95.3	93.6	88.5	45-54	- 1.4	- 5.5
45-54	94.5	89.2	91.3	78.2	55-64	- 5.6	-14.4
55-64	85.7	40.4	80.7	30.2	65-74	-52.8	-62.6
65+	35.6	15.8	29.2	10.3	75+	-55.5	-64.7
Total	89.2	88.2	78.1	75.0		- 1.0	- 4.1
<u>Females</u>							
5-14	-	57.0	-	45.0	15-24	-	-
15-24	46.3	47.1	39.9	42.2	25-34	1.8	5.7
25-34	39.3	49.1	27.7	41.4	35-44	24.8	49.4
35-44	39.9	51.0	29.3	42.3	45-54	27.7	44.4
45-54	41.0	38.7	32.3	34.0	55-64	- 5.7	5.1
55-64	27.9	12.8	24.5	10.8	65-74	-54.2	-55.8
65+	7.7	4.2	7.1	5.0	75+	-45.8	-28.6
Total	39.3	47.0	29.5	38.6		19.5	30.8

Source: 1961 and 1971 Censuses of Canada, unpublished data.

contrast to the post-war immigrants. For females in the current experienced labour force, the observed convergence for the decade was the result of the more rapid increase in participation rates for the cohorts of women under 55 years of age (in 1961) and similar or smaller declines in participation rates for native-born women in the 10-year age cohorts over 55 years than was the case for the cohorts of 1946-60 post-war immigrant women.

Participation rates for wives living with husbands were generally lower than the rates for all women in the labour force age range, but they showed the same generally strong increase during the decade, both for women with PWI husbands as well as those with native-born husbands. The difference between those with native-born husbands and those with PWI husbands was considerably greater in 1961 than in 1971. At the beginning of the decade the participation rate was 16 percentage points higher for wives of foreign-born heads than the 19.0% participation rate for wives of native-born heads. By 1971, the gap had narrowed to about half this amount as the result of the more rapid increase in participation rates exhibited by the wives with native-born husbands. The improving economic conditions that characterized the early 1960s not only contributed to the increasing involvement of women in general in the current experienced labour force but enabled the wives of native-born family heads to significantly reduce the differences in levels of participation between themselves and those wives with PWI husbands. The changes during the decade in cohort participation levels for the PWI and native-born wives in husband-wife families and total women, who were 15 years of age and over in 1961, are shown in Table 3.14.

TABLE 3.14. Participation Rates in the Current Experienced Labour Force for Total Women and Wives in Husband-wife Families by Nativity of Family Head, Canada, 1961 and 1971

Category of women	<u>1961 Pop. 15+ years</u>		<u>1971 Pop. 25+ years</u>	
	<u>1946-60</u> PWI's	<u>Native-</u> <u>born</u>	<u>1946-60</u> PWI's	<u>Native-</u> <u>born</u>
Women in husband-wife families	34.8	19.0	43.0	33.5
Total women	39.2	29.4	45.0	35.9

Source: 1961 and 1971 Censuses of Canada, unpublished data.

The increases in participation rates during the decade for each of the 10-year age cohorts of women were consistently lower for the foreign-born than for the native-born. Where there was in fact a decline, as was the case for those 55-64 years of age who became 65 and over during the decade, the relative decline was greater for the foreign-born cohort than for the native-born. In addition, the youngest age cohort with foreign-born husbands showed a decline of -0.6%. Coupled with the existing differentials in participation rates, the cohort changes have contributed to a closing of the gaps between the native-born and the 1946-60 PWI cohorts during the 1961-71 period. Changes in the age-specific participation rates, as well as cohort changes between 1961 and 1971 are illustrated in Chart 3.1.

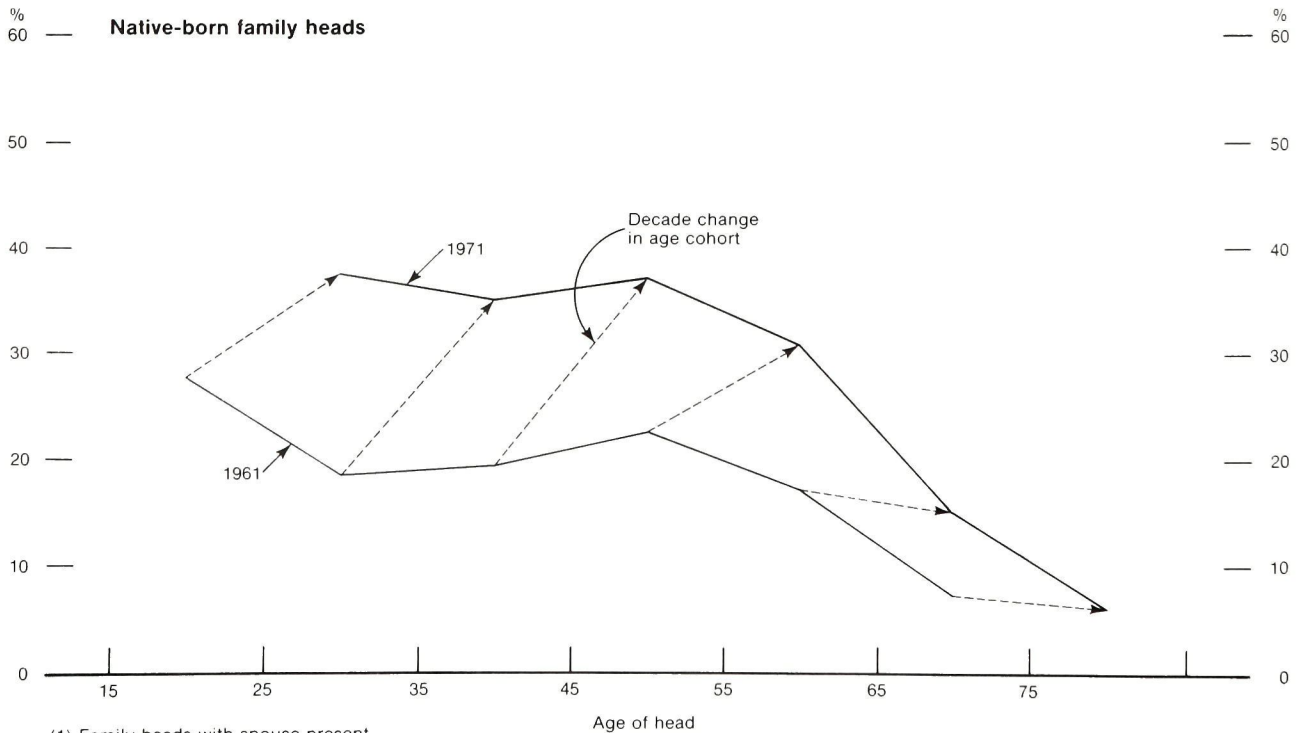
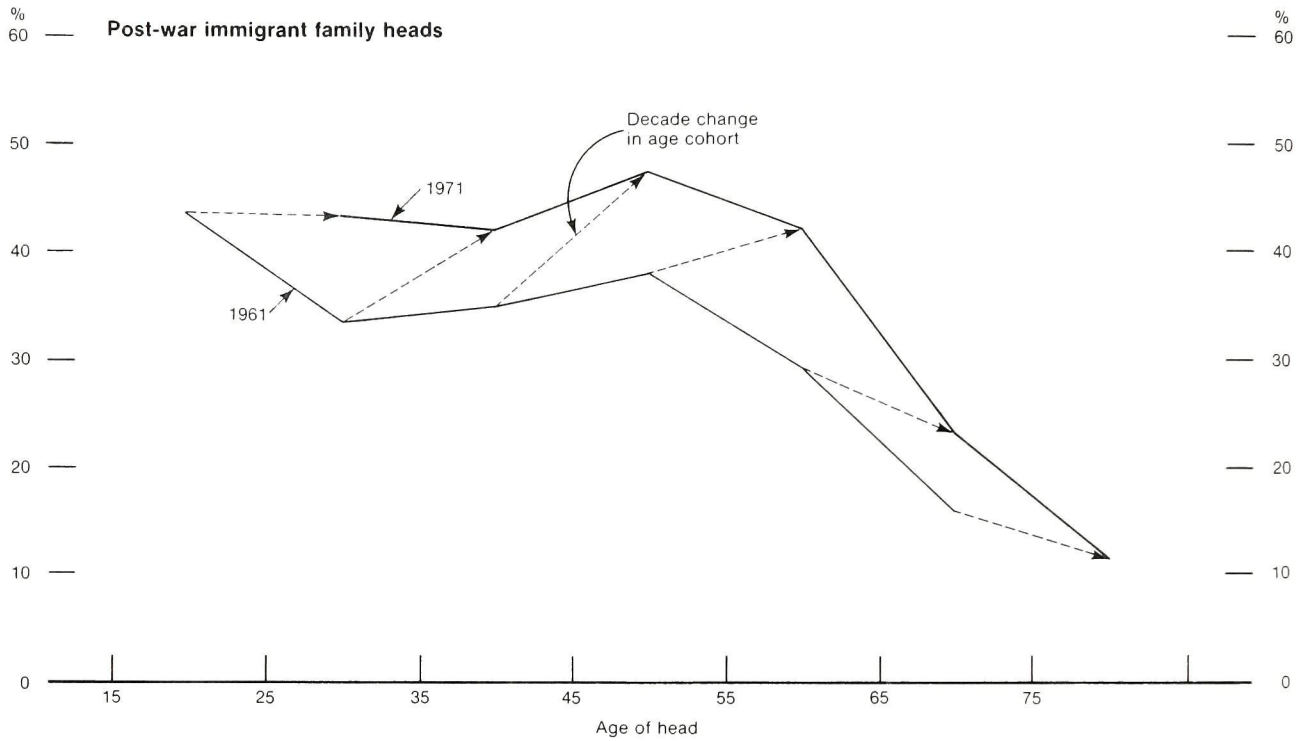
The relative changes in participation rates were greatest for those wives aged 35-44 years in 1961 who became 45-54 years of age in 1971, for both 1946-60 PWI and native-born family heads. Average total earnings of family heads peak for the age group 35-44 years, and average family earnings peak in the next age group, 45-54 years. That family size also tends to peak when the family head is in the 35-44 year age group suggests that the demand on family resources is greatest at this point in the family life cycle and that wives are subjected to maximum pressures to enter the experienced labour force at this time. The distribution of participation rates for both women and wives shows the secondary peak occurring in the age group 45-54, a period when the average earnings for family heads begin to decline and the children have not yet all left home.

3.5.2. Type of Employment: Changes in the Class of Worker

The majority of workers, regardless of nativity, period of immigration, sex or age, find employment as wage-earners. Cross-sectional data show that upon entering the current experienced labour force, the proportion of wage-earners tends to decline from its maximum values of 97% and 95% for 15-24 year old female and male PWIs respectively (in 1961), to its lowest values of 78% and 77% respectively for those 65 years of age and over. The 1971 data exhibit a similar pattern for successively older age groups.

The overall decline in the proportion of wage-earners among male PWIs in the current experienced labour force between 1961 and 1971 was 2.6 percentage points, or a relative decline of -2.9%. Individual age cohorts, on the other hand, varied in terms of their proportionate declines from -8.0% to -0.3%, while the 45-54 year age

Chart 3.1
Percentage of Post-war Immigrant (PWI) and Native-born (NB) Family Heads of Normal Families⁽¹⁾ with Wives in the Current Experienced Labour Force by Age of Head, Canada, 1961 and 1971



(1) Family heads with spouse present

Source: 1961 and 1971 Censuses of Canada, unpublished data

cohort actually increased its percentage of wage-earners by 0.8% by the end of the decade. Table 3.15 shows that the native-born male cohorts showed a more mixed pattern of changes in their proportions of wage-earners. Four of the cohorts actually showed increases, with only two showing the expected decline for the decade, giving an overall percentage increase of 7.5%.

The PWI and native-born cohorts of women were more consistent in their patterns of change, each showing overall declines of -2.3% and -0.8% respectively. All but the 65 and over cohort showed decade declines, but minimal declines were characteristic of the 35-54 year age range. Changes in the proportions of other categories of class of worker are somewhat enlightening with respect to understanding differences in the nature of employment changes for men and women as they age. The proportions of unpaid family workers for male cohorts consistently decline between 1961 and 1971 for every cohort except those 55 years of age and over. For women cohorts, not only are the proportions of unpaid family workers considerably higher, but in every case they showed significant increases during the 1961-71 period. The relative increases in proportions of unpaid family workers were greatest for the youngest and oldest age groups with minimal increases having occurred in the 45-54 age group.

The pattern of change for women working as an employer is different from that of the male cohorts. While the proportions tend to be quite small, they consistently increase for every 10-year age cohort of 1946-60 PWI women. The proportions of the native-born women cohorts increase over the decade for those under 35 years of age but decline in the older age groups. The latter pattern is similar to that for both native-born and PWI males. The picture with respect to the relative numbers working for their own account and the extent of cohort change through the decade for foreign-born males and females is very clear. While the overall proportions of PWI males and females working for their own account were very similar, 4.9% and 4.7%, respectively in 1961, and while the proportions for each age cohort were quite comparable, the decade trends were very distinct and in opposition to each other. The proportions for every age cohort of women, except the youngest age group, declined during the decade while those for the male cohorts increased. The patterns of cohort change for self-employed among the native-born male and female cohorts were not as consistent. The relative declines observed among the age cohorts of foreign-born women occurred mainly within the middle age range of native-born women and for those 65 years and over. The native-born males,

TABLE 3.15. Percentage Change in Cohort Proportions of Wage Earners, Unpaid Family Workers, Employers and Those Working for Own Account, for 1946-60 Post-war Immigrants and Native-born Population, Canada, Between 1961 and 1971

Sex and age in 1961	Percentage change in cohort proportion			
	Wage earners	Unpaid family workers	Employers	Working for own account
<u>1946-60 post-war immigrants</u>				
Males				
15-24	-6.9	- 95.7	425.6	276.1
25-34	-8.0	- 92.6	90.1	83.7
35-44	-2.9	- 57.1	12.9	35.2
45-54	0.8	- 80.0	- 20.8	11.5
55-64	-0.3	64.7	- 26.3	18.0
65+	-5.6	598.6	6.1	9.2
Total	-2.9	- 27.3	27.4	26.5
Females				
15-24	-7.7	366.4	708.3	29.1
25-34	-5.7	276.8	148.9	- 45.9
35-44	-2.1	107.6	22.7	- 60.4
45-54	-0.6	55.1	3.3	- 36.4
55-64	-5.5	89.3	18.2	- 16.3
65+	1.9	170.4	49.2	- 58.8
Total	-2.3	124.7	50.0	- 49.3
<u>Native-born population</u>				
Males				
15-24	1.0	- 96.8	417.3	121.3
25-34	-2.1	- 88.2	30.9	14.5
35-44	3.7	- 80.0	- 23.9	- 1.6
45-54	8.6	- 64.3	- 40.5	- 10.5
55-64	-4.4	37.5	- 24.4	31.2
65+	5.9	83.5	- 41.6	6.6
Total	7.5	- 21.8	- 35.8	- 28.0
Females				
15-24	-7.1	291.1	485.7	163.5
25-34	-4.3	70.7	61.9	- 13.9
35-44	-1.3	28.7	- 12.1	- 19.7
45-54	0.0	25.8	- 29.9	- 19.4
55-64	-4.9	67.5	- 7.5	2.2
65+	4.7	87.6	- 36.0	- 40.9
Total	-0.8	47.3	- 26.4	- 38.1

Source: 1961 and 1971 Censuses of Canada, unpublished data.

like their foreign-born counterparts, also showed decade increases in proportions self-employed with the exception of those in the two middle age range cohorts, those 35-44 and 45-54 in 1961. While the native-born males showed an overall decline in proportion self-employed, they still had a larger proportion so employed in 1971 than did the PWI males. In summary, it would appear that the decline in proportions of wage-earners that appears to characterize the experience of most male and female age cohorts in the current experienced labour force is a reflection of differential sorting into the other class of worker categories. Women show a significant shift towards unpaid family work and working as employers of others. The males on the other hand shift out of family work and into self-employment and employers of others (in the younger age cohorts).

The difficulty in interpreting these data is that they can be affected by net migration as well as by increased participation (rates) in the current experienced labour force, and it is difficult to say to what extent the increases in wage-earners for the native-born represented changes in the specific cohort of individuals who started the decade in the labour force (experienced) or reflected the effects of those entering or leaving the cohort during the 10-year period. In other words, was the reduction in proportion of native-born males in the middle age range who were self-employed a result of their returning to employment as wage-earners, out-migration, or just withdrawal from the experienced labour force? Perhaps all these factors are operative, but it is not possible to determine their relative significance with these data. The same problems also tend to obscure the interpretation of changes in income positions of the PWIs and the native-born discussed in the concluding sections of this chapter.¹³

3.5.3. Relative Changes in Income Position: Individuals, Families and Ethnic Groups

One of the basic indicators of adjustment within a social and economic system, as well as a rough indicator of relative status position within that system, is individual income, especially that of heads of families. Income data were obtained from the 1961 Census for the foreign-born by period of immigration and similar data have been extracted from the 1971 Census to provide a basis for an assessment of the position of the 1946-60 PWIs relative to that of the native-born and changes in

See footnote(s) on page 123.

relative positions during the decade. Income from wages and salaries, self-employment income, and total earnings of family heads and all employed family members combined are analyzed in the following sections.

In 1961, the median income, based on total earnings for the post-war immigrants, was lower than that for the native-born population in the current experienced labour force, and its relative position was consistent for both male and female working populations. Furthermore, the post-war immigrants reported smaller total earnings within every 10-year age cohort, except the youngest group (15-24 years of age). Earlier analyses of these data had shown that this exception was probably due to the greater proportions of young post-war immigrants in full time employment (Kalbach, 1970, p. 29).

The period between 1961 and 1971 has altered significantly the relative income picture for the same group of post-war immigrants. For those reporting some income in 1971, the 1946-60 PWIs who were at that time 25 and over, has reversed their relative standings vis-à-vis their native-born counterparts in the current experienced labour force. This was the case for every age cohort of males except those 55-64 years of age in 1971, and for all but two age cohorts of women, those 25-34 and 55-64 years of age in 1971. The two exceptions for the women produced an overall average total earnings for the PWIs that was lower than that achieved by the native-born. Table 3.16 shows that the PWi cohorts did experience higher percentage increases in total earnings than did the native-born during the decade in every case except women aged 15-24 in 1961 who became 25-34 in 1971. As a whole or by individual 10-year age cohorts, the PWIs did better than the native-born. However, it should be kept in mind that factors other than differential changes in actual wages (salaries or hourly rates) may have also contributed to these shifts. The very large relative gains for the younger age cohorts may reflect, in large part, an increase in the number working full-time as opposed to part-time. In the case of the youngest group, this may account for the relatively large gains for the native-born as opposed to the foreign-born, as the latter group is generally known to have larger proportions of full-time workers and thus would be less likely to show large relative gains. Median total earnings for the PWi and native-born age and sex cohorts with their percentage increases during the decade are summarized in Table 3.16.

TABLE 3.16. Median Total Earnings¹ for 1946-60 Post-war Immigrant and Native-born Cohorts in the Current Experienced Labour Force, by Sex and Age, Canada, 1961 and 1971

Age in 1961	1946-60 PWIs		1961-71 percentage increase in median earnings	Native-born		1961-71 percentage increase in median earnings	Age in 1971
	1961	1971		1961	1971		
<u>Males</u>							
15-24	2,413	7,817	224.0	2,083	7,361	254.3	25-34
25-34	3,795	8,412	121.7	4,064	8,168	101.0	35-44
35-44	4,183	8,171	95.3	4,470	7,832	75.2	45-54
45-54	3,747	6,843	82.6	4,236	6,931	63.6	55-64
55-64	3,277	5,076	54.9	3,711	4,330	16.7	65-74
65+	2,669	4,588	71.9	2,785	3,500	25.7	75+
Total	3,867	7,952	115.7	3,770	7,555	100.4	25+
<u>Females</u>							
15-24	1,699	3,981	134.3	1,676	4,167	148.6	25-34
25-34	2,041	3,616	77.2	2,343	3,575	52.6	35-44
35-44	1,972	3,744	89.9	2,120	3,662	72.7	45-54
45-54	1,887	3,560	88.7	2,166	3,676	69.7	55-64
55-64	1,632	3,094	89.6	2,087	2,791	33.7	65-74
65+	1,281	2,597	102.7	1,426	2,381	67.0	75+
Total	1,893	3,708	95.9	1,996	3,768	88.8	25+

¹Wages and salaries only.

Source: 1961 and 1971 Censuses of Canada, unpublished data.

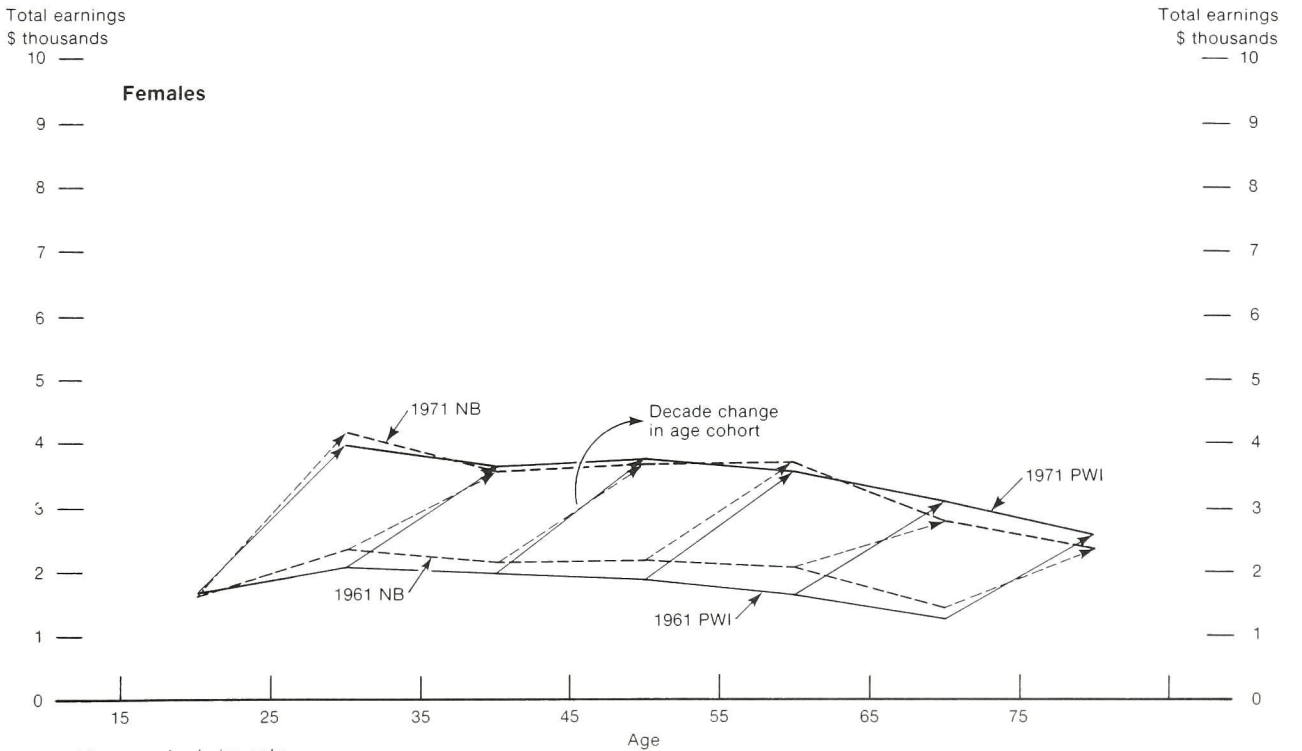
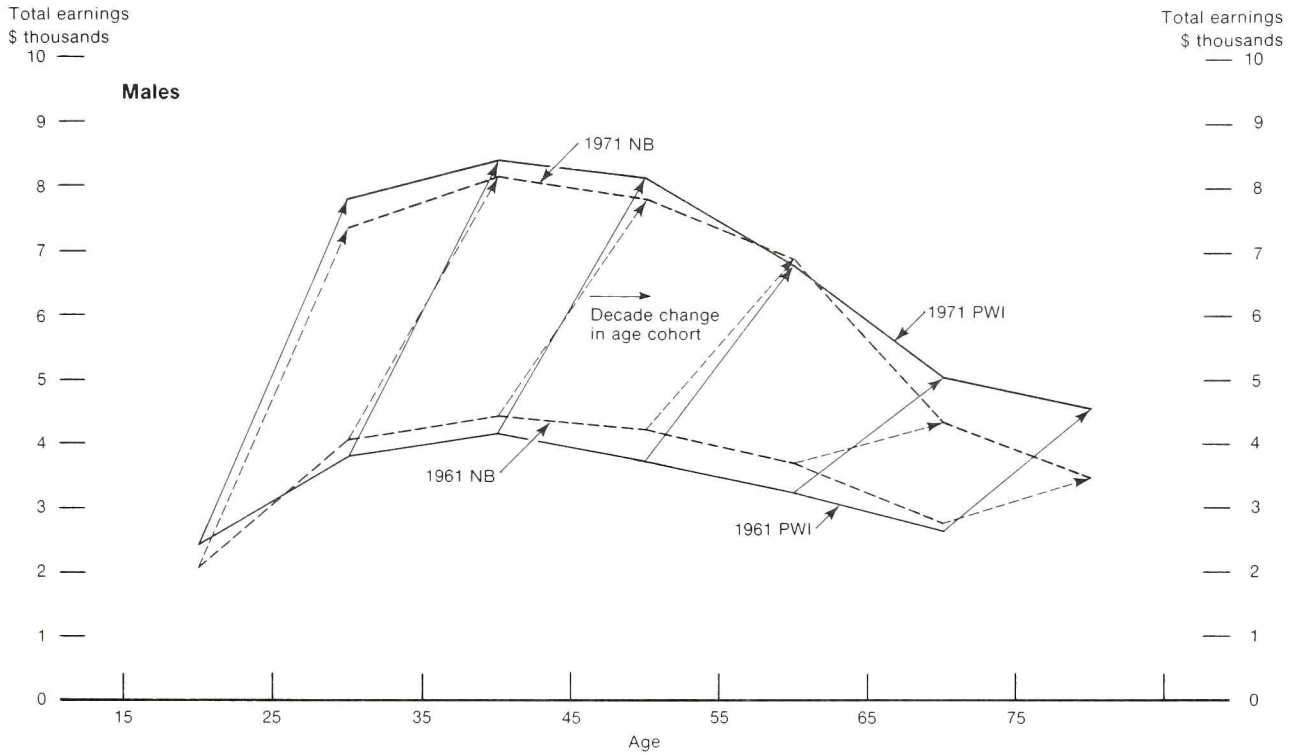
The cohort linkages between the two successive income distributions in 1961 and 1971 are illustrated in Chart 3.2. They show the relatively greater improvement in median total earnings in the case of the PWI males and females in contrast to the native-born. It would also appear that the PWI and native-born females achieved a greater degree of convergence through the decade in their distribution of total earnings than was the case for males, but this may be of little consolation in view of the generally lower levels of earnings that are characteristic of women's participation in the work force.

The experience of PWI family heads and their families was much the same as that for individuals in the current experienced labour force during the decade. Whereas both the total earnings of family heads and total family earnings were lower than their native-born counterparts in 1961, they too had reversed their relative positions by 1971. In 1961, the average total earnings of native-born heads was 8% higher than that reported by PWI heads. By 1971, the situation was almost reversed with average total earnings for PWI heads reaching a level 6% higher than that of the native-born heads. The income reversal was almost identical for total family earnings, but with the relative difference being somewhat greater in 1971 than in 1961. Families of PWI heads reported total incomes 8% higher in 1971 than the native-born, whereas in 1961, families with native-born heads had reported total earnings only 4% higher than families of PWI heads.

Table 3.17 shows that the percentage increases in average total earnings for cohorts of PWI heads and their families during this period, were consistently greater than those for every corresponding age group of native-born with the lone exception of those 65 and over. Since this relatively small age group was the one exception to the differential favouring the native-born in 1961, the overall percentage increase in earnings during the decade still exceeded that of the native-born by a considerable margin. The only age group that did not exhibit a reversal of income position for PWI and native-born heads during the decade was the cohort of heads 45-54 years in 1961. While the PWI heads in this instance showed a considerably larger percentage gain over the decade than their equivalent native-born cohort, it was not sufficient to overcome their disadvantage in 1961.

A somewhat similar picture for family income during the decade may be seen in Chart 3.3. Overall, average total earnings for families with PWI heads increased

Chart 3.2
Median Total Earnings⁽¹⁾ for 1946-60 Post-war Immigrants (PWI) and Native-born (NB) Cohorts
in the Current Experienced Labour Force, by Sex and Age, Canada, 1961 and 1971



(1) Wages and salaries only

Source: Table 3.16

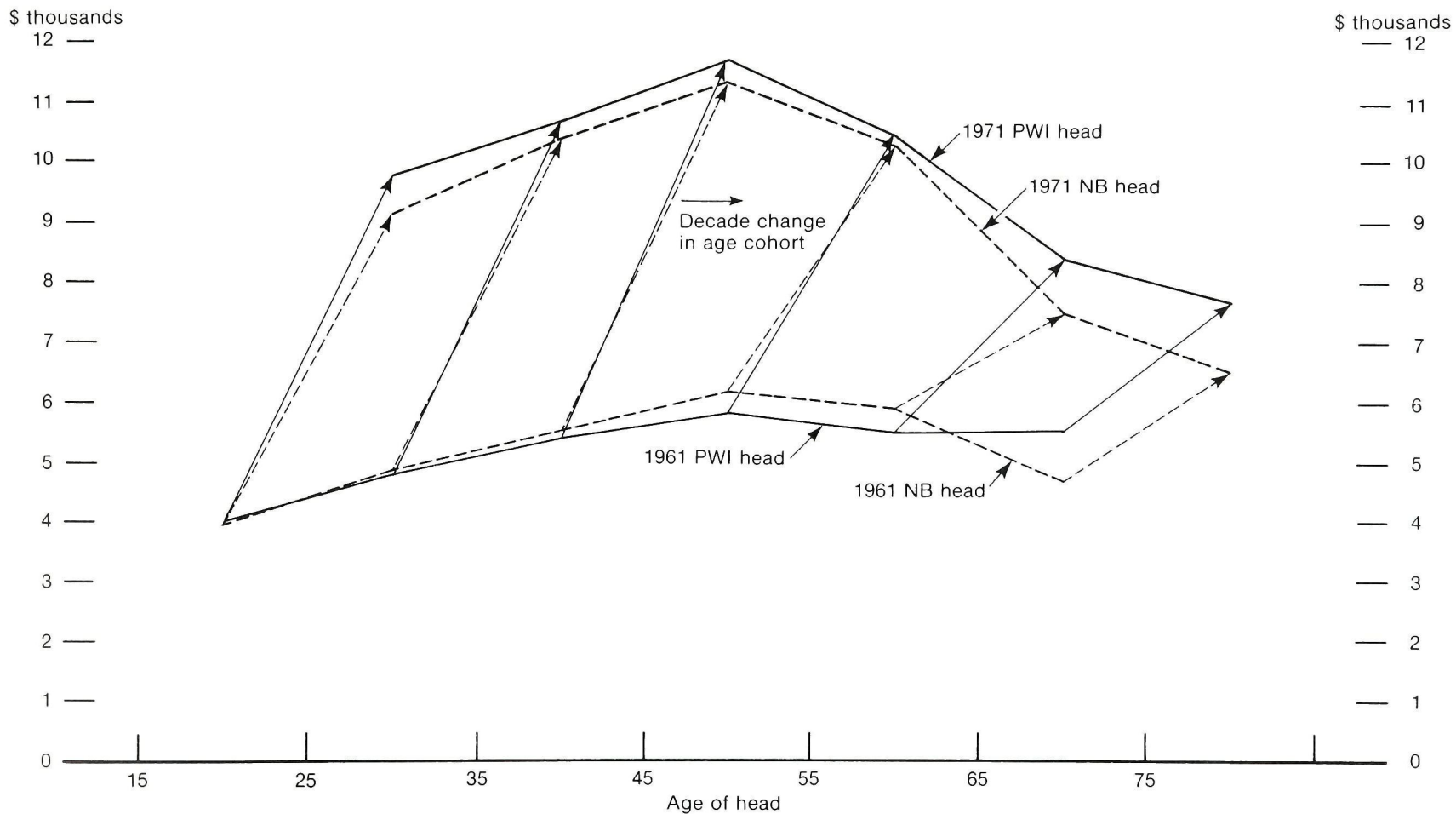
TABLE 3.17. Average Total Earnings¹ of Family Heads and Families by Age of Head for 1946-60 Post-war Immigrant and Native-born Cohorts in the Current Experienced Labour Force (CELFL), Canada, 1961 and 1971

Age of family head in 1961	1946-60 PWIs		1961-71 percentage increase in average earnings	Native-born population		1961-71 percentage increase in average earnings	Age of family head in 1971
	1961	1971		1961	1971		
	\$	\$		\$	\$		
<u>Average total earnings of family heads</u>							
15-24	3,051	8,054	164.0	3,211	7,612	137.1	25-34
25-34	4,035	9,074	124.9	4,372	8,993	105.7	35-44
35-44	4,576	8,958	95.8	4,952	8,780	77.3	45-54
45-54	4,343	7,564	74.2	4,870	7,838	60.9	55-64
55-64	3,841	6,116	59.2	4,491	5,769	28.5	65-74
65+	4,287	5,906	37.8	3,653	5,118	40.1	75+
Total	4,232	8,489	100.6	4,579	8,009	74.9	Total
<u>Average total family earnings</u>							
15-24	4,000	9,806	145.2	3,977	9,155	130.2	25-34
25-34	4,808	10,707	122.7	4,868	10,404	113.7	35-44
35-44	5,404	11,760	117.6	5,553	11,393	105.2	45-54
45-54	5,870	10,499	78.9	6,175	10,380	68.1	55-64
55-64	5,530	8,424	52.3	5,938	7,547	27.1	65-74
65+	5,580	7,718	38.3	4,722	6,532	38.3	75+
Total	5,217	10,668	104.5	5,416	9,925	83.3	Total

¹For wage and salary earnings.

Source: 1961 and 1971 Censuses of Canada, unpublished data.

Chart 3.3
Average Total Family Earnings⁽¹⁾ by Age of Head of 1946-60 Post-war Immigrant and Native-born Cohorts, Canada, 1961 and 1971



(1) Wage and salary earning families

Source: Table 3.17

by 104%, compared to 83% for those with native-born heads. Again, the relatively greater increases for PWI families occurred in every age cohort except the oldest.

The additional income from other wage-earners and self-employed in the family is an obvious means of increasing the family's resources when the income from the head may be insufficient to meet its actual or anticipated needs. In the analysis of the 1961 data, additional family income was shown to have provided the maximum additional increment relative to the earning of family heads where those heads were 45 or older, and particularly in families of 55-64 year old heads where family earnings exceeded those of the head by 44%. Note also in Table 3.18 that another peak occurs for those under 25 years of age where the wife's participation would tend to make a relatively significant contribution. The same general pattern can be observed in the 1971 data with the slight difference that the average total family earnings exceeded the family head's income to a greater extent in those families whose heads were under 25 years of age. Again, the additional income earners in PWI families made a greater relative contribution to total family incomes than was the case for the native-born. In this case, it reinforced the already favourable position of post-war immigrant heads in 1971, vis-à-vis the native-born. In 1961, the earnings of additional family workers tended to reduce the income gap between the PWIs and native-born. On the other hand, in 1971, the addition of income from other family members operated to widen the income gap and increase the relatively more favourable position of families with PWI heads.

Data from the 1961 Census showed significant variations in income by ethnic origin for native-born as well as foreign-born by period of immigration. In addition, the variability in total average earnings for major ethnic origin groupings showed consistent declines with increasing length of residence for those who had immigrated to Canada during the 1946-60 post-war years (Kalbach, 1970, p. 303). In view of the general curvilinear relationship between age and income for males in the labour force and known variations in the age and sex structures of Canada's ethnic populations, it is possible that some of this ethnic variation may reflect factors other than those related to differential capacities for economic success. However, the group of post-war immigrants as a whole tends to be somewhat homogeneous with respect to their age-sex and marital characteristics at the time of their arrival in Canada. It would seem, therefore, that even though the following analyses did not control for age and sex while examining differences in incomes for ethnic groupings

TABLE 3.18. Per Cent that Total Family Earnings Exceed Total Earnings of Family Head, by Age, for Post-war Immigrant and Native-born Family Heads, Canada, 1961 and 1971

Age group of family head	1946-60 post-war immigrant family heads		Native- born family heads	
	1961	1971	1961	1971
	15-24	31.1	41.1	23.9	36.3
25-34	19.2	21.8	11.3	20.3
35-44	18.1	18.0	12.1	15.7
45-54	35.2	31.3	26.8	29.8
55-64	44.0	38.8	32.2	32.4
65+	30.2	29.3	37.2	30.5
Total	23.3	25.7	18.3	23.9

Source: 1961 and 1971 Censuses of Canada, unpublished data.

of the current experienced labour force, that some confidence can be placed in the differentials that may emerge as being reflective of actual ethnic differences rather than spurious effects of structural variables.

The declining variability in ethnic group median incomes with increasing length of residence, noted with respect to the analyses of the 1961 Census data, has suggested an increasingly uniform degree of success in achieving adaptation to the economic system. The median total earnings for PWIs of all ethnic origins combined increased from \$2,684 for the most recent group of immigrants in 1961 (those who had arrived between 1956 and 1961) to \$3,426 for those who had arrived during 1946-50 and had lived in the country the longest. The average deviation of the major ethnic groupings from these figures declined from \$476 to \$274 and the coefficient of relative variation declined from 0.1775 to 0.0799 as the length of residence for post-war immigrants increased (Kalbach, 1970, p. 303).

Even though these comparisons are based on different cohorts of immigrants who have been in the country for varying lengths of time, the implications are suggestive of what could be expected of specific cohorts if they could be examined longitudinally. Any specific group, or set of groups, would be expected to show some earnings improvement during that phase of the working life cycle that is characterized by increasing income from wages and salaries, up to 35-44 years. At the same time, as more individuals established themselves with better paying and more permanent employment, the variability of earnings about the average for the group as a whole would also be expected to decrease.

Median incomes for the PWI group as a whole increased considerably through the decade as they did for each group of PWIs categorized in terms of their ethnic origins. Table 3.19 shows that the PWIs, as a group, increased their average total earnings from \$3,136 in 1961 to \$6,075 in 1971. Each of the major ethnic origin groupings showed positive gains during the decade, with the "other and not stated" showing the largest relative increase, followed by Asian and the combined Central, Eastern and Southern European group. These groups had the lowest income levels in 1961 and the first two contained the bulk of the most recent immigrants to Canada.

Those of British origin had the highest median total earnings; the French remained in third position. During the decade, the Northern and Western Europeans

achieved second place and overtook the PWIs of Jewish origin who dropped to fifth position. The native-born of the same major ethnic origin groupings did not show the same magnitudes of relative change during the decade, but they did manage to retain their relative positions. The rank order correlation of their ranks in 1961 and 1971 was 0.96 (Spearman's Rho), compared to 0.68 for the PWIs. For the native-born population, the Jewish origin group maintained the highest median total earnings throughout the decade, while the British and Asiatics, who ranked second and third respectively in 1961, switched relative positions in 1971. The French and other and not stated native-born populations were sixth and seventh both times. Median average total earnings and relative change for the decade for the seven major ethnic origin groupings are summarized in Table 3.19.

Given the considerable difference in average total earnings for 1961 and 1971, the coefficient of relative variation is used to determine the decline in ethnic variability, if any, in group earning performance. The coefficients of relative deviation in this case show a decline from 0.1355 to 0.0589 for the PWIs, which was a significantly greater reduction than that shown by the native-born population whose index declined to 0.0755 from 0.1040 during the same decade. This decade saw a significant increase in overall total earnings and a reduction in the amount of inter-ethnic variation in both PWI and native-born populations.

Ethnic variations in incomes of PWI family heads presented in Table 3.20 show the same general tendencies that were observed for individuals in the current experienced labour force. In this instance, the average total earnings showed the largest relative increases for PWI family heads of Italian, Hungarian, Asiatic, other Southern European origins, and Jewish.¹⁴ From similar data on total family earnings it is evident that the same groups held almost the same rank order in terms of their percentage decade increase in earnings with the exception that Asiatics (+131.8%) were second behind the Italians (+145.1%), and the Jewish origins were third (+121.4%), followed by other Southern European (+115.8%) and families with Hungarian heads (+115.4%). The amount of inter-ethnic group variation in average earnings declined slightly more in the case of family earnings than for family head's income alone; the index of relative variation declined by 24%, from 0.1347 to 0.1022, while for total average family earnings the relative decline was 28%, from 0.1238 to 0.0898. The decline in the variability of total earnings for native-born

See footnote(s) on page 123.

TABLE 3.19. Median Total Earnings for 1946-60 Post-war Immigrants and Native-born in the Current Experienced Labour Force by Ethnic Origin, Showing Rank Order and Percentage Increase for the Decade, 1961 to 1971, Canada

Ethnic origin group	1961				1971				Percentage increase for 1961-71 decade	
	Post-war immigrants		Native-born population		Post-war immigrants		Native-born population		PWI	Native-born
	Rank order	Median income	Rank order	Median income	Rank order	Median income	Rank order	Median income		
		\$		\$		\$		\$		
British Isles	1	3,694	2	3,471	1	6,577	3	5,371	78.0	54.7
French	3	3,416	6	2,940	3	6,076	6	5,083	77.9	72.9
Northern and Western European	4	3,234	5	3,255	2	6,403	5	5,241	98.0	61.0
Central, Eastern and Southern European	5	2,770	4	3,335	6	5,743	4	5,302	107.3	59.0
Jewish	2	3,510	1	4,498	5	5,832	1	6,069	66.2	34.9
Asiatic	7	2,346	3	3,362	7	4,997	2	5,623	113.0	67.3
Other and not stated	6	2,628	7	2,869	4	6,054	7	4,026	130.4	40.3
All origins		3,136		3,249		6,075		5,244	93.7	61.4

Source: 1961 and 1971 Censuses of Canada, unpublished data.

TABLE 3.20. Average Total Earnings¹ for 1946-60 Post-war Immigrants and Native-born Family Heads in the CELF by Ethnic Origin, Showing Rank Order and Percentage Increase for the Decade, 1961 to 1971, Canada

Ethnic origin group	1961				1971				Percentage increase for 1961-71	
	Post-war immigrants		Native-born population		Post-war immigrants		Native-born population		PWI	Native-born
	Rank order	Mean income \$	Rank order	Mean income \$	Rank order	Mean income \$	Rank order	Mean income \$		
British Isles	1	5,341	6	4,940	2	9,952	6	8,376	86.3	69.6
French	2	5,224	17	4,015	6	8,652	17	7,282	65.6	81.4
German	10	4,168	13	4,385	7	8,529	11	7,848	104.6	79.0
Netherlands	11	4,033	16	4,331	8	8,336	14	7,787	106.7	79.8
Scandinavian	5	4,849	9	4,745	5	8,907	8	8,171	83.7	72.2
Other Northern and Western European	13	3,950	12	4,536	12	7,774	13	7,788	96.8	71.7
Hungarian	14	3,719	14	4,347	10	8,182	12	7,842	120.0	80.4
Other Central European	6	4,687	7	4,819	4	9,288	7	8,255	98.2	71.3
Polish	12	3,992	10	4,678	13	7,582	9	8,002	89.9	71.1
Russian	8	4,356	3	5,325	11	7,907	16	7,557	81.5	41.9
Ukrainian	15	3,584	15	4,336	15.5	7,154	10	7,936	99.6	83.0
Other Eastern European	9	4,342	2	5,890	9	8,269	4	8,557	90.4	45.3
Italian	18	2,918	8	4,818	15.5	7,154	3	8,712	145.2	80.8
Other Southern European	17	3,275	4	5,046	17	7,006	5	8,491	113.9	68.3
Jewish	4	4,966	1	8,208	1	10,275	1	14,196	106.9	73.0
Asiatic	16	3,429	5	4,994	14	7,514	2	9,035	119.1	80.9
Native Indian and Inuit	7	4,467	18	2,045	18	6,872	18	4,686	53.8	129.1
Other and not stated	3	5,097	11	4,667	3	9,803	15	7,704	92.3	65.1
Total		4,232		4,579		8,489		8,009	100.6	74.9

¹Wages and salaries only.

Source: 1961 and 1971 Censuses of Canada, unpublished data.

heads by the same ethnic origin groupings during the 10 years was approximately of the same magnitude. Again, the net result of an additional 10 years of experience for the PWIs would appear to be a continuing reduction in inter-ethnic group differences with respect to total earnings of family heads as well as for total families, while retaining their relative positions on the income scale. The rank order correlations (ρ) between the income positions in 1961 and 1971 for family heads and for total family earnings by ethnic origin of the family head were +0.79 and +0.83 respectively. Average total earnings for family heads by ethnic origin of head for PWI and native-born heads are presented in Table 3.20 with rank orders and percentage increases for the decade.

FOOTNOTES

¹Unless otherwise specified, data are from the 1961 Census of Canada or have been taken from the 1961 Census Monograph by Kalbach, W. E., The Impact of Immigration on Canada's Population, Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, 1970.

²Country of birth is stated in terms of present national boundaries, not what they were at the time of birth of the person being enumerated. For complete data on ethnic origin by broad categories of country of birth, see Kalbach, W. E., The Impact of Immigration on Canada's Population, Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, 1970, Tables 4.1, 4.2, pp. 153-156.

³The seven denominational groups are Anglican, Baptist, Lutheran, Mennonite, Pentecostal, Presbyterian and United Church.

⁴The same survival rates are applied to both native- and foreign-born five-year age and sex groups, as there is insufficient evidence in support of differential mortality by nativity for 1961-71 to allow any systematic adjustment of the survival rates with any degree of confidence. M. V. George estimated a more favourable mortality experience for the foreign-born for 1941-51 and assumed that the native-foreign-born differential held throughout the estimation period from 1931-61 while estimating net migration. (See M. V. George, Internal Migration in Canada: Demographic Analysis, 1961 Census Monograph, Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, 1970, pp. 43-49.)

⁵Under-enumeration of specific age and sex groups as reported for the 1971 Census would tend to underestimate net migration. Variations in the levels of under-enumeration from one census to the next would introduce additional errors of estimation. See the series of in-house reports dealing with the assessment of recent censuses in Canada, especially Statistics Canada, "1971 Evaluation Project MP-1: 1971 Reverse Record Check", No. CDN 71-E-23 (Part 1) Ottawa, Oct. 23, 1974.

⁶See Sametz' analysis of this problem in the Economic and Social Research Division's Report SR-2, The Basic 1961 Census Data on Immigration and Citizenship, Ottawa: Department of Citizenship and Immigration, 1963.

⁷In an attempt to obtain a better estimate of the actual number of people of Jewish origins, the computer was programmed to automatically classify as Jewish origin any individual who indicated that his religion was Jewish regardless of the ethnic origin reported. The simultaneous decline in the number of persons of Russian origin as well as a number of other Central and Eastern European origins could well be the consequence of the same change in edit procedures introduced by Statistics Canada in their 1971 Census tabulation programme, described in the 1971 Census of Canada, Bulletin 1.3-1, Ottawa: Information Canada, 1976, p. 20.

⁸For a discussion of census concepts and definitions and statements concerning their comparability to earlier censuses, see Statistics Canada, Dictionary of the 1971 Census Terms, Ottawa: Minister of Trade and Commerce, 1972.

⁹See Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1961 Census of Canada, Characteristics of Immigrants, Bulletin 1.3-11.

¹⁰This was possible in some instances where special tabulations had been obtained by detailed period of immigration, and it was possible to subtract the post-war immigrants who had arrived during the first five month period of 1961. However, the inclusion or exclusion of the approximately 30,000 post-war immigrants who had arrived during this short interval is not expected to materially affect the analysis, particularly when considering the 1946-60 cohort as a whole and in relation to the native-born population.

¹¹It is possible that at the time of the 1961 Census some post-war immigrants who had arrived in Canada during 1946-60 might have been residing outside of Canada and subsequently returned during 1961-71. However, there is nothing to suggest that their numbers would have any significant effect on the estimate of net migration.

¹²"Retention-redistribution" ratios for the 1961-71 intercensal period are simply the ratios of provincial populations at the end of the period to the populations at the beginning of the period.

¹³This is a problem common to cohort analysis whenever there is a loss of individual members through withdrawal from the group and the focus of the analysis is on the characteristics of the cohort as a whole. A similar problem arises in the interpretation of changes in average incomes of post-war immigrants over 1961-71 which are examined in the following section of this chapter. Part of the improvement in average income may have been caused by the re-migration of the less successful to their country of origin. Their withdrawal from the 1946-60 cohort would contribute to an increase in the average income for the group as a whole. That this is not entirely the case may be seen in Richmond's discussion of return migration in A. H. Richmond, Post-war Immigrants in Canada, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967, pp. 229-252.

¹⁴Average total earnings were provided for categories of ethnic origin of family head in slightly different form to permit identification of the major ethnic origin groups within the more general groupings used for the individual total earnings tabulations.

CHAPTER 4

POPULATION STRUCTURE AND VARIATIONS BY GENERATION

4.1. Introduction

Attempts to answer questions concerning the ability of immigrants from many diverse ethnic and cultural origins to successfully adapt to Canadian society have traditionally had to rely on the national census. No other data source could provide as consistent a set of data for the population as a whole as that provided by the decennial and quinquennial national censuses. However, the very size and cost of periodic national censuses have always required severe limitation on the amount of information that can be collected. For this reason, the demographic analyses of immigrant populations generally have been restricted to the comparative analyses of selected social and economic characteristics of the native-born and foreign-born by period of immigration.

In terms of generation, as defined by birthplace, these limited data have provided for the comparative analysis of the first generation foreign-born with all subsequent generations of the native-born, with the primary research emphasis generally placed on the immigrants immediate adjustment problems. Less attention could be given to the continuing process of assimilation and integration among the children of immigrants and subsequent generations because of the impossibility of separating and identifying the various generational components of the native-born, especially the second generation which consists of the native-born children of foreign-born parents. Most of the research on the persistence of ethnic and cultural characteristics of successive generations of immigrant populations has had to rely on smaller and more limited special field surveys designed to collect the requisite data.¹

In 1931, the Census of Canada collected information on the birthplace of parents, but it was not until the 1971 Census, when a similar question was asked, that it was possible to identify the second generation and properly exploit these data for the analysis of assimilation of immigrants and their children in Canadian society. The 1971 Census of Canada provided a unique opportunity to identify and examine the second generation Canadians who provide the crucial link between the first generation immigrant and all subsequent generations of children of native-born parents.

See footnote(s) on page 163.

The analysis of the persistence of ethnic and cultural characteristics or improvement in social and economic indicators for immigrant groups is somewhat complicated by the fact that not all of the observed differences within or between various ethnic origin groups can be attributed to variations in the rates of assimilation or integration. Variations in unstandardized measures tend to reflect such structural differences as the relative sizes of the generational components, their age and sex distributions, marital composition, as well as family size at the time of immigration; differences in the timing of patterns of immigration and emigration and prevailing socio-economic conditions in both countries of origin and destination at the time of their arrival. Groups which have been here the longest will tend to have the largest contingents of third and subsequent generations. Ethnic and racial groups heavily involved in the more recent immigration will tend to have larger proportions of first-generation members, while those which have experienced fairly consistent immigration during the entire post-World War II period will have relatively large numbers of the second generation.

As the sources of immigration to Canada continue to shift, the ethnic and cultural composition reflected in the origins of arrivals will continue to change and in turn affect the overall composition of the foreign-born population. Thus, the various groups, in addition to changing in terms of their relative size, will continue to be differentiated with respect to their age and sex distributions, marital status and family composition, religious character, and educational attainment levels. It becomes imperative then to examine the structural characteristics of each group by generation to isolate those factors that reflect differences in origins, size, and timing of immigration flows rather than variations in their rates of assimilation or integration, per se, through successive generations. In the following sections, structural characteristics are first examined for the population of Canada as a whole before contrasting Quebec with the rest of Canada and then the populations of the largest Census Metropolitan Areas in French- and English-speaking Canada. An analysis of immigrants in a highly urbanized and officially bicultural and bilingual society that did not take these very fundamental conditions into consideration would be inappropriate to say the least. Failure to include more detailed regional analyses for that part of Canada outside of Quebec was due more to the financial constraints imposed on this project than to a lack of awareness of their social, economic and political significance. Even so, comparisons between Quebec and the rest of Canada have particular relevance for the task of assessing immigrant adjustment in Canadian society today.

4.2. Demographic Characteristics: An Overview

4.2.1. Age/Sex Distribution

Canada's age-sex structure, decomposed into its generational substructures (Chart 4.1), shows significant variation between the first, second, and the combined third and subsequent generations.² The stability of the familiar inverted pyramid for the first generation foreign-born is highly dependent upon the continuous flow of young adult workers with relatively few children. Any interruption of this flow produces a rapidly aging population and an increasingly top-heavy age-sex structure. The degree of distortion in the age structure depends solely upon the extent to which the immigrant flow exceeds or falls short of the replacements needed to make up for losses in the various age groups caused by aging, mortality, and emigration.

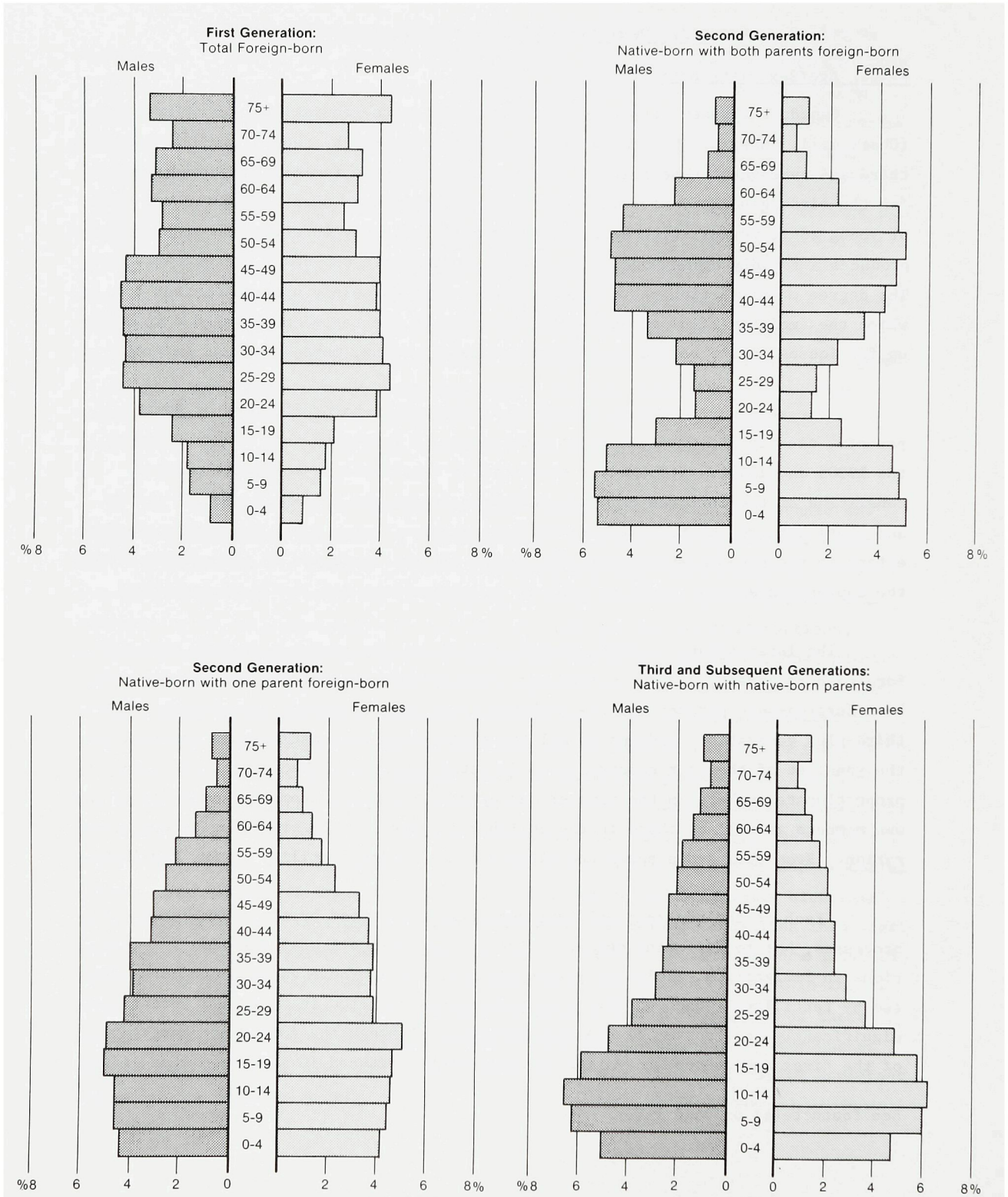
The second generation, comprised of the native-born offspring of immigrant parents, clearly reflects the major fluctuation in fertility that occurred during the 1930s and 1940s. Its age-sex structure is essentially a composite pyramid consisting of the children of immigrants born during the post-World War II period and those born to the foreign-born during and prior to the war. The severe pinched effect in the age-sex structure reflects the virtual cessation of immigration during the depression and war years as well as the concomitant low levels of fertility.

The intermediate or mixed second generation, the native-born with only one foreign-born parent, has an age-sex structure between that of the native-born with both foreign-born parents and the combined third and subsequent generations. The third-plus generation, made up of all the native-born with native-born parents, is the youngest of the four substructures depicted (Chart 4.1) because of the disproportionate numbers in the younger age groups, resulting from the fertility of its own members as well as those in the childbearing ages of the preceding second generation. Even this group shows the effects of declining fertility during the 1960s.

Each of the generational substructures is affected by the basic demographic processes, but to differing degrees. The foreign-born are most affected by variations in immigration, while the native-born with native-born parents are most affected by fertility.³ Each of the major generations depicted in Chart 4.1 contributes significantly to the overall age-sex structure, although the component consisting of the first and second generation is considerably reduced in size from what it was

See footnote(s) on page 163.

Chart 4.1
Age and Sex Composition by Generation, Canada, 1971



Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes

just 40 years ago. In 1931, the first and second generations comprised 46% of the population, while in 1971 their combined share had been reduced to slightly more than one-third or 34%. These structural differences between generations are readily summarized by the masculinity ratio, median age and dependency ratios.

Historically, Canada's foreign-born have tended towards an excess of males; but this diminished over time until 1971 when it had almost reached parity with the native-born population. Differences in sex composition by generation are now relatively small, with the second generation having a sex ratio only slightly above that for the third and subsequent generations combined. However, as may be seen in Table 4.1, significant variations still exist within the first generation by period of immigration. This is a result of cyclical variations in the masculinity ratios which characterized the immigrant stream during this period (Kalbach, 1974, pp. 11-17). The low sex ratios for the pre-war immigrants are reflective of the differential effects of mortality that favour females with the passing of time. Overall, generational differences in the sex ratio appear to be much less than they have been in the past. A continuation of present trends in immigration and further aging of the population resulting from low fertility levels can be expected to produce further reductions in the sex ratios.

The median ages in Table 4.1 show a significant increase as one progresses from the third-plus generations to the first generation. The average age for the foreign-born may seem to be quite high at 42, but the range from 26.2 to 67.2 for the foreign-born by period of immigration reflects the aging of the immigrant population that continues after their arrival. The first generation, as well as the second, would age and disappear very quickly if the flow of arriving immigrants in their prime working and reproductive ages was ever stopped.

The significance of changing age distributions is more clearly seen in the dependency ratios, the ratios of the dependent populations under 15 and 65 years of age and over, to the population in the general labour force ages 15-64. A comparison of the three major generation groups shows a consistent increase in the total dependency ratios, starting with 0.386 for the first generation, rising to 0.512 for the second, and 0.694 for the third-plus generations. The preponderance of young adults of working-force ages is responsible for the low-dependency ratios of recently arrived immigrants. Their dependency ratio declines rapidly as length of

TABLE 4.1. Sex Ratios, Median Age, and Dependency Ratios for the Canadian Population by Generation, and Period of Immigration for Foreign-born, Canada, 1971

Generation/Period of immigration	Total population	Sex ratio	Median age	Dependency ratios		
				Total	Young	Old
3rd+ generation	14,138,100	100.0	21.9	0.694	0.587	0.107
2nd generation	3,964,000	100.2	31.6	0.512	0.435	0.077
1st generation	3,299,800	101.4	42.2	0.386	0.118	0.268
Pre-1946	947,000	92.9	67.2	1.367	0.000	1.367
1946-60	1,282,400	110.0	40.7	0.080	0.027	0.053
1961-65	358,700	93.0	30.5	0.298	0.255	0.043
1966-71	711,700	102.8	26.2	0.377	0.345	0.032
Total	21,401,900	100.3	26.3	0.604	0.474	0.130

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

residence increases and the children of immigrants age sufficiently to move into the labour force before their parents reach the lower limit of the older dependence age group at 65 years. This may be seen more clearly in the rapid decline in the young dependency ratios and relatively small increases in the older dependency ratio for the immigrant groups that arrived during the post-World War II period. A continuous influx of young adult immigrants in their prime working years is a positive factor in maintaining low dependency ratios.

Visual comparison of the pyramids in Chart 4.1 suggests that the differences between the age-sex distributions of the several generations, taken in sequence, become less, the further removed they are from the first generation. This would seem to be a consequence of the greater instability of the first generation due to its relatively smaller numbers and susceptibility to short-term fluctuations of the single dominant factor of immigration. In the analysis of population change through successive generations, it is interesting to note that as an immigrant population becomes established it will gradually produce a population of native-born persons that becomes increasingly independent of immigration as it ages and which can ultimately survive even if the first generation should die off and cease to be replenished by new arrivals. However, it does take time for a population to become established to the point where it can maintain itself through levels of fertility higher than prevailing levels of mortality and emigration and to achieve a relatively normalized population structure.

Using the index of dissimilarity as a measure of congruence between different age distributions, indexes were calculated for each generation illustrated in Chart 4.1 using the native-born with native-born parents (the third-plus generation) as the reference population. The indexes show an increasing degree of similarity, proceeding from first to third-plus generations when treating the native-born of mixed parentage as a generational group intermediate to the second and third generation.⁴

4.2.2. Marital Status Composition

As propensities for marriage and its durability are highly reflective of the population's value systems, the marital status structure provides interesting insights into a population's adjustment to its socio-economic and cultural circumstances. It is necessary, however, to consider the possible effects of variations

See footnote(s) on page 163.

in population structures as they directly affect the propensities for marriage and survival independently of a population's cultural norms.

The three generational groupings of the population 15 and over vary systematically with respect to their proportions single and married. The relative size of the single population increases from 16.5% for the first generation to 33.6% for the third and subsequent generations, while the married and widowed combined declined from 80% for the first generation to 72% and 63% respectively for the second and third-plus generations. Data for the foreign-born also show a negative relationship between length of residence and the proportion single (Table 4.2).

Some of the differences between generations are clearly age related. However, when examining the marital status composition for each of the 10-year age groups within each generation, these differences tend to persist, the proportion married tends to decrease with each subsequent generation. Table 4.3 shows that only in the case of the 25-34 year olds does the first generation fail to have a larger proportion married than the second and third-plus generation groups. This may be explained in part by the fact that this age group would have proportionately more of the recent immigrant arrivals who generally tend to have a lower proportion married than those who have been in Canada for a longer period of time.⁵

Overall, the second generation had the highest proportion (4.8%) of divorced and separated, while the first and third-plus generations were approximately the same at 3.6%. The second generation holds this edge for every age group except for those 55 and over where the first generation, as well as the second, tends to exceed the proportions divorced and separated for the third-plus generation. Generally, the latter group tends to have the next highest proportion of divorced and separated. While the combined divorced and separated groups tend to be rather small in the Canadian population as a whole, the largest proportion, or 6.3%, is found in the 35-44 group. As might be expected, the lowest proportion is found in the youngest age group of 15-24 which contains a relatively large number of recently married persons.

See footnote(s) on page 163.

TABLE 4.2. Marital Status of the Population 15 Years of Age and Over by Generation and Period of Immigration for Foreign-born, Canada, 1971

Generation/Period of immigration	Population 15 and over	Marital status				
		Total	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced and separated
per cent						
3rd+ generation	9,237,500	100.0	33.6	57.5	5.4	3.6
2nd generation	2,822,900	100.0	22.8	67.1	5.3	4.8
1st generation	12,060,400	100.0	16.5	69.9	10.0	3.6
Pre-1946	947,000	100.0	7.5	64.5	24.0	4.0
1946-60	1,250,700	100.0	17.4	75.3	3.7	3.7
1961-65	288,200	100.0	21.0	72.5	3.6	2.9
1966-71	533,500	100.0	28.1	65.7	3.2	3.0
Total	15,079,800	100.0	28.1	61.8	6.3	3.8

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

TABLE 4.3. Percentage Married by Age Group and Generation for the Population 15 Years of Age and Over, Canada, 1971

Generation	Age group						
	Total	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
3rd+ generation	57.5	21.1	78.6	83.5	80.2	72.7	49.9
2nd generation	67.1	20.0	79.2	84.9	82.5	76.2	49.2
1st generation	69.9	30.7	78.8	88.8	87.2	77.5	53.2
Total	61.8	22.0	78.7	85.0	82.3	74.6	51.0

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

4.2.3. Ethnic and Cultural Origins by Generation, Country of Birth, Age, Sex and Marital Status

In 1971, 45% of the total population was of British origin, 29% was French and the remaining 26% was divided among the many other ethnic and cultural origin groups presently residing in Canada; the Germans were the third largest group at 6.2% of the total. Italians comprise an additional 3.4% followed by the Ukrainians and Scandinavians with 2.8% and 2.0% respectively. Just in terms of relative size it is easy to see how the British and French origin populations continue to dominate the Canadian scene. The patterns of political and social dominance have their roots deep in the past but the ease with which these groups maintain their position can be attributed in part to the relative size of their third-plus generations, and for the French in particular, their high degree of regional concentration. In contrast, the cultural strength of all the other ethnic and cultural origin groups in Canada arises from the size of their first generation as well as their degree of regional concentration and for some, their high degree of concentration in Canada's urban centres.

As the periods of peak immigration for various ethnic groups have changed over the years, so have their average length of residence in Canada and the relative sizes of their various generational groupings. Those groups that were established earliest, and especially those with a history of high fertility, tend to have the largest third and subsequent generations. The recent arrivals would tend to have the smallest proportions in these latter generational groups. Given the demographic history of the French origin population in Canada, it would be expected that they would have the largest native-born generation (with the exception of the native-born Indians). In 1971 the French had 98% of their population native-born and 94% belonging to the third or subsequent generations (Table 4.4). The British origin group, with 88% and 67% respectively, had the second largest native-born contingent. Both contrast sharply with recent immigrants such as the Italians who have low proportions of native-born and relatively high numbers of foreign-born. In 1971, 54% of the Italians were first generation, 34% were second generation and 11% belonged to the third and subsequent generations. Table 4.4 shows that while the generational distributions of some of the other recent immigrant groups show some similarities to the Italians, e.g., the Chinese and Japanese combined, they have disproportionately greater numbers among the first generation who had arrived in the five-year period immediately preceding the 1971 Census. The residual other

TABLE 4.4. Population by Ethnic Origin, by Generation and Period of Immigration for the Foreign-born, Canada, 1971

Generation/Period of immigration	Ethnic origin							
	British Isles	French	German	Dutch	Scandinavian	Hungarian	Polish	Russian
Canada	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
3rd+ generation	67.2	94.4	45.8	28.7	42.0	16.1	30.3	37.9
2nd generation	20.3	3.6	29.5	36.8	36.7	36.8	36.4	36.3
1st generation	12.5	1.9	24.7	34.5	21.3	47.0	33.3	25.8
Pre-1946	5.4	0.6	6.2	2.8	11.0	10.8	9.9	11.8
1946-60	3.8	0.6	13.7	26.6	6.5	27.9	17.5	10.9
1961-65	1.0	0.2	1.9	2.0	1.1	3.4	3.1	0.2
1966-71	2.3	0.5	2.9	3.1	2.6	5.0	2.8	2.9

	Ukrainian	Italian	Jewish	Chinese/Japanese	Native Indian	Other	Total
Canada	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
3rd+ generation	41.6	11.2	25.2	14.0	95.2	21.3	66.1
2nd generation	40.6	34.4	38.0	32.5	3.0	26.2	18.5
1st generation	17.7	54.3	36.8	53.4	1.8	52.5	15.4
Pre-1946	10.8	3.8	13.5	7.0	0.5	6.3	4.4
1946-60	6.0	28.0	14.4	14.9	0.2	15.3	6.0
1961-65	0.5	10.9	3.1	6.9	0.2	8.4	1.7
1966-71	0.4	11.5	5.9	24.6	0.8	22.4	3.3

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

category would also include many of the newer ethnic and racial groups who began arriving in increasingly greater numbers after discriminatory sections of the immigration regulations were eliminated in 1967.

Country of birth data for the foreign-born population, while they overlap to a considerable extent with ethnic origins, are not the same. Immigrants of specific ethnic origins are not always born in countries whose dominant ethnic or cultural origin is the same as their own, as many are often members of minority groups. Country-of-birth data are not subject to the same definitional problems as confront the analyst using ethnic origin as a basis of classification; they provide valuable information on the nature and origin of immigrant streams.

Temporal shifts in the flow of immigration streams in recent decades are clearly reflected in the country-of-birth data that show the composition of the resident immigrant populations by period of arrival in Canada at the time of the 1971 Census (Table 4.5). The largest proportion of immigrants from countries like the U.S., Russia, Scandinavia and the United Kingdom and Eire came prior to 1946. Most of those born in the Netherlands (83%) came during the immediate post-war period, 1946-60, followed by those from Germany (67%); Italy (52%); other Eastern Europe (48%); Poland (46%) and other Western Europe (45%).

During the decade prior to the 1971 Census, the pattern in terms of country of origin shifted significantly. Of all the immigrants in Canada who were born in Greece, 61% arrived in Canada during this period; 58% of those born in other Southern European countries; 66% of those born in Asia; and 77% of those born in countries not separately identified in Table 4.5 but who were generally of non-European origin.

As recently as the 1961 Census of Canada, there was one basic and distinctive feature that clearly differentiated the French origin population in Canada from that of the British origin. The disproportionately greater number of French population under 35 years of age contrasted clearly with the greater proportion of British origins beyond this age, as is evident in the juxtaposition of the two 1961 population pyramids in Chart 4.2. At that time, the French still showed evidence of its historical and almost exclusive reliance on fertility to maintain its population, while the older British origin population reflected its historical dependence on immigration to maintain its numbers in the face of lower fertility levels.

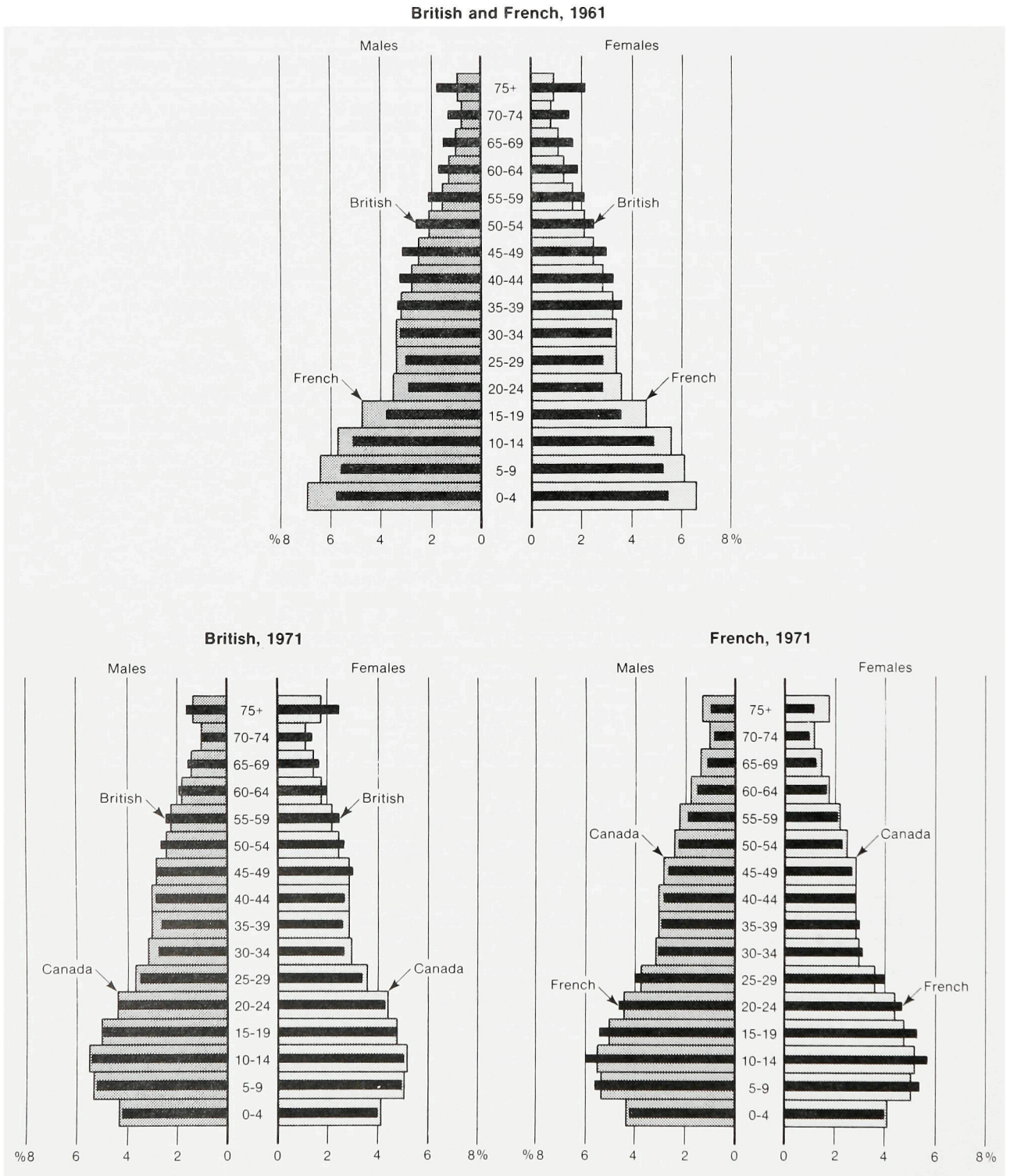
TABLE 4.5. Percentage Distribution of the Foreign-born by Birthplace and Period of Immigration, Canada, 1971

Place of birth	Total foreign-born	Period of immigration			
		Pre-1946	1946-60	1961-65	1966-71
United States	100.0	53.5	13.3	9.6	23.5
Other Western Europe	100.0	22.6	45.3	11.1	21.0
Germany	100.0	9.3	67.4	10.1	13.2
Netherlands	100.0	4.1	82.8	5.2	7.8
Eire, UK	100.0	43.4	33.4	7.1	16.1
Scandinavia	100.0	45.3	39.1	6.6	9.0
Greece	100.0	4.9	34.5	24.3	36.4
Italy	100.0	6.9	52.2	20.3	20.7
Other Southern Europe	100.0	8.1	34.3	18.9	38.7
Poland	100.0	42.5	46.1	6.6	4.8
USSR	100.0	52.4	43.6	2.4	1.5
Other Eastern Europe	100.0	32.5	47.9	4.4	15.2
Asia	100.0	10.9	23.6	13.5	52.0
Other	100.0	4.6	18.0	19.4	58.0
Total: Per cent	100.0	28.7	38.9	10.9	21.6
Number	3,299,800	947,000	1,282,400	358,700	711,700

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

Chart 4.2

Age and Sex Composition, British and French Origins, Canada, 1961 and 1971



Source: 1961 Census of Canada, Bulletin 1.3-2, Table 81 and 1971 Census of Canada, Bulletin 1.4-3, Table 4

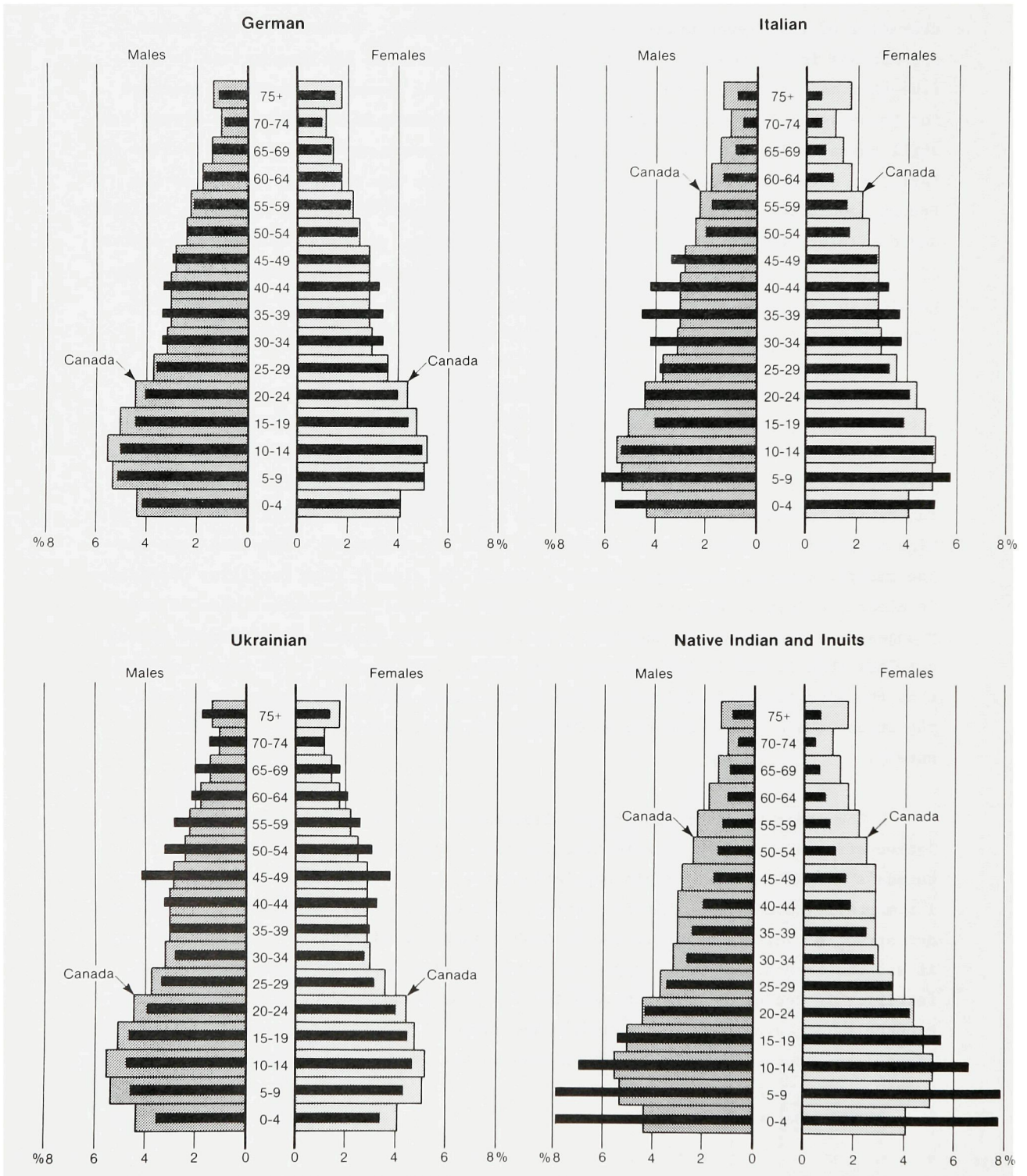
The rapid decline in fertility during the 1960s in Canada has altered the character of the French origin population very rapidly. Evidence of the larger proportions in the younger age groups was still there, as the proportions in the five-year age groups between five and 30 years still exceed the national averages for those ages. The disproportionately smaller numbers in the older age groups are still characteristic of the historically younger French population. The decline in fertility during the decade prior to the 1971 Census has taken its toll, and the French population in 1971 displays the telltale pinched effect of declining fertility and declining numbers in the two younger age cohorts. As a consequence, the degree of congruence of the French and British origin population structures is strikingly greater in 1971 than it was in 1961, and a continuation of present fertility and immigration trends will tend to produce greater similarity in the future.

Interesting variations in age-sex distributions can be observed for other ethnic origin populations in Canada that reflect the cumulative effects of differing patterns of fertility, mortality, and migration experience over time. Population pyramids for four contrasting ethnic populations are presented in Chart 4.3. The Native Indian and Inuit population is a good illustration of a high fertility, high mortality population with practically zero net migration. The wide base and the smooth, upwardly sloping, concave sides of the classic high fertility population is clearly evident. However, prior to the 1971 Census, the relative size of the youngest age group was considerably larger, giving the pyramid an even more classical look than it had in 1971 (Kalbach and McVey, 1971, p. 168). It would appear that the significant fertility decline of the 1960s affected this group as well as the other ethnic groups comprising Canadian society, although not to the same extent.

The other three origin groups illustrated in Chart 4.3 represent the cumulative effects of several distinctive fertility-migration patterns for some of Canada's larger European origin populations that have experienced relatively similar mortality conditions in this country. The German origin population has an age-sex structure quite similar to the British origin pyramid but intermediate between it and the French. It would appear to have benefited more from immigration and fertility in recent decades than did the British, as is evident from the disproportionately larger numbers in the middle age range of the labour force (30-45 years of age) and proportionately larger numbers in the younger age groups. The German

Chart 4.3

Age and Sex Composition, Selected Ethnic Origins, Canada, 1971



Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Bulletin 1.4-3, Table 4

origin population has a higher proportion of its native-born population under 15 years of age and a considerably smaller proportion 65 years of age and over (Table 4.6). Almost half of its immigrant population was in the young working age group (15-44), a proportion higher than either the British or French. This has been already noted in calling attention to the disproportionately larger proportions in the age groups between 30 and 45 years visible in Chart 4.3.

The Italian origin population shows the effects of higher fertility levels and recent heavy immigration to Canada. This is reflected in even higher proportions of its native-born component in the younger age group (under 15 years), and the highest proportion, or almost two-thirds of its immigrant population in the prime labour force years between 15 and 45. The Ukrainian origins offer an interesting contrast in their drastically reduced levels of immigration and fertility during the post-World War II period. Over 80% of their foreign-born population is 45 years of age and older, and the proportion of its native-born under 15 years is very low in the second generation and somewhat above-average for subsequent generations. An excess of older males is quite noticeable and reflective of the character of the heavy immigration of Ukrainians during the early decades of the 20th century. All of these pyramids show the pinched-waist effect of minimal immigration and fertility of the mid-Depression and early World War II period. The pyramids are in effect population thumbprints that reveal their unique demographic histories.

The marital composition of a population is the consequence of its structural characteristics as well as cultural values in interaction with the socio-economic and political conditions prevailing in society. In examining the various ethnic populations that comprise Canadian society for significant differences in their modes of adaptation, it becomes important to factor out the effects of basic structural differences that may characterize the various groups.

Considering only the populations over 15 to remove the effects of the unmarried population under that age, considerable variation in the proportions single for the ethnic groups shown in Table 4.7 is apparent. The Native Indian population, with 35% single, had the highest proportion never married, but they were closely followed by the French and Chinese origin groups. At the other extreme are the Hungarians with only 21% never married. The Italians, Germans, and

TABLE 4.6. Percentage Age Distribution for Selected Ethnic Origins by Generation, Canada, 1971

Generation/ Age group	Ethnic origin														Total
	British Isles	French	German	Dutch	Scandi- navian	Hungar- ian	Polish	Russian	Ukrain- ian	Italian	Jewish	Chinese/ Japanese	Native Indian	Other	
1st generation															
0-14	8.9	16.8	5.4	4.8	4.2	2.7	3.1	3.1	2.2	8.4	5.6	11.3	28.0	12.3	8.5
15-44	35.8	45.7	49.5	63.0	31.8	49.8	36.0	23.6	16.2	64.9	33.5	59.5	44.0	59.5	46.2
45-64	28.3	20.5	27.6	25.5	28.7	29.6	39.7	33.5	40.3	20.3	35.2	16.0	16.0	18.6	25.9
65+	27.1	17.0	17.6	6.8	35.3	17.9	21.3	39.8	41.3	6.4	25.6	13.2	12.0	9.6	19.4
Total: Per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	1,185,800	119,800	327,700	149,300	78,500	63,800	104,000	16,100	105,500	394,400	111,800	87,000	5,000	551,100	3,299,800
2nd generation															
0-14	20.6	24.5	32.8	63.1	14.8	46.6	23.2	10.1	11.3	67.4	20.8	51.7	43.0	50.5	28.8
15-44	42.0	45.8	41.9	27.1	50.5	41.6	49.2	46.3	47.9	19.8	45.4	33.4	41.9	33.4	40.5
45-64	30.2	24.4	20.7	7.9	31.6	10.8	24.6	36.1	37.3	11.8	30.1	14.3	11.6	14.7	25.7
65+	7.2	5.3	4.5	1.9	3.2	1.0	3.0	7.5	3.5	1.0	3.6	0.6	3.5	1.3	5.1
Total: Per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	1,925,700	223,600	390,600	158,900	135,500	50,000	113,700	22,700	241,700	250,200	115,200	53,000	8,600	274,600	3,964,000
3rd+ generation															
0-14	35.0	31.4	39.6	36.7	48.1	53.0	46.9	44.3	47.9	44.1	44.1	46.3	44.7	44.1	34.7
15-44	42.2	45.8	44.4	42.1	46.0	40.2	46.7	48.1	47.9	48.0	48.2	46.3	40.8	42.7	44.0
45-64	15.5	16.6	11.5	16.3	4.3	3.7	4.1	7.2	2.7	5.9	4.8	4.8	9.9	8.4	15.0
65+	7.2	6.2	4.5	4.9	1.6	3.2	2.2	0.4	1.5	2.1	2.9	2.6	4.6	4.8	6.3
Total: Per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	6,377,200	5,813,100	606,600	124,100	154,800	21,900	94,600	23,700	247,400	81,700	76,500	22,900	270,300	223,300	14,138,100

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

TABLE 4.7. Per Cent of Population 15 Years of Age and Over with Single Marital Status by Ethnic Origin and Generation, Canada, 1971

Ethnic origin group	Generation			
	Total	1st	2nd	3rd+
British Isles	26.7	14.4	20.3	32.3
French	32.7	18.4	26.6	33.3
German	23.6	13.4	22.6	33.0
Dutch	25.9	15.9	44.0	30.5
Scandinavian	25.5	15.2	19.0	44.5
Hungarian	21.3	15.0	28.1	41.7
Polish	27.0	14.8	29.7	47.0
Russian	23.4	15.4	17.2	42.4
Ukrainian	25.0	11.2	18.5	47.0
Italian	23.3	18.8	31.9	42.9
Jewish	27.9	14.4	28.9	58.9
Chinese/Japanese	32.0	27.1	30.9	65.0
Native Indian	35.4	13.9	22.4	36.3
Other ethnic origins	27.1	22.1	31.9	41.2
Total	28.1	16.5	22.8	33.6

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

Russians were also similar to the Hungarians in terms of their relative numbers unmarried who were 15 years of age and over.

Variations in the distributions of the populations by age would clearly account for some of these observed differences; the Russian origin population has relatively few members in the younger ages who have not considered marriage. Since it has already been shown that the major generational groupings, used in this analysis, vary significantly by age and that the proportion single increases significantly with subsequent generations, it is essential to examine the ethnic groupings while holding constant the effects which may be produced by variations in the generational composition of the various groups.

The importance of controlling for generation in this analysis is most obvious when comparing the Italian origins with the French. Note that the first generation Italian and French have about the same proportions single and that the latter generations of Italians have somewhat higher proportions single than the latter generations of French; the Italians for all generations combined have the second lowest proportion single of any of the groups shown in Table 4.7. This is the consequence of the high proportion of first generation Italians in contrast to the distribution for the French group which has a very high proportion of its total in its combined third and subsequent generation group. Thus, the French and Italian origin populations in Canada are not as different from each other in their propensity to remain unmarried as it appears at first glance. Those of Italian origin did in fact show a greater propensity to remain unmarried in the second and third generations than did the French.

The amount of variation in proportions single for the ethnic groups shown does appear to increase with generation. Part of the increase may be due to the smaller size of subsequent generations for some of the newer immigrant groups, but the patterns of differences apparent in the data suggest the importance of cultural differences as well. The British, French, Germans, and the first and third-plus generations of Dutch are quite similar with respect to their proportions single. The remaining European groups with the exception of the Jewish origins tend to have significantly higher proportions of unmarried in their combined third and subsequent generations. The Jewish have the second highest proportions for any group. The Chinese and Japanese which have the highest (65%) also have consistently higher-

than-average proportions for each of the first and second generations as well. The Native Indians, who had the highest overall proportions single, are about average with respect to each of their generations. This is due entirely to the relatively large size of their third and later generations.

The remaining origins, which include most of the more recent immigrants, have consistently higher-than-average proportions unmarried which is not unexpected in view of the difficulties faced by recent immigrants in achieving a satisfactory level of economic and social adjustment in their adopted society. The tendency to postpone marriage by children of immigrants is also consistent with the idea that immigrants and their children have greater obstacles to overcome to achieve success in their new land, but its persistence into later generations is suggestive of more pervasive economic and social forces operating in the society at large which tend to affect the marital composition of all groups in society in much the same way.

4.3. Quebec and the Rest of Canada

4.3.1. Introduction

Culturally, Quebec is one of the more homogeneous provinces in Canada with slightly more than three-fourths of the country's French origin population living within its boundaries. In Quebec itself, almost 80% of the population were of French origins in 1971 and 86% were Roman Catholic. Its historically high levels of fertility have enabled the province to hold its relative size at around 30% of the total population during the post-Confederation period. In contrast, immigration has not been as significant for Quebec as it has been for the rest of Canada as a whole. Hence, the recent decline which Quebec has experienced with respect to its rates of fertility and natural increase is threatening to weaken its historical position vis-à-vis the other provinces. However, since 1951, Quebec's share of the total population has remained virtually unchanged.

Interestingly, Quebec's proportion of the foreign-born has increased from 11% to 14% since 1951. In addition, the proportion of Canada's foreign-born living in Quebec has shown an increase in five of the six past decades (Kalbach, 1974, p. 30). However, analyses of differences between intended destination and residence at the time of the 1961 and 1971 Censuses, as well as retention-redistribution ratios of Canada's 1946-61 cohort of immigrants, show that Quebec's growth might

well have been greater had those intending to settle in Quebec not changed their minds and moved elsewhere (Kalbach, 1974, pp. 47-49).

A population's growth rate and its age-sex structure are interrelated, each reflecting the consequences of the operation of specific levels of fertility, mortality and migration. Quebec's growth rate in recent decades has not kept pace with Canada as a whole, yet, until recently, its fertility had consistently exceeded the national levels. Quebec's mortality has also differed from the national norm. In general, its mortality rates have been somewhat higher than that for Canada; hence, its population's life expectancy has tended to be lower (Statistics Canada, 1976, p. 36). Quebec also differs with respect to immigration in not having received its proportionate or representative share of immigrants coming to Canada. Thus, the net effect is to produce considerable divergence from the ethnic pattern for the country as a whole. Furthermore, the immigrants that have settled in Quebec have not contributed to the province's level of urbanization to the same extent as have the larger numbers of immigrants in Ontario's urban centres.

Quebec's uniqueness would seem to be both an attraction and a problem for Canadian immigrants. Quebec presents a different set of problems to the immigrant than he is likely to find elsewhere. Not only is the culture and language different but the present structural differences between Quebec and the rest of Canada, which have arisen as a result of its unique historical development, have other significant social, economic, and political ramifications. These structural differences are examined in the following sets of comparisons.

4.3.2. Generational Structure

The Quebec population is predominantly third or later generation Canadian, with 85% having been native-born of native-born parents. Only 59% of the remaining Canadian population has comparable generational status. For both populations, the remainder or first two generations is almost evenly divided. Within the first generation of foreign-born, the only groups of immigrants that have relative equivalence inside and outside Quebec are those that immigrated to Canada between 1961 and 1965. For the remaining periods of immigration, the immigrants residing in the areas outside of Quebec in comparison to those within are approximately two to three times greater in terms of their proportionate share of the population. Overall, the demographic impact of Canada's immigrants and their children has been more significant outside Quebec than within.

The unique role of fertility for the native-born population in the growth of Quebec's population is quickly apparent in a comparison of its distribution by generation with that for the rest of Canada (Table 4.8).

4.3.3. Age/Sex Contrasts

Quebec has a somewhat younger population having a median age of 25.6 years compared to 26.7 for the rest of Canada. The most notable difference in the distribution by broad age groups is the somewhat larger proportion of Quebec's population in the younger adult age group, 15-44, and the relatively smaller proportions in the older age groups, 45-64 and 65 years and over.

The age distributions vary considerably when controlling for differences in generation. Reflecting its long-established roots and recent declines in fertility, the third-plus generation of Quebec is older than its counterpart elsewhere in Canada. Its smaller proportion under 15 years of age is reflected in its median age of 24.2 years compared to 20.7 for the rest of Canada. On the other hand, the foreign-born population and its derivative, the second generation, are younger. The latter is consistent with the fact that the rest of Canada has received the bulk of past immigration. While the median ages of each of the period-of-immigration groups are almost identical, the most recent immigrants in Quebec carry a disproportionately greater weight in the determination of the median age for the total first generation than their counterparts do for the rest of Canada (Table 4.9).

In terms of the balance between the sexes in these contrasting regions, Quebec has a lower masculinity ratio (98.1 males per 100 females), in contrast to a slight excess of males in the population for the rest of Canada. These differences in sex ratios for the two populations hold for the second and third-plus generations; but the first generation population in Quebec has a significantly greater number of males per 100 females, the ratio being 107.3 compared to 100.4 for the rest of Canada. In examining masculinity ratios for the first generation by period of immigration, it becomes clear that post-war immigrants settling in Quebec have been disproportionately male, especially immigrants just prior to the 1971 Census where the males outnumbered the females 128 to 100 in contrast to a sex ratio of 98.5 for the rest of Canada.

TABLE 4.8. Percentage Distribution of the Population by Generation and Period of Immigration for the Foreign-born, Canada, Quebec and All Other Regions Combined, 1971

Generation/Period of immigration	Canada	Quebec	All other regions combined
3rd+ generation	66.1	84.8	58.7
2nd generation	18.5	7.3	22.9
1st generation	15.4	7.9	18.4
Pre-1946	4.4	1.6	5.5
1946-60	6.0	3.2	7.1
1961-65	1.7	1.2	1.9
1966-71	3.3	1.9	3.9
Total: Per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number ('000)	21,402	6,028	15,374

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

TABLE 4.9. Median Ages and Sex Ratios by Generation and Period of Immigration for the Foreign-born, Canada, Quebec, and the Rest of Canada, 1971

Generation/Period of immigration	Median age			Sex ratios		
	Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada
3rd+ generation	21.9	24.2	20.7	100.0	98.1	101.1
2nd generation	31.6	25.4	32.3	100.4	99.3	100.5
1st generation	42.2	39.0	42.8	101.4	107.3	100.4
Pre-1946	67.2	66.1	67.3	92.9	80.3	94.5
1946-60	40.7	40.8	40.7	110.0	113.9	109.4
1961-65	30.5	31.9	30.1	93.1	102.5	90.8
1966-71	26.2	26.2	26.2	102.8	127.6	98.5
Total	26.3	25.6	26.7	100.3	98.9	100.9

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

4.3.4. Marital Status

The most striking contrast with respect to the marital status composition of the two populations is the proportionately greater numbers of unmarried (the single population) in the population 15 years of age and over. In Quebec, 33% of the population over 15 years of age was single compared to 26% for the remaining provinces. Quebec's population had the larger proportion single for every generation group and for each period of immigration (Table 4.10). The greatest difference in percentage points was for the second generation and the least for the third-plus generations. For the various periods of immigration, the difference in per cent single was greatest for the most recent immigrants and the immediate post-war immigrants, both of whom exhibited unusually high sex ratios, or excesses of males.

These larger proportions single in Quebec, compared to the rest of Canada for the population over 15 years of age, held for every 10-year age group in both the second and third-plus generations. The same differential also held for the majority of the groups in the first generation. Only for those 35-44 and 45-54 years of age was the proportion single for Quebec lower than the rest of Canada, but even so, the differences were relatively small. Given the disproportionately large size of the second and third-plus generations of native-born in Quebec, this consistently greater proportion of single population at all ages could be a significant factor in the declining fertility rates for Quebec. Even more important, the largest relative differences are found in the two youngest age groups (15-24 and 25-34 years of age), which tend to have the highest legitimate fertility rates of any of the age groups in the childbearing years.

4.3.5. Population Contrasts by Ethnic and Cultural Origins

The extent of regional concentrations of ethnic populations in Canada is well illustrated by the fact that slightly more than three-fourths of the French origin population, compared to only 7% of those of British origin, were located in Quebec, a province which had 28% of the country's population in 1971. A comparison of the composition of Quebec and the rest of Canada is given in Table 4.11 which provides data for the major ethnic groups. The ethnic imbalance between Quebec and the rest of Canada is quickly apparent. Quebec's population is 79% French compared to only 9% of the population outside Quebec. In contrast, the British account for

TABLE 4.10. Percentage Distribution of Marital Status of the Population 15 Years of Age and Over by Generation and Period of Immigration for the Foreign-born, Canada, Quebec and the Other Provinces, 1971

Generation/Period of immigration	Marital status								
	Single			Married			Other		
	Canada	Quebec	Other provinces	Canada	Quebec	Other provinces	Canada	Quebec	Other provinces
3rd+ generation	33.6	34.5	33.0	57.5	57.4	57.5	9.0	8.1	9.4
2nd generation	22.8	29.1	22.1	67.1	60.6	67.8	10.1	10.3	10.1
1st generation	16.5	19.9	16.0	69.9	68.2	70.2	13.6	11.9	13.8
Pre-1946	7.5	8.4	7.4	64.5	64.1	64.6	28.0	27.4	28.0
1946-60	17.4	19.7	17.0	75.3	72.0	75.9	7.4	8.4	7.1
1961-65	21.0	21.7	20.8	72.5	71.0	72.9	6.5	7.4	6.3
1966-71	28.1	31.6	27.4	65.7	62.8	66.2	6.2	5.6	6.4
Total	28.1	32.6	26.4	61.8	57.6	63.0	10.1	8.2	10.6

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

TABLE 4.11. "Charter Groups" and Selected "Other" Ethnic Origins
Canada, Quebec and the Rest of Canada, 1971

Ethnic origin	Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada
British Isles	44.3	10.5	57.6
French	28.8	78.9	9.1
Other origins	26.9	10.6	33.3
German	6.2	0.9	8.3
Ukrainian	2.8	0.3	3.7
Italian	3.4	2.8	3.6
Jewish	1.4	2.0	1.2
Dutch	2.0	0.2	2.7
Scandinavian	1.7	0.2	2.3
Polish	1.5	0.4	1.9
Russian	0.3	0.1	0.4
Chinese and Japanese	0.8	0.2	1.0
Other	6.9	3.4	8.2
Total: Per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	21,401,900	6,028,000	15,373,900

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

only 11% of Quebec's population, while they constitute 58% of the population for the rest of Canada. The latter group itself is highly concentrated in Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia where they comprise 94%, 83%, and 78% of the populations respectively.

The remaining ethnic populations are also significantly different with respect to their size and geographical distribution. Outside of Quebec, the other ethnic origins comprise one-third of the population compared to only 11% within that province that belong to neither founding group. Within Quebec, the Italians (2.8%) and the Jews (2.0%) are the third and fourth largest ethnic groups. For the rest of Canada, the next largest after the British and French are the Germans (8.3%), the Ukrainians (3.7%), and the Italians (3.6%). The ethnic mix of Quebec is significantly different from the rest of Canada, both in terms of the specific ethnic groups as well as their relative sizes. The greater cultural homogeneity of Quebec reflected in the dominant numbers of French presents a totally different ethnic and linguistic context for the socio-economic adaptation of immigrants than do the more ethnically diverse and regionally differentiated populations in the areas outside this province.

In view of the fact that the immigrant streams destined to the various regions of Canada have neither been the same in terms of their ethnic composition nor in the timing of their arrival in Canada, further differences would be expected between Quebec and the rest of Canada. Interestingly, the generational composition of the British origin population does not vary much between Quebec and the rest of Canada but the French do show somewhat higher proportions of first and second generations outside Quebec than they do within that province. The differences between the Scandinavian, Italian, Jewish, and the combined Chinese and Japanese origin groups in the two areas are small but the situation is quite different for the Germans, Dutch, Hungarians, Polish, Russians and the Ukrainians (Table 4.12). For these ethnic groups, the proportion of first generation status tends to be significantly higher inside Quebec than in their corresponding populations residing outside that province. This appears to be mainly the result of the relatively larger numbers of immigrants who arrived during the immediate post-war period, 1946-60, and during the 1966-71 period, with the interesting exception of the Russians and Ukrainians who had proportionately larger numbers of immediate post-war immigrants, but not for the more recent period, 1966-71.

TABLE 4.12. Population by Ethnic Origins, by Generation and Period of Immigration for the Foreign-born, Quebec and the Rest of Canada, 1971

Area/ Generation/ Period of immigration	Ethnic origin														Total
	British Isles	French	German	Dutch	Scandi- navian	Hungar- ian	Polish	Russian	Ukrain- ian	Italian	Jewish	Chinese/ Japanese	Native Indian	Other	
Quebec	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
3rd+ generation	64.2	95.8	36.8	24.6	44.4	8.6	19.8	13.9	18.9	12.8	22.9	12.8	95.4	17.1	84.8
2nd generation	20.9	2.6	20.8	30.2	26.3	30.0	33.0	27.8	47.1	33.5	36.9	28.2	3.0	23.0	7.2
1st generation	14.9	1.6	42.3	45.2	29.3	61.4	47.1	58.3	34.0	53.7	40.2	59.1	1.5	59.9	7.9
Pre-1946	5.9	0.5	5.5	0.8	9.1	7.1	9.1	11.1	9.2	3.6	12.8	3.4	1.2	3.6	1.6
1946-60	4.6	0.5	27.2	34.1	9.1	39.3	31.4	44.4	23.8	29.0	18.0	18.1	-	15.9	3.2
1961-65	1.5	0.2	3.7	4.0	4.0	4.3	2.5	-	0.5	10.8	4.7	10.7	-	14.3	1.2
1966-71	3.0	0.4	5.9	6.3	7.1	10.7	4.1	2.8	0.5	10.3	4.8	26.8	0.3	26.1	1.9
Rest of Canada	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
3rd+ generation	67.4	89.7	46.2	28.8	41.9	17.0	31.2	39.4	42.4	10.8	26.7	14.2	95.2	22.0	58.7
2nd generation	20.2	7.3	29.9	37.0	37.0	37.6	36.7	36.8	40.4	34.7	38.7	33.0	3.0	26.8	22.9
1st generation	12.3	3.0	24.0	34.2	21.2	45.4	32.1	23.8	17.2	54.5	34.6	52.8	1.8	51.2	18.3
Pre-1946	5.3	1.1	6.3	2.9	11.1	11.2	10.0	11.9	10.9	3.9	14.0	7.4	0.4	6.8	5.5
1946-60	3.7	0.8	13.1	26.4	6.5	26.5	16.3	8.8	5.4	27.8	12.0	14.6	0.2	15.2	7.1
1961-65	1.0	0.3	1.8	1.9	1.0	3.3	3.2	0.2	0.5	10.9	2.1	6.5	0.2	7.4	1.9
1966-71	2.3	0.8	2.8	3.0	2.5	4.4	2.7	2.9	0.4	11.9	6.6	24.4	1.0	21.8	3.9

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

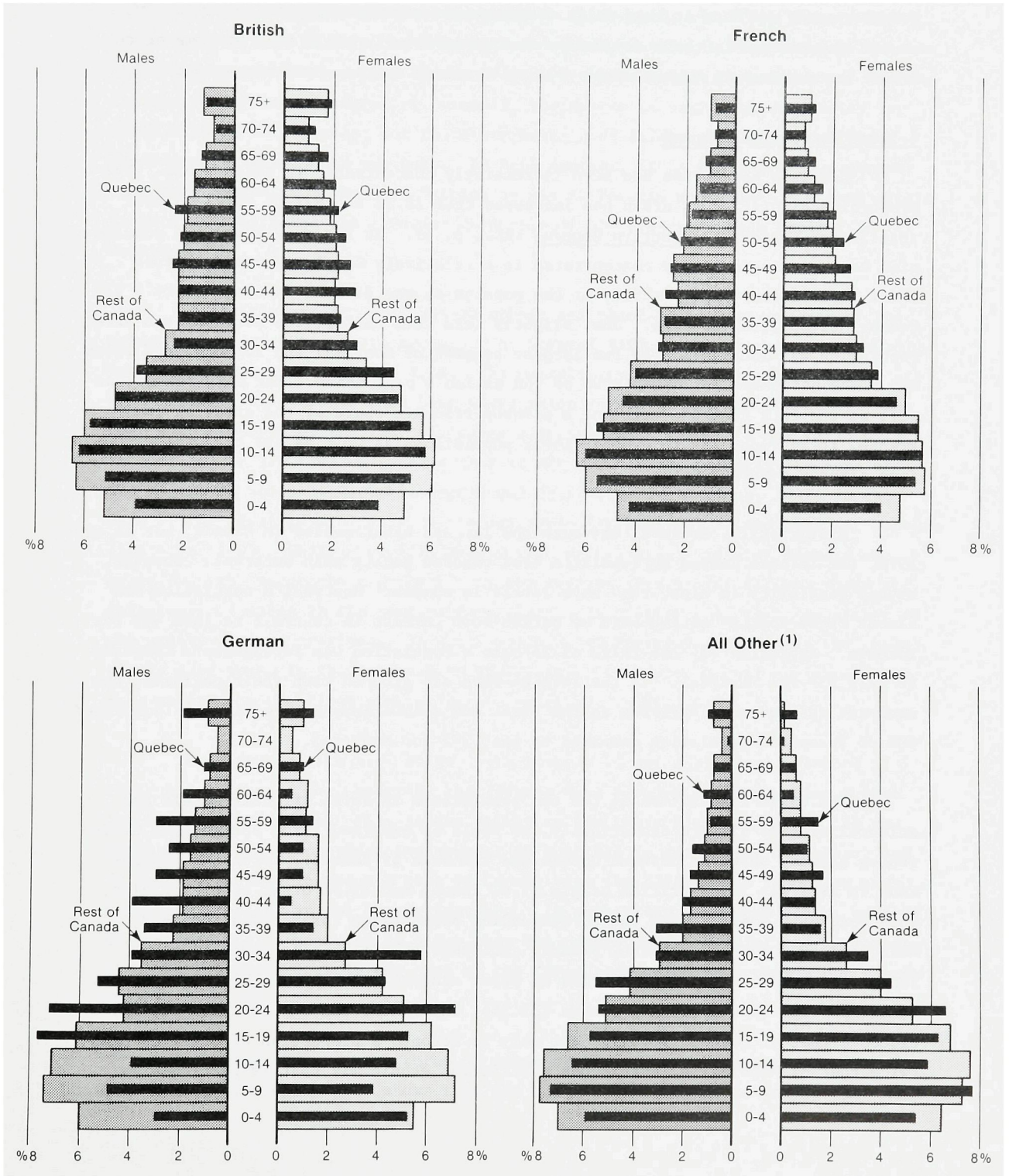
Since the contrasts between Quebec and the rest of Canada are relatively great in terms of the origins of their populations and their time of arrival, it would not be unusual to find differences between the populations living in Quebec and their counterparts living elsewhere in Canada, in addition to their relative sizes. To illustrate the nature of one of these differences, age-sex pyramids for four different ethnic groupings have been presented in Chart 4.4 for the native-born of native-born parentage (third and subsequent generations) with Quebec populations superimposed over those for the rest of Canada. The differences in the case of the French origin population are rather interesting in that the Quebec population appears to be a slightly older population than the French population residing elsewhere in Canada which has a larger proportion of its population under 15 and a generally smaller proportion 30 and older.

The same type of age-sex differential is more evident between the Quebec population of British origins and those living elsewhere. In this case, the proportions for the age groups under 20 living outside Quebec exceed those within the province; the reverse is true for all age groups over 25. For those older age groups, the imbalance seems to be particularly significant for females. The same contrast in age-sex structures appears to hold for all other ethnic origins combined, although the relatively small size of this group in Quebec appears to have generated some instability in the estimates of the older age groups due to sampling error. The contrasting pyramids for the German ethnic population are also presented to provide an illustration of a specific ethnic population included in the all other origins category. Even after considering the possibility of a large sampling variance, it is highly suggestive of the effects of heavy in-migration of younger workers in the 20-34 year age range and relatively high sex ratios, an excess of males in the older labour force ages between 35 and 65 years.

In terms of the proportions single, the marital composition of Quebec's ethnic populations by generation does not vary greatly from the rest of Canada, although the proportions tend to be consistently higher for each of the generations for most of the ethnic origin groups. The proportions single in the second generation of British and French origins are considerably higher than their counterparts elsewhere in Canada. There are, however, some major shifts from this general pattern particularly for the Dutch, Hungarians, Jews, and Italians of second and later generations, all of whom had higher proportions unmarried outside Quebec.

Chart 4.4

Age and Sex Composition for Third-plus Generation, Selected Ethnic Origins, Quebec and the Rest of Canada, 1971



(1) Includes German origin.

However, with the data at hand it is difficult to say what significance, if any, should be attached to these deviations as the relatively small size of some of the ethnic populations in Quebec might account for most of the observed variance.

4.3.6. Metropolitan Areas

Canada's population has been increasingly concentrated in urban areas. The proportion classified as urban has increased from 18.3% in 1871 to 76.1% in 1971 (Statistics Canada, Perspective Canada, 1974, p. 4). At the same time, the population has been increasingly concentrated in a relatively few large urban centres until in 1971 over half, or 55%, of the population was located in the country's 22 Census Metropolitan Centres. Just slightly less than half of the metropolitan area population was located in the two largest centres of Montréal and Toronto, and these two alone accounted for one-fourth of the nation's population. For this reason, as well as the fact that they attract a disproportionate share of the arriving immigrants, it is important to examine their populations as well as the regional groupings already considered.

Historically, Montréal has been the largest urban centre in Canada, but as of 1976, the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area reached parity with Montréal. However, beyond similarity in size, they have little in common. Montréal's population was almost three-fourths native-born of native-born parents in contrast to just 40% for Toronto. Approximately one-third of Toronto's population was foreign-born compared to only 15% for Montréal. If the foreign-born are grouped with their children, the contrast is even more striking as the first and second generations combined comprised 60% of Toronto's population compared to just 27% for Montréal.

The basic composition of the two populations in terms of their ethnic and cultural origins differs dramatically, as would be expected, from the general differences already observed between Quebec and the rest of Canada. Toronto's population in 1971 was 56.5% British origin, 3.6% French and 39.9% other ethnic origins. This contrasts sharply with the corresponding percentages for Montréal of 16.2, 64.3, and 19.5 for the British, French, and other ethnic origins respectively. Toronto also has a larger proportion of other ethnics (39.9%) than one would find in the part of Canada outside Quebec (33.3%), while Montréal's proportion (19.5%) exceeded that of Quebec (10.6%). Not only is Toronto's proportion of other ethnics twice that of Montréal's, but it has a different ethnic mix that is particularly

evident in the immigrant populations shown in Table 4.13. In 1971, Toronto had larger proportions of British, German, Netherlands, Ukrainian, and combined Chinese and Japanese populations than did Montréal, which had larger proportions of Jewish, Italian, and French immigrants. Overall, the degree of ethnic heterogeneity is quite high in both places; but the distributions of ethnic populations differed considerably between the two CMAs. In both centres, it is the third-plus generation that dominates — those of British origin in Toronto and those of French origin in Montréal, although the relative dominance of the French is much greater in Montréal.

In addition to the distinctive ethnic mix which characterizes each of the nation's largest CMAs, there are other structural differences of significance which have been summarized in Table 4.14. The masculinity ratios, for example, indicate that Montréal and Toronto each have fewer males relative to the number of females than either Quebec or the rest of Canada respectively. Toronto's sex ratio of 98.1 males per 100 females exceeds that of Montréal (96.4) primarily because of the excess of women in Quebec's second and third-plus generations. Only in the case of the first generation does the sex ratio for Montréal exceed that for Toronto (101.4 vs 97.1). While Montréal immigrants have relatively greater numbers of males than the native-born generations, the reverse is true for Toronto where the deficiency of males in the immigrant population is greater than that for either of the native-born generations. It would appear that Montréal tends to attract relatively more women in the native-born generations than does Toronto and relatively more males from the first generation or immigrant population.

These two centres also differ with respect to the age characteristics of their populations. Both Montréal and Toronto have populations older than Quebec and the rest of Canada. This is due solely to the third-plus generation, as the first and second generations are younger in Montréal in comparison to Quebec, and in Toronto in relation to the rest of Canada with the differences in median ages being the greatest in the latter instance. In comparison with each other, each of the generations in Montréal is older than the corresponding populations in Toronto, although the difference in the case of the first generation is probably not significant.

Examining the age structures in terms of the relative sizes of the dependent and working-age populations shows that the total dependency ratio was considerably

TABLE 4.13. Population by Ethnic Origins by Generation,
Toronto and Montréal CMAs, 1971

Ethnic origin	Toronto				Montréal			
	Total	1st	2nd	3rd+	Total	1st	2nd	3rd+
British Isles	56.5	34.7	52.9	77.7	16.2	19.2	32.0	13.0
French	3.6	0.6	1.6	7.5	64.3	11.1	19.5	82.5
Other origins	39.9	64.7	45.5	14.8	19.5	69.7	48.5	4.5
German	4.5	6.1	4.4	3.2	1.4	4.7	2.7	0.5
Netherlands	1.7	2.1	2.4	1.0	0.4	1.3	1.1	0.1
Scandinavian	0.7	0.9	0.9	0.5	0.2	0.3	0.5	0.1
Polish	1.9	2.8	2.5	0.7	0.7	2.5	2.1	0.2
Russian	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.5	0.0
Ukrainian	2.4	2.5	3.6	1.6	0.6	1.8	1.9	0.2
Italian	10.1	18.5	12.3	1.4	5.8	22.1	15.5	0.9
Jewish	4.2	4.6	6.4	2.5	4.2	11.7	12.7	1.2
Chinese/Japanese	1.4	2.4	1.6	0.5	0.4	1.6	0.9	0.1
Other	12.8	24.6	11.2	3.3	5.7	23.4	10.7	1.3
Total: Per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number ('000)	2,628	904	681	1,043	2,743	411	327	2,005

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

TABLE 4.14. Sex Ratios, Median Age, and Dependency Ratios by Generation, Montréal and Toronto CMAs, Canada, Quebec and the Rest of Canada, 1971

Generation/ Characteristics	Montréal	Toronto	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Total Canada
Total Population					
Number ('000)	2,743	2,628	6,028	15,374	21,402
Per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Masculinity ratio	96.4	98.1	98.1	100.9	100.3
Median age	27.9	28.3	25.6	26.7	26.3
Dependency ratio					
Total	52.3	52.4	57.5	61.5	60.4
Young	41.7	41.0	46.7	47.6	47.4
Old	10.6	11.4	10.8	13.8	13.0
Third-plus generation:					
Number ('000)	2,005	1,043	5,112	9,026	14,138
Per cent	73.1	39.7	84.8	58.7	66.1
Masculinity ratio	95.5	98.6	98.1	101.1	100.0
Median age	25.7	22.4	24.2	20.7	21.9
Dependency ratio					
Total	55.3	64.1	59.8	75.4	69.4
Young	45.6	54.8	49.6	64.4	58.7
Old	9.6	9.3	10.2	11.0	10.7
Second generation:					
Number ('000)	327	681	437	3,527	3,964
Per cent	11.9	25.9	7.3	22.9	18.5
Masculinity ratio	95.4	98.6	99.3	100.5	100.4
Median age	24.5	21.3	25.4	32.3	31.6
Dependency ratio					
Total	69.6	80.4	66.3	49.5	51.2
Young	62.9	73.6	58.4	41.9	43.5
Old	6.7	6.8	7.9	7.6	7.7
First generation:					
Number ('000)	411	904	479	2,821	3,300
Per cent	15.0	34.4	7.9	18.4	15.4
Masculinity ratio	101.4	97.1	107.3	100.4	101.4
Median age	38.7	37.6	39.0	42.8	42.4
Dependency ratio					
Total	29.6	27.1	31.3	39.9	38.6
Young	12.7	11.4	12.7	11.6	11.8
Old	16.9	15.7	18.7	28.3	26.8

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

higher in Toronto than in Montréal for each of the two native-born generations. This is entirely due to higher young dependency ratios in Toronto, as the ratio of the population 65 years of age and over to the population between 15 and 65 years of age were the same in both CMAs. Only in the case of the dependency ratios for the immigrant population did Montréal exceed those of Toronto, but the differences were considerably smaller.

Toronto and Montréal differ in terms of their marital status composition in the same way that Quebec and the rest of Canada differ. Toronto has greater proportions married, widowed, and divorced, and a smaller proportion of single persons than Montréal. With the exception of the widowed, these differences hold for every 10-year age group from 15 to 65 years of age and over. It is also interesting to note that Montréal has a higher proportion married and lower proportions with other marital status than does Quebec, as is the case for Toronto in relation to the rest of Canada outside Quebec (Statistics Canada, 1973, Bulletin 1.4-2).

There is little question that the population of Quebec differs significantly from that residing in the rest of Canada in terms of its basic structural characteristics. These differences are not surprising, nor is the fact that Montréal and Toronto differ significantly from their hinterland populations. However, it is the specific nature of these structural differences that must be kept in mind when evaluating the progress of those immigrants who have made different regional and residential choices after their arrival in Canada.

FOOTNOTES

¹See Jeffrey G. Reitz, "Language and Ethnic Community Survival," The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, for an interesting example of a generational analysis of language persistence based on data collected for the Non-official Languages Study conducted under the auspices of the Office of the Secretary of State. The 1961 Census monograph program provided one of the first opportunities for obtaining more complex cross-tabulations of social and economic characteristics for first and subsequent generations (the native-born) of selected ethnic origin groups in the Canadian population. See W.E. Kalbach, The Impact of Immigration on Canada's Population, Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, 1970. For an analysis of the first and second generations of the United States' population, see E.P. Hutchinson, Immigrants and Their Children, 1850-1950, New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1956.

²The native-born of native-born parents cannot be further subdivided into its generational subgroups on the basis of census data. This group is generally referred to as the third-plus generation in the text and included tables.

³The second generation, the native-born with both parents foreign-born, is generated by the fertility of immigrants, whose numbers are dually affected by variations in immigration and fertility patterns. By contrast, the intermediate second generation, representing mixed marriages between first and second generation parents, would be less affected by immigration than by prevailing practice and opportunities for marriage between nativity groups and their fertility levels.

⁴It is not possible to determine whether the native-born parent is from the second or some subsequent generation. The individual could be regarded as being second generation, or of a subsequent generation depending upon which parent one used in determining generation. Rather than explore the empirical consequences of such alternatives at this time, an arbitrary decision was made to treat these cases of mixed parentage as an intermediate generation between the second and third. Subsequent analyses simply regard the 1,928,000 native-born with either one or both parents foreign-born as belonging to the second generation. While the census treats anyone born outside Canada as foreign-born, it is interesting to note that 118,000 such persons had parents who were both native-born and that an additional 98,000 had at least one parent born in Canada. While it is true that these persons are

foreign-born, it would be difficult to argue that those with both parents native-born are different in some meaningful way from the native-born with native-born parents without further information concerning their place of residence and educational experiences while residing outside of Canada.

⁵The 1966-71 immigrants constituted 40.4% of the first generation in the age group 25-34 years compared to just 15.4% for those 35-44 years of age. Of those 25-34 years of age who arrived just prior to the 1971 Census, 73.7% were married at the time of the census, compared to 84.6% of those who had arrived during the 1961-65 period.

CHAPTER 5

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTIONS AND ECOLOGICAL PATTERNS

Comparisons between Quebec and the rest of Canada tend to be dominated by the political questions but this national preoccupation should not detract from the significance of other factors that may underlie the pressures for greater regional autonomy and other problems that directly affect the native-born and immigrant alike. The degree of structural and cultural homogeneity within Quebec is obviously much greater than that which is to be found within most of the remaining regions of Canada when considered in combination and in opposition to Quebec. Not only is there considerable variation between the other regions, but their metropolitan centres do not necessarily reflect the structural characteristics of their hinterlands to the same degree. Among the four largest centres, the correspondence appears to be greater for Vancouver and Winnipeg than for either Montréal or Toronto which have attracted such disproportionate numbers of Canada's post-war immigrants. While the analyses reported in this chapter are primarily concerned with the patterns of ethnic differentiation that may be observed in these major centres, some attention is directed to the settlement and internal migration patterns that have provided a regional dimension for Canada's ethnic and cultural mosaic.

5.1. Rural/Urban Differences

The population of Canada has urbanized rapidly since Confederation, and by 1971 had slightly more than three-quarters of its population residing in urban areas. The two largest provinces were almost equally urbanized with 82% of Ontario's population and 81% of Quebec's population classified as urban. The relative numbers of people living in urban areas throughout the rest of Canada varied significantly from slightly over one-third in Prince Edward Island to three-quarters in British Columbia. Considering the fact that urbanization has not progressed uniformly throughout Canada, and given the uneven distribution of the population by generation, it would not be surprising to find differences in the degree of urbanization exhibited by the various generational groups within the population.

Both native-born and foreign-born have responded to industrialization and urbanization, but the foreign-born migrants are by definition a more mobile and responsive population when compared to the native-born population as a whole.

This is clearly reflected in the data showing place of residence in 1971 by period of immigration. Considering the most recent immigrants who came to Canada just prior to the 1971 Census, the 1966-71 cohort of immigrants, only 1.4% were residing on rural farms compared to 7.1% of the native-born population with native-born parents. Immigrants who had come to Canada prior to 1946 were more like the third and subsequent generations with 6.1% living on rural farms. However, they had smaller proportions living in rural non-farm areas and in the smaller urban places and a significantly larger proportion living in urban places of 30,000 and over than did the native-born of native parentage (62.8% vs 51.0%). The more recent the period of immigration the larger the proportion residing in the larger urban places. For the 1966-71 cohort of immigrants still living in Canada on 1 June 1971, 84.0% were residing in places of over 30,000 population.

Variations in the degree of urbanization are highly significant for generational groupings for Canada as a whole and between Quebec and the rest of Canada. Note in Table 5.1 the greater degree of concentration of the first generation in urban places 30,000 and over in Quebec as compared to their counterparts in the rest of Canada. In Quebec, 90% of the first generation, compared to just 82% and 57% of its second and third-plus generations, resided in the larger urban centres. This contrasts sharply with the corresponding percentages of 72, 61, and 48 respectively for the rest of Canada. The contrast between the percentages living on rural farms is equally strong, especially for the first generation and their offspring.

5.2. Internal Migration Patterns

Following Confederation, the two most notable features of Canadian population have been the rapid settlement and growth in Western Canada and the urbanization of the country as a whole. The western provinces have had the highest growth rates for the past 100 years, primarily as a consequence of significant levels of international and internal migration in conjunction with relatively high rates of natural increase (1971 Census of Canada, Bulletin 5.1-1, p. 27). The major destinations of immigrants shifted from Eastern Canada to Central and Western Canada, and the provinces of early settlement began to experience high out-migration as the areas further west began to develop. While significant declines in their populations were avoided as a result of their continuing high levels of natural increase, their proportionate share of the nation's population has continued to decline over the years (1971 Census of Canada, Bulletin 5.1-1, pp. 28-31).

TABLE 5.1. Urban/Rural Place of Residence by Generation, Canada, Quebec, and Other Provinces, 1971

Type of residence	Quebec			Other provinces			Total Canada		
	1st	2nd	3rd+	1st	2nd	3rd+	1st	2nd	3rd+
Urban									
30,000+	90.2	82.3	56.6	72.5	60.7	47.7	75.0	63.0	51.0
<30,000	6.2	10.3	21.7	13.6	17.3	22.2	12.5	16.6	22.0
Rural									
Non-farm	2.9	5.9	15.7	9.9	13.3	22.5	8.9	12.5	20.0
Farm	0.7	1.5	6.0	4.1	8.8	7.5	3.6	8.0	7.1
Total:									
Per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number ('000)	464.8	377.4	4,618.0	2,748.0	3,157.7	7,880.6	3,212.8	3,535.1	12,498.6

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

The nature of internal migration patterns and their contributions to population redistribution in Canada can be explored in several ways using census and vital statistics. However, it is only through the census that these patterns can be examined with respect to the relative contribution made by the various generations of Canadians. Basically, the data permit the analysis of lifetime migration patterns, based on comparisons of current province of residence with province of birth and analysis of current migration over a five-year period just prior to the census date. The former provides information on the net results of interprovincial migration, although its inherent limitations prevent the identification of those interprovincial migrants who have returned to their province of birth and were living there at the time of the census. The five-year migration data provide estimates of current migration patterns based on the crossing of municipal boundaries rather than provincial boundaries. Both types of data have been utilized in this analysis to examine the relative contributions being made by the different generations to the changes in the distribution of the population which have been occurring in Canada.

5.2.1. Lifetime Interprovincial Migration

Comparison of province-of-residence with province-of-birth data provides a measure of lifetime interprovincial migration for the native-born.¹ The net effects of variations by province in the volume of both in- and out-migration are summarized by the numbers of net migrants and rates in Table 5.2. A pattern of net out-migration clearly characterizes the interprovincial movement of the native-born in all of the eastern provinces and the provinces of Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Note, too, that the presence of the foreign-born immigrant population has served to compensate, in part, for the losses suffered through net out-migration of the native-born from these areas as well as reinforcing the gains experienced by Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia. In Quebec's case, the gain from immigration was sufficient to overcome the loss through net out-migration and produced a positive total migration rate.

See footnote(s) on page 201.

TABLE 5.2. Net Interprovincial Lifetime Migration Rates for Native-born and In-flow of Foreign-born Per 100 Population by Province, Canada, 1971

Province	Total	Net migration of native-born		In-flow of foreign-born	Total migrants
		3rd+ generation	2nd generation	1st generation	
Number ('000)					
Newfoundland	- 77.6	- 71.4	- 6.2	9.1	- 68.5
New Brunswick	-105.3	- 97.6	- 7.7	26.8	- 78.5
Nova Scotia	-123.5	-112.7	- 10.8	39.1	- 84.4
Quebec	-100.8	- 62.3	- 38.5	478.9	378.1
Ontario	368.6	253.5	115.1	1,697.7	2,066.3
Manitoba	-184.2	- 87.7	- 96.5	151.5	- 32.7
Saskatchewan	-373.2	-172.6	-206.6	111.6	-261.6
Alberta	82.1	80.7	1.4	283.0	365.1
British Columbia	513.9	270.1	243.8	502.1	1,016.0
Total	0	0	0	3,299.8	3,299.8
Rate per 100 population					
Newfoundland	-14.89	-13.70	- 1.19	1.75	-13.14
New Brunswick	-16.75	-15.52	- 1.22	4.26	-12.48
Nova Scotia	-15.80	-14.42	- 1.38	5.00	-10.80
Quebec	- 1.67	- 1.03	- 0.64	7.95	6.28
Ontario	4.80	3.30	1.50	22.10	26.90
Manitoba	-18.69	- 8.90	- 9.79	15.37	- 3.32
Saskatchewan	-40.40	-18.63	-21.71	12.08	-28.32
Alberta	5.06	4.98	0.09	17.46	22.52
British Columbia	23.60	12.40	11.19	23.06	46.65

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

Considering only the net interprovincial migration rates, British Columbia with a rate of 23.6% has obviously benefited the most in relative terms from the internal migration of the native-born. The second highest rate, Alberta at 5.1%, was only one-fifth the size of that for British Columbia. Ontario was third with a rate of 4.8%. All the other net migration rates shown in Table 5.2 are negative, with Saskatchewan showing the highest with -40.4%, followed by Manitoba with -18.7%. The Atlantic Provinces varied from -16.8% for New Brunswick to -14.9% for Newfoundland, while Quebec showed a slight net out-migration of -1.7%.

In terms of differences between present province of residence and province of birth for the native-born, at the time of the 1971 Census, there were 2,371,700 persons who were living in a different province from the one in which they were born. Of these, two-thirds belonged to the third or subsequent generations, while one-third belonged to the second generation. Given the fact that the second generation comprised only 22% of the total native-born population in Canada, it has contributed relatively more to the internal interprovincial migrant streams than would have been expected. Whether one looks at just the out-migration rates or the immigration rates, the proportions of migrants who belonged to the second generation in each province exceeded their corresponding proportion of the total native-born population in every province except Ontario. For out-migrants from this province, the percentage who were second generation was only 24.4% compared to 28.2% of the total native-born population of Ontario who were second generation. The third-plus generation presented just the opposite picture, being under-represented among the migrants in every province except Ontario. This was generally the case regardless of the relative size of the second generation. In general, the second generation of Canadians has shown a greater propensity for interprovincial migration during their lifetime than members of the third and subsequent generations combined.

In the absence of data on emigration of people from different Canadian provinces to outside Canada and between different provinces, figures on in-flow of the foreign-born population (first generation) in the different provinces are compared with net interprovincial lifetime migration of native-born by generation in Table 5.2. It appears that in 1971 in-flows of the first generation were low in the Atlantic Provinces which showed a net out-migration for third-plus and second generations of the native-born. Considering the total migrants, which include net

migration of native-born and in-flow of immigrants, Quebec has become a net in-migrating province. This is due to the in-flow of immigrants. Table 5.2 shows that out of nine provinces under consideration only four showed the pattern of net in-migrating provinces. These provinces are British Columbia, Ontario, Alberta, and Quebec.

5.2.2. Recent Mobility Patterns, 1966-71

Almost half, or 46.7%, of the population resident in Canada in 1971 had been living in a different residence either in Canada or abroad in 1966. Almost one-fourth (23.5%) had moved locally (within a municipality) and 14.0% had migrated to another municipality within the same province. The remaining 8.5% were almost equally divided between interprovincial and international migrants. Distributions for the three major generation groups showed significant differences. In general, the third-plus generation had relatively higher proportions of local movers, intracounty and intraprovincial migrants. The second generation had the largest proportion of interprovincial migrants, while the first generation, as would be expected, had by far the largest proportion of migrants who had been living abroad five years prior to the census.

Considering only the population which had been in Canada on June 1, 1966, alters the picture somewhat, especially for the first generation. Table 5.3 shows that the foreign-born who had been in Canada for the five-year period had a relatively larger number of local movers than would be expected on the basis of their proportion of the total population. The third-plus generation still displayed above-average proportions of intraprovincial migration and the second generation an above-average proportion of interprovincial migrants.

The distribution of the population in Quebec by migrant status shows some important differences. Overall, the proportional distribution for all generations combined is quite similar. Quebec has slightly larger proportions of non-movers, local-movers, and short-distance intracounty migrants than the rest of Canada. The first is due to the third-plus generation while the two latter groups have higher-than-average proportions because of the first and second generations. The most characteristic type of population movement for the foreign-born living in Quebec in 1971 would appear to be the more limited forms of movement within the metropolitan area. The native-born of native parentage have a significantly larger

TABLE 5.3. Migrant Status by Generation for the Population in Canada Who Were Resident in 1966, Canada and Quebec, 1971

Migrant status	Canada				Quebec			
	Generation			Total	Generation			Total
	3rd+	2nd	1st		3rd+	2nd	1st	
Non-mover	55.7	56.8	54.3	55.7	57.8	56.7	51.6	57.3
Local mover	24.4	23.6	28.7	24.8	24.9	26.1	33.1	25.5
Different municipality same county	5.1	4.6	4.5	4.9	5.6	6.9	7.6	5.8
Intraprovincial	10.6	9.8	8.0	10.1	10.6	7.4	5.3	10.0
Interprovincial	4.3	5.2	4.5	4.5	1.2	3.0	2.3	1.4
Total: Per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number ('000)	12,406.6	3,497.4	2,522.6	18,426.6	4,598.7	373.4	353.9	5,326.0

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

proportion of intraprovincial migrants than do either of the other two generations. Most likely, this is a consequence of the unique cultural geography of Quebec and its predominantly French-Canadian population.

Comparing the residence of the population living in Canada five years prior to the census with their residence in 1971 provides the means for determining the extent of change in the distribution of the population by rural-urban size types of residence that resulted from internal migration during this five-year period. Such comparisons show that the first generation had the highest proportion of any generation living in urban places of 30,000 or more in 1971, followed in order by the second and third-plus generations (Table 5.4). However, the shifts in population resulting from internal migration during the preceding five-year period resulted in a decline in the proportion of first generation living in the larger urban places while increasing the proportions for the native-born generations. The net result of this internal migration has been a convergence in the proportions of these three generational groups residing in the larger urban places, with the third-plus generation showing the largest percentage increase. In contrast to this, the internal migration of first and second generations produced the largest relative increases in the proportions of their populations residing in rural non-farm places. The only group to show an increase in their percentage living in urban places of under 30,000 was the first generation. All of the generational groups showed significant declines in their proportions of rural-farm populations.

The various types of internal migration have contributed differently to the changing distribution of the population by rural and urban size places. Intra-county migration, for example, has mainly shifted population out of rural-farm and larger urban places into urban places under 30,000 and rural non-farm places. Intraprovincial and interprovincial migrants have contributed to greater relative increases in the proportions residing in urban places 30,000 and larger, and to rural non-farm at the expense of the smaller urban places and rural-farm population. International migrants, during the same five-year period, have almost totally settled in the larger urban places. Given the uneven distribution of the various generations across and within Canada's regions, some variation in their migration experience can be expected which will have specific consequences for their contribution to the redistribution of the population. For example, the third-plus generation which was earlier shown to have disproportionately greater numbers of

TABLE 5.4. Changes in Population Distribution by Type of Rural/Urban Size Place of Residence Resulting from Internal Migration Between 1966 and 1971, by Generation of Migrant and by Type of Migration, Canada, 1971

Generation/ Type of migration/ Year of residence	Type of residence				Total	
	Urban 30,000 ⁺ <30,000		Rural Non-farm Farm		Per cent	Number
('000)						
Third-plus generation						
1971	51.0	25.8	20.5	2.7	100.0	2,454.0
1966	44.0	30.9	18.6	6.4	100.0	2,454.0
% change: 1966-71	15.9	-16.5	10.2	-57.8		
Second generation						
1971	54.2	22.9	19.0	3.9	100.0	681.2
1966	52.9	25.9	15.1	6.1	100.0	681.2
% change: 1966-71	2.5	-11.6	25.8	-36.1		
First generation						
1971	58.9	22.0	16.4	2.8	100.0	426.9
1966	62.2	20.4	13.3	4.1	100.0	426.9
% change: 1966-71	- 5.3	7.8	23.3	-31.7		
<u>Type of migration</u>						
Intracounty						
1971	48.9	23.8	23.5	3.7	100.0	899.1
1966	53.3	20.9	19.2	6.6	100.0	899.1
% change: 1966-71	-8.3	13.9	22.9	-43.9		
Intraprovincial						
1971	50.0	26.8	20.1	3.2	100.0	1,851.3
1966	43.0	32.8	17.7	6.5	100.0	1,851.3
% change: 1966-71	16.3	-18.3	13.6	-50.8		
Interprovincial						
1971	62.5	21.3	14.6	1.7	100.0	811.7
1966	53.2	28.0	14.2	4.7	100.0	811.7
% change: 1966-71	17.5	-23.0	1.4	-63.8		

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

intraprovincial migrants has made a relatively greater contribution to the growth of the larger urban places. Second generation intracounty migrants made the greatest relative contribution to increases in the proportion residing in small urban places and rural non-farm places. For the first generation intracounty migrants, the consequences of their changes in residence were significant declines in both larger urban places and rural-farm population in favour of urban places under 30,000.

5.3. Ethnic Diversity and Interprovincial Migration

The early migrations and settlement of regions set the basic patterns in the distribution of the different cultural groups in Canada. Given the large number of ethnic groups to be found in Canada's population, the degree of ethnic diversity for the total population is fairly high. Using data provided by the 1971 Census for 41 different ethnic groups, it has been shown that the present distribution represents a level of ethnic diversity that is 73% of the maximum possible based on this number of groups (Kalbach, 1976, pp. 50-51).

Variations in the degree of ethnic heterogeneity between provinces are significant with Newfoundland having the lowest level in 1971, with only 12% of the possible maximum diversity, and Manitoba exhibiting the highest at 80%. Nova Scotia and Quebec display similarly low levels of diversity because each is dominated by a single ethnic population to approximately the same degree. In Quebec, 79% of the population is French, while 78% of Nova Scotia is British in origin. Their respective levels of diversity are 37.3% and 39.5%. In general, Quebec and the Atlantic Provinces are ethnically most homogeneous while Ontario and Western Canada are most heterogeneous (Kalbach, 1976, p. 52).

The migrations of the late 19th and early 20th century clearly contributed to the greater ethnic diversity found in Ontario and the western provinces today. Whether internal migration of the native-born from the more homogeneous east to the more heterogeneous west would increase regional differences in levels of diversity or decrease them would depend in part on the ethnic and cultural origins of the interprovincial migrants and their involvement in particular inter-regional migration streams. If Lee's statement that "the characteristics of migrants tend to be intermediate between the characteristics of the population at origin and the population at destination" has any validity for ethnic characteristics, then it might

be expected that migrant streams and counterstreams would tend to reduce inter-regional differences and, in this case, produce convergence with respect to regional levels of ethnic diversity (Lee, 1966, pp. 47-57). The 1971 Census of Canada permits a tentative exploration of this question.

5.3.1. Ethnic Origins of the Native-born Interprovincial Lifetime Migrants

The native-born population living in a province other than their province of birth differs significantly from the ethnic composition of the total native-born population. There are, for example, significantly larger proportions of British, German, Scandinavian, Ukrainian, and Polish among the internal (lifetime) migrants who moved from their province of birth. On the other hand, those of French, Italian, and Jewish origins are under-represented among these interprovincial migrants. Given the concentration of French in Quebec, and the Italian and Jewish populations in the metropolitan centres, this is not particularly surprising.

The ethnic origin populations over-represented among the native-born migrants tend to be from the third or subsequent generations of native-born rather than the second generation of Canadians. The under-representation of the French among the lifetime out-migrants is due primarily to the relative absence of those from the third or later generations, while for the Italian and Jewish origins it is due to the relative absence of the offspring of the foreign-born (the second generation).

It would seem that pressures to migrate would not be uniformly felt by all the persons living in a region experiencing economic difficulties. Where lack of development is the problem, the young population as a whole would tend to experience the pressure to migrate. For areas hit by sagging economies or changing market demands, persons in specific industries and businesses would feel the pressures more keenly than those in others less directly affected; and, to the extent that there is ethnic concentration in some economic sectors, the various ethnic populations would be subjected to varying pressures to migrate as well. The ethnic composition of lifetime out-migrants would be partly determined by the basic composition of the region's population as well as by any economic effects that would hit some ethnic groups harder than others.

In the case of Canada's major regions of net out-migration, the basic ethnic composition of the Atlantic Provinces and Manitoba and Saskatchewan and the nature of their differing economics would be important factors determining the characteristics of their out-migrants. Table 5.5 permits a closer examination of this problem by presenting the ethnic distributions for out-migrants from the major regions of out-migration, as well as those for in-migrants to the major regions of in-migration, Ontario, Alberta, and British Columbia. The ethnic composition of lifetime out-migrants from the Atlantic Provinces differs significantly from that of the two Prairie Provinces which have also experienced a general pattern of net out-migration in recent decades. In the former, the British origins are over-represented by about 26% relative to their proportions of the total native-born out-migrant population while the French are over-represented by about 10%; all the remaining ethnic groups are under-represented. In the two western provinces, disproportionately higher representation within the out-migrants is not found for the two charter groups but rather is found for the Germans, Dutch, Scandinavians, Polish, Ukrainians, and all others except Italians and Jews. For the major regions of net in-migration, the pattern is somewhat different for Ontario than it is for Alberta and British Columbia combined. In-migrants to Ontario have a representative proportion of British but a proportion of French about 24% greater than that in the migrant population as a whole, as well as over-representations of Italian and Jewish origins. For Alberta and British Columbia, the in-migrants who arrived in disproportionately greater numbers corresponded closely to the same groups which characterized the out-migrants from the two Prairie Provinces. Very clearly, the population characteristics of the areas of out-migration are reflected in the ethnic patterns of the out-migrant streams. However, the total effect of internal migration on the ethnic character of these regional populations is a consequence of the effects of in-migrants and the net lifetime migration rates for the native-born population by major ethnic groups, presented in Table 5.6, should be considered.

Any semblance of ethnic patterns in net migration for the Atlantic Provinces is difficult to establish, partly because of the absence of data for Prince Edward Island, and partly because of the small size of many of the ethnic origin groups in this region. In two of the three provinces (Newfoundland and Nova Scotia), the net out-migration rates for those of British origin exceed slightly those for all origins combined. The French also experienced a net

TABLE 5.5. Ethnic Composition of Lifetime Out-migrants and In-migrants for Selected Regions of Net Out-migration and Net In-migration for the Native-born Population, Canada, 1971

Direction of migration and region	Total		British	French	German	Nether- lands	Scandi- navian	Polish	Ukrainian	Italian	Jewish	All other
	Number	Per cent										
	('000)											
Out-migrants												
Atlantic provinces	472.3	100.0	73.7	19.1	0.3	0.9	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.5	4.0
Quebec	346.3	100.0	43.5	45.2	1.1	0.5	0.4	0.7	1.0	1.2	1.7	4.6
Manitoba and Saskatchewan	789.3	100.0	52.7	6.9	7.4	2.8	5.0	2.5	9.1	0.3	1.1	12.4
In-migrants												
Ontario	773.0	100.0	59.3	21.6	2.0	1.1	1.6	1.3	4.2	0.9	1.2	6.9
Alberta and British Columbia	955.4	100.0	59.9	7.9	5.7	2.5	4.7	1.7	5.1	0.6	0.6	11.4
Total Native-born out-migrants	2,371.7	100.0	58.4	17.4	7.3	1.7	2.9	1.4	4.3	0.7	0.9	5.0
Total native-born population, 1971	18,102.1	100.0	45.9	33.3	5.5	1.6	1.6	1.2	2.7	1.8	1.1	5.8

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

TABLE 5.6. Interprovincial Net-migration Rates by Ethnic Origins for the Native-born Population, by Generation, Canada, 1971

Native-born/ Generation/ Province	Total	British	French	German	Nether- lands	Scandi- navian	Polish	Ukrainian	Italian	Jewish
Total native-born										
Newfoundland	-14.9	-15.5	-7.6	4.2	25.0	-28.6	44.4	0.0	0.0	-66.7
New Brunswick	-16.8	-14.8	-20.0	-6.9	-25.5	-9.4	-100.0	20.0	-46.2	-175.0
Nova Scotia	-15.8	-16.4	-16.5	-12.3	-6.7	0.0	-11.8	-20.0	-9.1	16.1
Quebec	-1.7	-7.4	-0.8	-4.8	0.0	0.0	-5.4	-6.8	-1.2	-1.2
Ontario	4.8	4.4	10.6	3.2	1.1	14.2	4.8	16.3	0.6	3.8
Manitoba	-18.7	-26.1	-14.6	-12.6	-17.6	-19.3	-13.7	-16.7	-11.9	-19.2
Saskatchewan	-40.4	-46.3	-33.8	-35.7	-50.8	-41.8	-29.4	-37.5	-28.0	-152.4
Alberta	5.1	5.9	15.0	8.3	3.1	-2.5	-2.5	0.6	-2.5	10.6
British Columbia	23.6	25.2	42.7	26.4	19.6	22.6	31.2	46.8	5.1	26.8
3rd+ generation										
Newfoundland	-13.7	-14.2	-6.9	8.3	50.0	-21.4	22.2	0.0	0.0	-66.7
New Brunswick	-15.5	-13.7	-19.1	-3.4	-23.4	-6.2	-66.7	0.0	-38.5	-87.5
Nova Scotia	-14.4	-14.8	-16.3	-12.1	-6.7	0.0	-11.8	-12.0	-6.1	3.2
Quebec	-1.0	-3.3	-0.8	-0.5	-0.8	5.0	-0.8	-2.0	-0.1	-0.8
Ontario	3.3	3.5	10.1	0.8	0.7	4.8	1.0	2.9	0.2	1.2
Manitoba	-8.9	-14.0	-9.0	-6.0	-7.7	-7.8	-3.2	-4.6	-1.0	-4.8
Saskatchewan	-18.7	-25.3	-24.6	-14.6	-26.4	-12.2	-11.5	-9.8	4.0	-23.8
Alberta	5.0	6.4	13.5	5.7	3.1	0.4	0.0	0.1	0.0	8.2
British Columbia	12.4	14.1	33.8	10.7	9.3	5.8	12.2	16.5	0.0	5.7
2nd generation										
Newfoundland	-1.2	-1.3	-0.7	-4.2	-25.0	-7.1	11.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
New Brunswick	-1.2	-1.1	-0.9	-3.4	-2.1	-3.1	0.0	20.0	-7.7	-87.5
Nova Scotia	-1.4	-1.6	-0.1	-0.2	0.0	0.0	-2.9	-8.0	-3.0	12.9
Quebec	-0.6	-4.2	-0.3	-4.3	0.8	-5.0	-5.0	-4.9	-1.2	-0.5
Ontario	1.5	0.9	0.6	2.4	0.4	9.4	3.4	13.4	0.4	2.5
Manitoba	-9.8	-12.1	-5.6	-6.6	-9.8	-11.5	-8.0	-12.1	-10.9	-14.4
Saskatchewan	-21.7	-21.0	-9.2	-21.1	-24.4	-29.6	-12.6	-27.7	-32.0	-128.6
Alberta	0.1	-0.6	1.6	2.6	0.0	-3.0	-3.0	0.5	-2.5	2.4
British Columbia	11.2	11.0	8.9	15.7	10.3	16.8	14.4	30.3	5.1	21.1

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

out-migration somewhat higher than the average for Nova Scotia and considerably higher in New Brunswick while in Newfoundland their net out-migration was only half that for the population as a whole. Among the other ethnic groups, the Jews and Italians were perhaps the only ones to show strong net out-migration rates. For Nova Scotia, the Jews showed a net in-migration of 16% compared to their net out-migration of 175 and 67 per 100 population for New Brunswick and Newfoundland respectively.

For Quebec, none of the major native-born ethnic groups showed a positive net migration. The British, German, Polish, and Ukrainian native-born all showed above-average net out-migration rates. Ontario presented just the opposite picture. With a moderate net migration rate of 4.8% for the province as a whole, the French (10.6%), Scandinavians (14.2%) and Ukrainians (16.3%) all exhibited above-average net migration rates. None of the remaining groups experienced net out-migration.

Manitoba and Saskatchewan showed the highest net out-migration rates of any of the provinces, and no ethnic group reported a positive net migration. Those groups that exceeded the average net out-migration rates for both provinces were the British, Scandinavian, and Jews, while the Dutch exceeded the average net out-migration in Saskatchewan only.

The native-born ethnic populations of Alberta whose positive net out-migration was slightly higher than Ontario exhibited a mixed pattern of positive and negative net migration rates. The French showed the highest net in-migration (15.0%), followed by Jews (10.6%), Germans (8.3%) and British (5.9%) relative to the 5.1% for the province as a whole. The Scandinavians, Poles, and Italians all showed negative net migration rates. British Columbia, which had the highest net migration of any province, like Ontario, was the only other province to show net in-migration for every one of its major ethnic populations. The Ukrainians had a net migration rate of 47% compared to the average of 24% for British Columbia as a whole; the French were second with 43%, and the Poles followed with 31%. The Germans and the British were the only other groups to experience above-average net migration rates.

Overall, there appears to be a general east-west variation in the relative importance of generation in the net migration pattern that is partly reflective of variations in the periods of settlement of these regions. The third-plus generations in the Atlantic Provinces tend to exhibit higher rates of out-migration than the second generation, while in the west (particularly Manitoba and Saskatchewan) the higher out-migration rates appear among the second generation. Quebec and Ontario exhibit mixed patterns with some ethnic groups exhibiting higher rates among third-plus generation and some higher for the second. Alberta's third-plus generation has consistently higher rates with the only exception being the Ukrainian second generation. British Columbia, however, outside the British and French groups, shows much higher rates of net in-migration among the second generation. The difference in rates is particularly great between the second and third-plus generations of Jewish origin, Scandinavian and Ukrainian.

5.3.2. Changes in Regional Ethnic Diversity

To what extent have these ethnic differentials in the distributions and net migration rates of lifetime migrants, which have been shown to vary between Canada's major regions, contributed to change in the ethnic and cultural diversity of its regions? Because of the relatively small size of the interprovincial lifetime migrant population, just under 10% of the total population in 1971, no large effects can realistically be expected. In addition, it must be remembered that regional differentials in ethnic fertility have played a very significant part in reinforcing existing ethnic patterns in regional populations. Nevertheless, a comparison of indexes of ethnic diversity reflecting the present distribution of Canada's population with indexes based on hypothetical provincial population which would have existed had everyone remained in their province of birth may be an instructive comparison to make. These measures of diversity are presented in Table 5.7.

There is clearly no overall trend towards ethnic homogeneity or heterogeneity for the provinces of Canada. One regional difference may be seen in the fact that three of the four eastern provinces included in the analysis showed decreases in the extent of diversity from levels that would have characterized the provinces had no one moved to another province after their birth. In contrast, three of the five provinces from Ontario westward showed increasing diversity. It is interesting that the two western provinces that have had the highest net in-migration rates with respect to lifetime native-born migrants are the two western

TABLE 5.7. Indexes of Ethnic Diversity¹ for Native-born Population by Province of Residence and Province of Birth and Per Cent Change, Canada, 1971

Province	Province of		Per cent change
	Birth	Residence	
Newfoundland	0.120	0.118	-1.67
Nova Scotia	0.380	0.395	3.95
New Brunswick	0.550	0.545	-0.92
Quebec	0.305	0.292	-4.26
Ontario	0.568	0.577	1.58
Manitoba	0.785	0.806	2.68
Saskatchewan	0.788	0.799	1.40
Alberta	0.755	0.751	-0.53
British Columbia	0.645	0.641	-0.62
Total Canada	0.707	0.707	0.00

¹Lieberson's corrected index of diversity, $A_w^1 = \frac{A_w}{1 - \frac{1}{N}}$ where

$A_w = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^N (p_i)^2}{N}$, and p_i = proportion of the population in the i th category. In this table, A_w^1 is based on the percentage distribution of ethnic origin groups (N=21) by province of residence and province of birth (Lieberson, 1969, pp. 850-862).

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

provinces that have shown declines in ethnic heterogeneity. The two provinces of greatest net out-migration, Manitoba and Saskatchewan, both showed gains in heterogeneity even though they both exhibited the highest levels of heterogeneity of any of the provinces of Canada. This would suggest that the net out-migrants were predominantly from the larger ethnic population groups. To become less heterogeneous, a province would have to gain more individuals through net migration who identified with the larger ethnic populations.

The contrast between Ontario and Quebec is interesting in the light of recent social and political developments. Because of the greater importance of fertility for Quebec and migration for Ontario, greater ethnic homogeneity is to be expected in Quebec than in Ontario. The index of diversity indicates that the level of diversity in Ontario is, in fact, almost twice as high as it is in Quebec. The fact that Ontario draws its migrants from all provinces of Canada and that the net out-migration for the major ethnic groups in Quebec tends to be significantly greater than the net out-migration for those of French origin is consistent with the increase in ethnic heterogeneity for Ontario and the decrease in heterogeneity for Quebec (Table 5.7). Lifetime interprovincial migration for the native-born presents yet another tool for examining the effects of internal population movement on the character of regional populations. The analysis provides little support for any hypotheses suggesting convergence of regional levels of ethnic diversity.

5.4. Ethnic Segregation in Metropolitan Canada

The distribution of Canada's ethnic populations across the country has been the consequence of historical circumstances including the unique timing of the various waves of immigration and changes in the sources of immigrants. The movement of these populations within the country from rural to urban areas, as a result of industrialization, along with a continuing stream of immigrants from abroad has channelled increasing numbers into relatively few but very large metropolitan centres.

There is considerable literature dealing with the growth and differentiation of urban populations during the process of urbanization. Of direct concern here are those theories of urban growth that attempt to relate changes in the social and economic structures to changes in the spatial distributions of urban

populations. The classical models of Burgess and Hoyt and the work of many others have stressed the importance of economic competition for understanding the spatial patterning of residences and places of business and industry. Socio-economic status as an index of economic success and social acceptance has become one of the chief explanatory variables with respect to residential location; and the tendency for certain racial and ethnic groups to become residentially segregated in low-income urban-core areas has been traditionally explained in terms of the recency of their arrival in the urban centres of North American society, whether from abroad or from rural areas within the society, and their poor competitive position. Attention has only recently shifted to race and culture as explanatory factors, as segregation has persisted for some groups in spite of improvements in their economic position. The work of Darroch and Marston has helped focus attention on the importance of racial and ethnic characteristics for understanding the patterns of residential segregation in one of Canada's largest metropolitan areas (Darroch and Marston, 1969, pp. 71-95). Balakrishnan has examined the extent of ethnic residential segregation in all of Canada's metropolitan centres for several recent decades and has reported considerable variation between cities in the degree of residential segregation, and while he found evidence of a general decline in segregation during 1951-61, he could find no evidence of a continuing decline during 1961-71 (Balakrishnan, 1976, pp. 481-497, 1978, p. 26). In addition, his findings have reaffirmed the importance of total population size, the relative size of dominant and minority ethnic groups and the recency of ethnic group immigration for the segregation process (Balakrishnan, 1976, p. 495).

The various studies of residential segregation have suggested that the ethnic origins of immigrant populations may be more important than previously thought in explaining the segregation propensities of certain groups. In addition, the evidence from many of the earlier studies has suggested that the degree of segregation has decreased over time as would be expected as a result of the integrative and assimilative forces at work within North American society in general. However, unlike the United States, Canada has never fully or consistently subscribed to any particular theory of assimilation with respect to its immigrants. Canada's bicultural and bilingual framework has operated against the full acceptance of any "melting-pot" or "Anglo-conformity" model of assimilation. Both the existence and persistence of ethnic and racial residential segregation would be consistent with a multi-cultural model of social and economic adaptation, but

this does not necessarily preclude the existence of societal mechanisms supportive of the more traditional assimilative models.

The decline in ethnic segregation which Balakrishnan reported for 1951-61 suggests the gradual dispersion of metropolitan ethnic populations and implies the achievement of a greater degree of heterogeneity with respect to residence-related social and economic characteristics of the population in general. The persistence or weakening of ethnic and cultural characteristics associated with residential segregation and concentrations can also be examined with respect to the several generations that comprise the various ethnic and cultural groups. If one's ethnic origin is positively valued and supported by the family and the neighbourhood, as well as by the community-at-large, the ethnic-related characteristics within the population would be expected to persist into successive generations. However, the acceptance of assimilative modes of adaptation as the proper model for immigrants by the community-at-large would be reflected by the rapid dispersion of second and third-plus generation ethnics throughout the community and a corresponding convergence of residence-related characteristics. It is the objective of this analysis to determine the extent to which ethnic residential segregation as a manifestation of ethnic identity and association persists through successive generations and to determine the significance of each of the two dominant cultural urban settings for weakening or strengthening these propensities for residential association along ethnic and cultural lines.

5.4.1. Analysis: Methods and Data

Of the several possible methods that have been developed to measure residential segregation, the "index of dissimilarity" has been widely used and is adopted for this analysis (Duncan and Duncan, 1955, pp. 210-217; Lieberman, 1963, pp. 30-40; Darroch and Marston, 1969, pp. 71-95; Taeuber and Taeuber, 1965; Balakrishnan, 1976, p. 487). The index, which ranges from zero to one hundred, indicates the degree of similarity between the percentage distributions of two population groups across all census tracts in a given area. The index represents the percentage of one population which would have to be moved in order for its distribution to become similar to the other. Indexes calculated with respect to the distributions of two distinct ethnic populations are referred to as indexes of dissimilarity. Those calculated for a specific ethnic group in comparison to the total remaining population (all other combined ethnic groups) are referred to as segregation indexes.

The data used in this analysis are from special census tract tabulations providing ethnic origin data for the population 15 years of age and older by generation and educational attainment for the native-born and period of immigration for the foreign-born for the four largest metropolitan areas of Canada. While 51 ethnic origins were provided in the original data file, these were reduced to 26 for the analysis to minimize the number of groups that would have fewer numbers than the number of census tracts in a particular CMA. In addition to providing data for a much larger number of ethnic groups than is normally available, the data differ in several other respects from those employed in previous studies. Because of the 1971 Census question concerning the nativity of the respondent's parents, it has been possible to extract the second generation from the total native-born population and calculate indexes of segregation for this critical transitional group between the foreign-born immigrants and the native-born of native-born parents.

Another major difference between this analysis and previous studies is its use of educational attainment as an index of socio-economic status. As one of the three most common indicators of status that could have been employed, educational attainment was selected as the least troublesome of the three. The new 1971 occupational codes were not readily translatable into socio-economic rankings at the time the special tabulations were received from Statistics Canada, and the income data provided in the special census tract tabulations were almost useless as a result of Statistics Canada's procedures to ensure confidentiality of information for small-area populations.² In contrast, educational attainment levels for those not attending school full-time provide a relatively unambiguous index of socio-economic status equally suited to both male and female populations.

One problem common to each of these three census measures of socio-economic status is that they apply to a somewhat more limited population than the total population generally used in segregation analysis; they have relevance only for the population 15 years of age and older or for those in the current experienced labour force in the case of occupational or income data. While the population 15 and over is not strictly comparable to those used in earlier studies, it is perhaps a more

See footnote(s) on page 201.

relevant one to use for segregation analysis. The inclusion of children under 15 years of age would tend to inflate the segregation indexes for those ethnic populations with high fertility and large families. High indexes of segregation for certain groups (Italians) would reflect their fertility as well as their propensity for residential segregation since dependent children are given equal weight to adults. Ethnic groups with high proportions married and both husband and wife at home would also produce slightly biased indexes, but not to the same extent.

The index of dissimilarity has several problems that arise from the number and size of the spatial units employed as well as the size of the ethnic group being studied (Liebersohn, 1963, pp. 33-38). The first problem arises from comparison of indexes between cities of differing size and numbers of spatial units, or at different points in time for the same city that has increased both in size and in the number of its spatial statistical units. Previous analyses have clearly demonstrated that indexes based on a larger number of smaller areal units will be larger than those based on a smaller number of larger units. This limitation is generally acknowledged by those using the index of dissimilarity, but no remedy for this limitation has yet been proposed other than regrouping areas to produce comparable areal units.

Other problems arise when the size of the group being studied is either smaller than the number of spatial units in the CMA, or not larger than the total population of the smallest spatial unit. Both situations can produce an abbreviated and inconsistent range of possible values which creates problems in the interpretation of the results (Liebersohn, 1963). Because of these difficulties, less attention will be directed to differences in the absolute values of the indexes than to differences in their distributional characteristics and the relative levels of segregation exhibited by the various ethnic and cultural groups within the metropolitan context.

5.4.2. Ethnic Segregation in the Major Metropolitan Areas

Means of the indexes of segregation for 26 categories of ethnic origins, the range of variation in the indexes, with maximum and minimum, are presented in Table 5.8 for Canada's four largest Census Metropolitan Areas. The indexes themselves are presented in Table 5.9 for each of the major ethnic populations, 15 and older. The relative sizes of the mean indexes, although not strictly comparable to those that have appeared in earlier studies, are quite similar and with respect to the four largest centres show almost the same rank order.

TABLE 5.8. Mean Indexes of Segregation, Range, and Minimum and Maximum Values, for All Ethnic Populations 15 Years of Age and Over Not Attending School Full Time, Selected Census Metropolitan Areas, 1971

CMA	Mean index of segregation	Range	Limiting values		Standard deviation
			Minimum	Maximum	
Montréal	51.2	48.0	32.2	80.2	12.5
Toronto	33.7	56.3	14.6	70.9	14.4
Winnipeg	34.7	59.2	14.6	73.8	16.4
Vancouver	28.2	48.1	8.1	56.2	14.9

Source: Based on data presented in Table 5.9.

The exception, with respect to the work of Balakrishnan on the 1951 and 1961 Censuses, is the reversal of the positions of Toronto and Winnipeg (Balakrishnan, 1976, p. 487). However, the difference between these two centres is relatively small. The overall levels of segregation reported in the earlier work, in comparison to the present study, were roughly the same as that found for Montréal and Vancouver in 1971 but somewhat less in 1961 for Toronto and Winnipeg than in the current analysis. Beyond this level of generality, it is difficult to make comparisons; those that are made should be limited to a consideration of the hierarchical ranking of the major ethnic populations when comparing CMAs in 1971 or with earlier years.

The highest index of segregation for any ethnic group included in the analysis of these four largest CMAs was exhibited by the population of Jewish origins in Montréal (80.2). The Jewish population was also the most segregated in Toronto but in Winnipeg and Vancouver the Portuguese were the most highly segregated. The Irish in Vancouver were the least segregated of any with an index of 8.1. They were also the least segregated in Toronto, with the Scandinavians and the Germans occupying similar positions in Winnipeg and Montréal respectively.³ The variation in levels of segregation for the ethnic populations of these four CMAs, as measured by the mean indexes of segregation, ranged from a low of 48 for both Vancouver and Montréal to a high of 59 and 56 for Winnipeg and Toronto respectively.

The rank ordering of the ethnic populations in terms of their indexes of segregation was most similar for Toronto, Winnipeg, and Vancouver. Rank order correlations (ρ) were 0.875 for Vancouver and Toronto, 0.837 for Vancouver and

See footnote(s) on page 201.

TABLE 5.9. Indexes of Segregation for Selected Ethnic Populations 15 Years of Age and Over Not Attending School Full Time, Selected CMAs, 1971

Ethnic origin	Montréal	Toronto	Winnipeg	Vancouver
English	45.4	19.8	18.5	11.6
Irish	35.3	14.6	16.8	8.1
Scottish	46.0	16.4	17.9	9.4
Other British	65.5	26.0	23.0	16.5
French	49.5	17.9	37.8	16.8
German	34.6	16.1	18.3	16.3
Netherlands	48.6	29.5	20.9	21.4
Scandinavian	51.4	23.9	14.6	13.5
Other Northern and Western European	32.2	21.5	27.2	16.9
Hungarian	50.2	28.3	22.6	21.8
Polish	38.7	36.8	25.8	17.0
Russian	52.3	37.9	25.0	20.4
Ukrainian	42.0	32.2	31.8	16.2
Other Central and Eastern European	40.7	27.5	22.5	20.9
Yugoslavian	47.3	31.0	38.2	33.8
Italian	53.9	53.9	37.0	41.7
Greek	66.4	47.5	55.9	49.0
Portuguese	63.8	65.3	73.8	56.2
Other Southern European	42.2	31.5	51.9	35.8
Jewish	80.2	70.9	67.5	50.6
Chinese	63.9	49.3	46.6	54.0
Japanese	73.3	35.6	40.8	38.4
Pakistani and East Indian	62.1	39.9	48.4	38.0
Other Asian	61.5	42.0	61.9	47.8
West Indian and Negro	52.2	40.1	35.4	42.2
All other	33.3	21.0	23.1	18.5

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

Winnipeg, and 0.789 for Winnipeg and Toronto. Of the three CMAs, the rank order of Toronto's ethnic groups is most similar to Montréal's with a correlation of 0.697 followed by Vancouver and Winnipeg with 0.659 and 0.577 respectively. The average intercorrelation of ranks for all four CMAs was 0.739.

Of particular interest is the identity of the populations that tend to rank among the most highly segregated groups within Canada's largest metropolitan areas and those that tend to be consistently the least segregated in terms of their residential distributions. Among the least segregated, the Irish would appear to be most consistent in this respect, followed by the Germans, Scots and the English. The Scandinavians are among the least segregated in the two western CMAs, while the French and Polish are the fourth least segregated populations in Toronto and Montréal respectively. Among the most segregated, the Jewish population ranks first in both of Canada's largest CMAs and second and third in Winnipeg and Vancouver. The Portuguese are the most segregated in the western centres and the next most segregated in Toronto. The Chinese are the next most segregated group in Vancouver while their levels of segregation are somewhat lower in Montréal and Toronto and still lower in Winnipeg. The Greeks are among the five most segregated in all four CMAs, while the Japanese rank among the top five only in Montréal and the Italians only in Toronto. The Asians, other than Japanese and Chinese, tend to be more highly segregated in the west; the Pakistani and East Indians made the top five most segregated groups in Montréal. While there is some variation in the rank ordering of these groups in the four CMAs, the general pattern is very clear. The various British and Northern and Western European origin groups tend to be the least segregated while the Southern European, Asian, and Jewish origins are the most highly segregated in Canada's four largest metropolitan centres.

5.4.3. Ethnic Variations in Residential Segregation by Generation

The spatial dispersion of the residences of immigrants and their children outward from their initial reception centres as a concomitant of social mobility and assimilation has been an integral part of the classical urban growth and assimilation models. Even though these models are less relevant today in an empirical sense, they still provide a theoretical structure against which to measure the residential patterns of modern urban social structure. The implication of the assimilation model for variations in ethnic segregation by generation is that for any ethnic population the third or subsequent generations would tend to show less

segregation than the second while the second would show less than the foreign-born or first generation. The various ethnic populations show varying levels of segregation; if they dispersed throughout the community the mean of their indexes of segregation would show consistently lower values with each subsequent generation and the standard deviation of the distribution of index means would also tend to decline. The means of the indexes of segregation are presented in Table 5.10 by generation, with both standard deviations and coefficients of relative variations for Montréal and Toronto.

TABLE 5.10. Mean Indexes of Ethnic Residential Segregation, Standard Deviations and Coefficients of Relative Variation,¹ by Generation for 26 Ethnic Origins, Population 15 Years of Age and Over,² Montréal and Toronto CMAs, 1971

Generation group	Montréal			Toronto		
	Mean	S.D.	CRV	Mean	S.D.	CRV
1st	51.2	11.6	22.7	40.0	11.3	28.4
2nd	61.8	18.7	30.3	45.0	23.2	51.5
3rd+	79.3	19.9	25.1	51.4	26.9	52.4
Total	51.2	12.5	24.4	33.7	14.4	42.7

¹Coefficient of relative variation = (Standard deviation/Mean) X 100.

²Those not attending school full-time.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, unpublished census tract data.

Most obvious is the fact that the mean indexes of segregation actually increase in subsequent generations and that in each case the level of segregation in Montréal is higher than Toronto. However, while the mean segregation for the 26 ethnic groups in Toronto is lower, their dispersion about the mean is relatively greater. Variations in the degree of segregation exhibited by these ethnic groups are relatively greater for the second and third generations, as compared to the first, in both CMAs but the differences are somewhat greater in the Toronto CMA. As both of Canada's largest CMAs vary considerably from each other in terms of their generational structure as well as their relative numbers of immigrants and ethnic groups, it is important to consider the possible significance of these differences for the mean indexes of segregation. Perhaps the expected assimilation pattern of decreasing segregation with subsequent generations is only possible with the larger and more established ethnic origin populations. The more recent immigrant populations are too new to have produced sufficiently large second and third generations to have achieved any significant degree of dispersion throughout the larger community. If

this is the case, their relatively high indexes of segregation for these later generations would have a marked effect on a simple unweighted mean index for all ethnic groups.

Several distinct patterns or contrasts emerge from the analysis of segregation patterns. First, there is the pattern of lower segregation among the native-born vis-à-vis the first generation which in this case is consistent with the various convergence models which equate assimilation with the increasing similarity of specific residential distributions with that of the community-at-large. The second pattern is the reverse of this which shows either no difference or increasing residential segregation. Without additional evidence this could be taken either as an indication of the existence of significant discriminatory attitudes and practices operating within an assimilation model (either an Anglo-conformity or melting-pot) or evidence of voluntary segregation within a pluralistic or multicultural model. Where the segregation levels of the second generation fail to assume intermediate levels between the first and third-plus generations, more complex situations probably exist. A consistent change from first to third and subsequent generations would imply a persistence of consensus regarding the desirability of assimilating arriving groups into the dominant society. Deviations from this pattern for either the second or later generations could either reflect significant differences in the socio-economic characteristics of these generations or a change in the social climate or attitudes of members in either the minority or dominant groups. High segregation among the third generation in an urban setting, for example, may well reflect the rural background of this particular group if it happens to have a high proportion of rural-urban migrants. Where second generation immigrants display higher segregation than either or both of the third and first generations it may be the result of a group's conscious attempts to strengthen the ethnic identity and association of its constituent members, or a consequence of higher socio-economic achievement or both, as seems to be the case for those of Jewish origins. The data show that the various ethnic origin populations that make up the populations of Canada's major urban centres exhibit a variety of segregation patterns that reflect significantly different cultural orientations for groups as a whole as well as variations within these groups by generation.

With respect to the 1971 data, there are very distinct differences between ethnic groups in the patterns of segregation by generation when comparing the foreign-born with the combined native-born generations. A pattern of higher

segregation for the foreign-born in comparison to the latter is characteristic of the Northern and Western Europeans in all four of Canada's largest CMAs, except Montréal. This assimilation pattern is also characteristic of the Central and Eastern European groups in the same metropolitan centres. The Southern Europeans, as a group, exhibit a contrasting pattern of higher segregation for the native-born in all four centres. Their pattern of increasing residential segregation from first to third-plus generations is also the pattern characteristic of the combined group consisting of Asians and the West Indians and Negroes. While the Jewish population exhibits the same general pattern, the higher segregation of the combined native-born population, in this case, is due to the residential distribution of its second generation rather than the third-plus generation. This is particularly interesting in view of the findings on the economic adjustment of immigrants which show that the second generation Jews are the most successful of any of the ethnic-generation groupings employed in this analysis.

It is clear that the indexes of segregation by generation for combinations of specific ethnic groups do not necessarily represent the simple average of individual group indexes. Variations in the degree of overlap of the spatial distributions of several groups can produce significantly different effects on the indexes of segregation. For example, combining two groups highly segregated from the bulk of the population, as well as from each other, will produce a new population aggregate with a much wider distribution throughout the CMA and an index of segregation considerably lower than for each group considered separately.

There is also little doubt that the cultural contexts of the metropolitan centres produce significantly different effects with respect to the patterns of residential segregation for the ethnic populations in Canada. Consider specifically the English and French populations in Toronto and Montréal and their indexes of segregation for each of the three generations shown in Table 5.11. The patterns for these two ethnic groups in Toronto are similar. They both exhibit the assimilation pattern, varying only in terms of their relative levels of segregation, with the French showing more segregation than the English, especially those in the third-plus generations. In Montréal the pattern is more pluralistic in that it is the third-plus generations of French and English that are most highly segregated, as is the case for almost all of the ethnic origin groups in Montréal. Three out of every four ethnic groups residing in this city exhibited the minimum

levels of segregation in their first generation, while the remaining groups conformed to the English pattern with minimum segregation in the second generation.

TABLE 5.11. Indexes of Segregation for English and French Populations by Generation, Montréal and Toronto CMAs, 1971

Generation	Montréal		Toronto	
	French	English	French	English
1st	41.1	45.1	35.3	29.0
2nd	46.8	35.0	25.3	16.4
3rd+	53.9	48.7	18.1	8.3
Total	49.5	45.4	17.9	19.8

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, unpublished census tract data.

5.5. Socio-economic Status and Segregation

The classical urban growth models place considerable emphasis on economic competition as the basic process underlying the residential distribution of the population. While the skill levels of today's migrants are considerably higher than those who came during the early years of the 20th century, there is still evidence of the clustering of recent immigrants in neighbourhoods close to the urban core areas and subsequent expansion of these areas under continuing immigration and movement towards the suburbs. At the other end of the status continuum, high-income families have always had their Westmount or Forest Hill areas, even though their social networks have never been as constrained by the physical limits of their neighbourhoods as has been the case for low-income families. The situation for the middle status populations with respect to distinctive spatial patterns has been less clear, perhaps because of their housing needs and the fact that their maximum housing opportunities have been located in the rapidly expanding suburban areas. Given that present residential patterns in the city are rooted in the past, current urban conditions would suggest that residential segregation would be more likely to be characteristic of low-income groups and perhaps, to a somewhat lesser extent, characteristic of those at the upper end of the income continuum as well.

A more contentious issue today is the question regarding the continuing significance of ethnicity for residential segregation. If residential segregation is, in part, an expression of ethnic and cultural differences of recently arrived immigrants and a reflection of the assimilation process in that ethnic neighbourhoods

provide reception areas where immigrants can more readily make the transition from the old world to the new, then the advantages provided by such ethnic clustering are dependent upon a continuing supply of new immigrants. If immigration were to stop and all those who had arrived in the country in the past had become economically integrated and socially assimilated into the larger social and economic networks of the urban community, a visibly concentrated ethnic community with its institutional supports would no longer be as essential. However, to the extent that the immigrants or their children are not assimilated into the larger social networks, whether for voluntary or involuntary reasons, the ethnic community and its social system will remain viable and a certain degree of residential segregation may be expected to persist.

Evidence from the earlier segregation studies of Canadian cities previously referred to has suggested that ethnicity continues to play a significant part in the differentiation of residential neighbourhoods. In spite of some indication of a decline in ethnic segregation in recent decades, the ethnic dimension of the population would appear to be at least as important as socio-economic status in accounting for the existence of residential segregation in Canada's Census Metropolitan Areas. By examining variations in ethnic segregation while imposing some control for socio-economic status, some light should be shed on this problem. In the following analyses, educational attainment of the population 15 years of age and older, not attending school full-time, is employed as an indicator of status differences within the population. Mean indexes of segregation and measures of the variability of the indexes for the 26 ethnic origin groups are presented for Toronto and Montréal in Table 5.12.

TABLE 5.12. Mean Indexes of Ethnic Residential Segregation, Standard Deviations, and Coefficients of Relative Variation by Educational Attainment for 26 Ethnic Origin Groups, Population 15 Years and Over,¹ Montréal and Toronto CMAs, 1971

Educational attainment	Montréal			Toronto		
	Mean	S.D.	CRV	Mean	S.D.	CRV
Elementary or none	64.3	16.6	25.8	45.9	16.3	35.5
Secondary	54.1	13.8	25.5	33.5	14.8	44.2
University	53.2	12.3	23.1	40.6	14.6	36.0
Total	51.2	12.5	24.4	33.7	14.4	42.7

¹Those not attending school full time.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, unpublished census tract data.

The two CMAs exhibit two basically different patterns of variation between ethnic residential segregation and levels of educational attainment. The pattern for Montréal shows the higher residential segregation for those with elementary education or less, while those with secondary or university education exhibit lower mean indexes. Interethnic-group variability in the indexes is about the same for the three educational status groups, with those having the highest educational attainment showing the least variability about the mean index of segregation as measured by both the standard deviation and the coefficient of relative variation. The pattern for the Toronto CMA is significantly different beyond the fact of the generally lower levels of segregation within each of the educational status groups. More interesting in the present context is the fact that the intermediate educational status group exhibits the lowest level of segregation. The mean index of segregation for those with university attainment is significantly higher than for the middle status group but not as high as for the lower group. In the Toronto CMA, the degree of relative variation about the mean indexes is considerably higher than it is in Montréal and it is highest in Toronto for the intermediate status level that had the lowest mean index of segregation.

Examining the patterns of mean indexes of ethnic segregation for different educational status levels within each of the three generational groups in Toronto produces no significant differences from the pattern described above for the combined generation groups. While the average level of segregation reflected in the mean index increases for each successive generation, the secondary education attainment group always exhibits the lowest level of segregation and those with elementary or less the highest mean index, followed closely by those with some university or degree.

The situation in Montréal is somewhat different. The overall pattern of variation in the mean indexes by educational attainment levels is found only in the first generation of foreign-born, whereas the patterns for the second and third-plus generations are very similar to those in Toronto. Those with university attainment have the second highest levels of segregation as reflected by the mean indexes of segregation for the 26 ethnic groups and those in the intermediate status levels exhibit the lowest mean indexes of segregation. The mean indexes of segregation and their measures of dispersion are summarized in Table 5.13 for educational status groups within generations for both Montréal and Toronto.

TABLE 5.13. Mean Indexes and Standard Deviations for Ethnic Residential Segregation by Educational Status for Generations, Montréal and Toronto CMAs, 1971

Generation	Montréal						Toronto					
	Elementary		Secondary		University		Elementary		Secondary		University	
	Mean	Standard deviation	Mean	Standard deviation	Mean	Standard deviation	Mean	Standard deviation	Mean	Standard deviation	Mean	Standard deviation
1st	62.3	13.3	53.2	15.8	54.1	23.8	55.1	13.2	40.6	12.9	47.7	13.5
2nd	79.1	20.4	68.1	27.9	74.2	24.3	69.4	24.7	50.4	23.7	67.6	21.0
3rd+	81.0	21.8	75.0	20.7	78.1	19.9	70.6	28.6	55.9	28.5	68.5	28.2
Total	64.3	16.6	54.1	13.8	53.2	12.3	45.9	16.3	33.5	14.8	40.6	14.6

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, unpublished census tract data.

It is worthwhile to examine variations in residential segregation for specific ethnic origin groupings of the population. Comparing the French, English, and Germans in Toronto within generations by educational status, the patterns of variation in mean indexes are strikingly similar in that the intermediate educational status levels consistently show the least segregation. The higher segregation for the lowest educational status group which was visible in Table 5.12 appears to be primarily a characteristic of the first generation (Table 5.14). Both English and French second generations show higher segregation at the university level, while the German origin of low and high educational status are segregated almost to an equal degree. For the third-plus generation, there is again almost a balance between the lower and upper educational groups, with the French still showing higher segregation among its university educated.

In Montréal, the patterns are less consistent among these three particular ethnic origin groups. The contrast between the foreign-born and native-born French is interesting. Among the foreign-born, those with higher educational status are least segregated, while for the native-born the relationship is reversed. The patterns are more mixed for the other two ethnic groups but are more consistent with the French within the first generation. In the remaining generations, the most consistent aspect of segregation for the Germans and English is the lower average segregation for the intermediate educational levels.

One ethnic group among those included in Table 5.14 deserving special mention is the population of Jewish origin. Regardless of which of the two CMAs or which generation is examined, the relationship between residential segregation and educational status is a negative one. Those with the least education tend to be the most segregated and those with some university the least segregated. The least segregated of those of Jewish origin in either CMA are the foreign-born with the highest educational status. In contrast to this particular group are the Italians who tend to show the highest segregation for those with the highest educational status. The only exception is found among the foreign-born Italians in Montréal where levels of segregation are relatively high and the relationship between educational status and segregation tends to be slightly negative. Indexes of segregation by educational status and generations for selected ethnic populations are presented for Montréal and Toronto in Table 5.14.⁴

See footnote(s) on page 201.

TABLE 5.14. Indexes of Segregation for Selected Ethnic Groups by Educational Attainment Levels and Generation for the Population 15 Years and Over Not Attending School Full Time, Montréal and Toronto CMAs, 1971

Ethnic origin	Native-born						Foreign-born		
	3rd+ generation			2nd generation			1st generation		
	Elementary	Secondary	University	Elementary	Secondary	University	Elementary	Secondary	University
<u>Montréal CMA</u>									
English	46.0	48.1	48.7	39.8	35.3	39.9	54.7	39.7	38.2
Irish	36.3	38.3	40.7	39.4	31.9	39.4	62.7	43.6	46.0
Scottish	42.4	46.0	50.8	45.1	35.7	38.9	66.3	43.5	44.8
French	40.1	46.9	53.9	43.1	47.7	53.8	52.8	41.4	38.0
German	51.9	38.2	54.5	77.3	50.4	54.6	52.8	33.5	33.6
Polish	--	72.5	--	68.6	55.4	63.8	47.6	41.9	44.7
Ukrainian	--	71.1	--	56.5	49.2	58.6	53.3	59.5	69.2
Italian	51.7	40.0	67.3	46.6	49.6	61.3	65.9	61.9	60.4
Jewish	86.0	82.5	75.9	84.1	78.3	67.2	80.9	70.1	56.6
<u>Toronto CMA</u>									
English	12.6	8.6	12.8	19.5	16.2	23.7	38.1	21.2	24.0
Irish	14.4	9.4	15.2	22.2	15.4	26.4	40.3	19.7	31.0
Scottish	18.4	10.8	15.5	21.7	14.5	24.4	37.9	20.9	27.9
French	20.1	17.1	29.8	49.8	30.7	64.8	70.8	38.9	51.0
German	31.3	17.1	31.1	43.5	24.6	42.2	38.5	20.1	26.0
Polish	66.4	41.3	77.4	51.9	35.7	56.7	52.5	43.6	40.8
Ukrainian	64.3	32.2	62.5	35.7	28.0	44.1	46.2	48.0	59.3
Italian	61.7	41.3	--	38.5	31.3	53.5	53.2	50.2	56.9
Jewish	83.6	69.3	61.9	81.3	77.3	66.4	77.8	69.0	58.9

-- Number of cases less than 500.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

Ethnic diversity is characteristic not only of Canada's regions but also of her large metropolitan centres. There is a considerable range in the amount of ethnic differentiation which has manifested itself through patterns of residential segregation. The contrast appears to be greatest between the two largest centres of French- and English-speaking Canada.

Differences in the degree of ethnic residential segregation are apparent between generational groupings of the ethnic populations that are consistent with both Anglo-conformity and pluralistic structural models. However, the presence of a considerable number of recent immigrant populations with relatively small numbers of second and subsequent generations may bias the interpretation of the data somewhat in the direction of the latter.

Variations in ethnic segregation by educational status groups are no less apparent and persist even when examined within each of the major generational groupings employed in the analyses. The basic pattern that emerges is that of generally higher ethnic segregation in the lowest and highest status groups with minimum segregation occurring in the intermediate status levels. The effects of cultural differences are most apparent in the case of the French in Toronto and Montréal. In Toronto their pattern of segregation is very similar to that of the English and others, higher segregation at the lower and upper educational status levels for each generation. In Montréal, the degree of segregation tends to decrease with increasing educational status for both the French and English foreign-born immigrants, while for the native-born French it tends to be positively associated with changes in educational status. For the English and others of the second and third-plus generations, the patterns are similar to those observed in Toronto even though the general levels of residential segregation tend to be significantly higher in Montréal. Variations in the residential segregation of Canada's ethnic populations residing in its largest urban centres, by generation and educational status groups, provide little basis for simplistic explanations of its ethnically differentiated spatial structure.

FOOTNOTES

¹The data are derived from the Public Use Sample Tapes provided by Statistics Canada. Because of their small populations and problems of maintaining confidentiality, Prince Edward Island, the Yukon, and Northwest Territories were excluded from the Public Use Sample Tapes (Statistics Canada, 1975, p. 2.3.1.).

²Individuals were excluded from the tabulations whenever an income category had fewer than 10 cases. The effect of imposing such a lower bound on income data for small areas is unknown. Statistics Canada was sufficiently interested in the problem to offer to produce indexes of dissimilarity for ethnic origin groups by generation and period of immigration for the foreign-born within selected income intervals using our computer program (developed by Laurie Bridger) on the 1971 Census master tapes. A comparison of the results with indexes calculated on an earlier special tabulation on which the lower bound editing procedure had been applied would give an indication of the amount of distortion introduced by such procedures in segregation analysis at the tract level. This comparative analysis has yet to be completed by Statistics Canada.

³In Montréal, a residual category made up of a number of smaller Northern and Western European origins other than the British, French, German, Dutch, and Scandinavian actually had the lowest index of segregation, 32.2 compared to 34.6 for the Germans.

⁴Ethnic origin groups were included in Table 5.14 if their segregation indexes were based on numbers larger than the number of census tracts in the Census Metropolitan Area. The recent foreign-born groups were omitted because they had insufficient numbers of second and third-plus generations to calculate meaningful indexes for each of the three educational attainment levels.

CHAPTER 6
FAMILY AND FERTILITY

6.1. Introduction

As one of the most basic social units in Canadian society, the family plays a vital role in the socialization process and in the transmission of the family's cultural values and beliefs from one generation to the next. In short, the characteristics of Canadian families account for a good part of the sum and substance of Canadian society. In the 1971 Census, 18,852,110 persons were reported living in census families consisting of a husband and wife (with or without children who have never married, regardless of age) or a parent with one or more children never married living in the same dwelling (1971 Census of Canada, Bulletin 2.2-2). The predominant living arrangement for the Canadian family was still the single-family household which accounted for 97.5% of the 4,933,450 family households in 1971. Multiple-family households accounted for relatively few families while the rest of the population either lived alone or in other non-family groups.

Each family unit contributes to the total cultural milieu of Canadian society both in the present and in the future, but the extent and nature of each contribution will vary from family to family depending upon their stage in the family life-cycle and their socio-cultural, economic, and demographic characteristics. With respect to the socio-cultural character of Canadian society, the ethnic and cultural origins of its constituent families tend to have relevance in relation to their distance from these origins measured in terms of generations. Reference has already been made in the previous chapter to the generational composition of the population at large and to the fact that the first generation, or foreign-born component, has experienced a general decline since the 1920s. This same trend would also be reflected in the characteristics of families, but not necessarily to the same extent as for the total population. It is the purpose of this chapter to examine more closely the families of foreign-born and second generation heads in relation to the families of those who are native-born of native-born parents, the third-plus generation families.

6.2. Family Characteristics

6.2.1. Generational Status

The foreign-born (first generation) and the second generation (their children) account for a larger proportion of the population of family heads than do the first and second generations in the population at large. More specifically the data in Table 6.1 show that families with foreign-born heads account for 23% of all families, and those with native-born heads with foreign-born parents account for another 21%. Combined, these families with first and second generation family heads comprise 43% of all families, whereas the first two generations account for only 34% of the total population. This would suggest that the foreign-born and their children, as heads of families, have a somewhat greater influence in structural terms than might be thought on the basis of the generational composition of the population at large. It also suggests that in spite of the long-term decline in the relative numbers of foreign-born in Canada, the actual significance of the foreign-born and their adult children, as heads of families, is still very great. However, the continuing importance of first and second generations for Canadian society is clearly dependent upon future levels of immigration, emigration, and the fertility of those immigrants who continue to reside in Canada. The first generation moves rapidly towards extinction whenever its source of replacement through immigration is cut off or the flow of immigrants is significantly reduced from prior levels.

6.2.2. Type of Family

The most common type of family in Canada continues to be the primary family in which the family head maintains his own household. Almost all, or 96.8%, of Canada's families were classified as primary families in 1971. Of the remainder, 2.4% were related families and 0.8% were lodging and other type families. The establishment and maintenance of one's own household would appear to be one of the basic objectives of all who marry and establish families. The obstacles would not appear to be very great, but from the data in Table 6.2 it can be seen that it is more difficult for immigrant family heads to establish independent households than those who are second or third and subsequent generation. This is particularly the case for family heads under 25 years of age as well as for older family heads 55 years of age and older who immigrated to Canada during the decade prior to the 1971 Census.

TABLE 6.1. Total Population and Family Heads by Generation and Period of Immigration for Foreign-born Heads, Canada, 1971

Generation/ Period of immigration	Total population		Family heads	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Total population	21,568,310	100.0	5,076,090	100.0
Native-born	18,272,780	84.7	3,921,745	77.3
3rd+ generation	14,286,040	66.2	2,869,870	56.5
2nd generation	3,986,745	18.4	1,051,880	20.7
One parent foreign-born	1,927,510	8.9	483,745	9.5
Both parents foreign-born	2,059,235	9.5	568,135	11.2
Foreign-born				
1st generation	3,295,535	15.3	1,154,345	22.7
Pre-1946	953,590	4.4	372,990	7.3
1946-60	1,286,355	6.0	516,230	10.2
1961-65	346,980	1.6	97,470	1.9
1966-71	708,615	3.3	167,645	3.3

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Bul. 1.4-12, Table 33 and Bul. 1.3-6, Table 46; and unpublished data.

TABLE 6.2. Type of Family by Generation of Family Head and Period of Immigration
for Foreign-born Heads, Canada, 1971

Generation/ Period of immigration	Total families	Primary families	Secondary families			
			Total	Related	Lodging	Other
	('000)		per cent			
3rd+ generation	2,870	96.7	3.3	2.5	0.7	0.1
2nd generation	1,052	98.0	2.0	1.5	0.4	0.2
One parent foreign-born	484	97.6	2.4	1.9	0.5	0.1
Both parents foreign-born	568	98.3	1.7	1.2	0.3	0.2
1st generation	1,154	96.0	4.0	2.9	1.0	0.1
Pre-1946	373	97.8	2.2	1.7	0.4	0.2
1946-60	516	97.1	2.9	2.3	0.5	0.1
1961-65	97	93.6	6.4	4.9	1.4	0.1
1966-71	168	90.0	10.0	6.5	3.4	0.1
Total	5,076	96.8	3.2	2.4	0.7	0.1

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

The generally lower proportions of primary families for recent immigrant heads in comparison to those belonging to the third and subsequent generations are understandable in terms of the greater obstacles which they face in getting established in the host society. While all generations show higher proportions of related family heads in the youngest and oldest age groups, the differences in proportions are greatest for first generation heads. For those under 25 years of age the proportion of immigrants who head related families was 11.3% compared to just 1.1% for those 45-54 years of age. Beyond 55 years of age, the proportion of related family heads again increases, reaching 4.7% for those 75 years of age and over. Among this oldest group, only 3.2% of those who had come to Canada prior to 1946 were heads of related families compared to 45.3% for those who had arrived between 1966 and 1971.

Family heads under 25 years of age had the highest proportion of related families for all periods of immigration combined, as well as the highest proportion of heads of lodging families. It takes time for young married immigrants to achieve that level of economic success necessary to establish their own households. The fact that the proportions of 15-24 year-old first generation family heads of related families tend to be high, regardless of when they immigrated during the post-war period, suggests that length of residence may be of less importance than being a young married immigrant. Subsequent analyses of differences in family types by ethnic origin of family heads should reveal the extent to which living in a related family situation is a mode of adaptation characteristic of some ethnic or cultural groups and not of others.

6.2.3. Family Size

The number of individuals in a family at any given point in time reflects its fertility and mortality experiences that vary in accordance with its progress through the natural family life-cycle and are affected by the family's social, economic, and religious characteristics. Marital discord can bring about further changes in size if it leads to divorce or separation; and a family's general set of expectations can extend or prolong the latter stages of the family life-cycle, thus slowing the decline in family size by encouraging the younger members to continue to reside at home while continuing their education, helping to support aging parents, or while becoming established in the labour force. Family size is the net effect of a multitude of factors that can reinforce or dampen the effects caused by

changes in fertility that have been occurring in Canadian society.

Since World War II the average size of the Canadian family has experienced a complete cycle of decline and recovery followed again by a decline, reflecting the baby boom and bust of the post-war years. Average family size declined from 3.9 in 1941 to 3.7 in 1951 before increasing again to 3.9 in 1961 where it remained until 1966. The rapid drop in fertility during the 1960s was reflected in the drop in family size between 1966 and 1971 where it again reached 3.7 persons (1961 Census of Canada, Bulletin 2-2.9 and Bulletin 7.2-1; 1971 Census of Canada, Bulletin 2.2-2).

The average size for all Canadian families in 1971 was 3.72. Table 6.3 shows that size varies by generation of family head, being smallest for families with immigrant heads and largest for native-born heads whose parents were both native-born. The positive relationship between generation and family size holds for every age group of family head over 35 years of age, for those born before the mid-Depression year of 1936. For family heads under 35 years of age, the second generation families were either as large or larger than families with third or later generation heads and both exceeded the first generation family size. For both of these younger age groups, the second generation family heads whose parents were both foreign-born had the largest families, while those of mixed parentage were intermediate to family sizes of first and third-plus generations.

In view of the generally higher fertility of the native-born in Canada, compared to the foreign-born,¹ the intermediate family size of second generation family heads in the age groups over 35 seems logical and consistent with respect to most assimilation and reference group theories. There is a shift in behaviour patterns from those characteristic of the foreign-born to those of the third and subsequent generations. The interesting aspect of this shift is that it is from a smaller family size to a larger size which is opposite to the nature of the change expected under the classical assimilation model in which arriving immigrants were generally regarded as being less educated and having lower entrance status than has been characteristic of most immigrants today.

See footnote(s) on page 241.

TABLE 6.3. Average Number of Persons Per Census Family by Generation and Age of Head, and Period of Immigration for Foreign-born Heads, Canada, 1971

Generation/ Period of immigration	Total families	Age of family head							
		All ages	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+
	('000)								
3rd+ generation	2,870	3.82	2.66	3.70	5.01	4.49	3.23	2.48	2.29
2nd generation	1,052	3.77	2.71	3.70	4.70	3.95	2.86	2.31	2.18
One parent foreign-born	484	3.77	2.61	3.66	4.74	4.03	2.88	2.30	2.16
Both parents foreign-born	568	3.74	3.12	3.77	4.67	3.91	2.86	2.32	2.19
1st generation	1,154	3.38	2.53	3.39	4.35	3.90	2.82	2.29	2.17
Pre-1946	373	2.76	-	3.53	4.64	3.94	2.73	2.28	2.17
1946-60	516	3.76	2.55	3.59	4.40	3.88	2.90	2.32	2.20
1961-65	97	3.65	2.63	3.43	4.17	3.96	3.01	2.36	2.19
1966-71	168	3.39	2.47	3.15	4.12	3.96	3.01	2.45	2.28
Total	5,076	3.72	2.64	3.64	4.78	4.22	3.04	2.39	2.23

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

This shift from smaller to larger family size is also evident in the data for the post-war foreign-born by period of immigration. For all ages combined, average family size increases from 3.39 persons for the most recent immigrants to 3.76 for those who had come to Canada in the years following the war. Note, however, that this positive relationship between length of residence of the foreign-born heads and family size holds only for the younger ones under 45 years of age. For older family heads, the most recent immigrants had larger families. While their families also tended to be as large or larger than second-generation families, they still fell short of the average family size for the third-plus generation. The reasons for this are obviously complex and include the effects of the changing ethnic composition of arriving immigrants, differences in fertility between Canada and the immigrants' countries of origin and the country of residence when the women bore their children.²

Table 6.3 also shows the typical pattern of change in family size characteristic of families as they proceed through the childbearing period and approach retirement from the labour force. Maximum family size occurs towards the end of the family's childbearing years when the head is 35-44 years of age and then begins to show signs of decline as a result of divorce, increasing mortality to aging parents and the departure of children from home to continue their education, marry or seek employment. Each of the major generational groups shows the same general variation related to changes associated with the latter stages of the family life-cycle. The consistently lower family size for foreign-born heads at every age level shows that, while these families conform to the same general life-cycle pattern characteristic of all families, their fertility is still consistently lower than that of families whose heads are native-born. The same life-cycle variations also hold for each of the period-of-immigration groups shown in Table 6.3.

Changes in the number of children at home and their age composition also reflect the family's reproductive behaviour and its progression through the various stages of the family life-cycle. Until the latter stages of childbearing, when children begin leaving home, changes in family size are a direct response to continuing fertility. Both family size and the number of children peak when the family head reaches early middle age, between 35-44 years. The peak number of children,

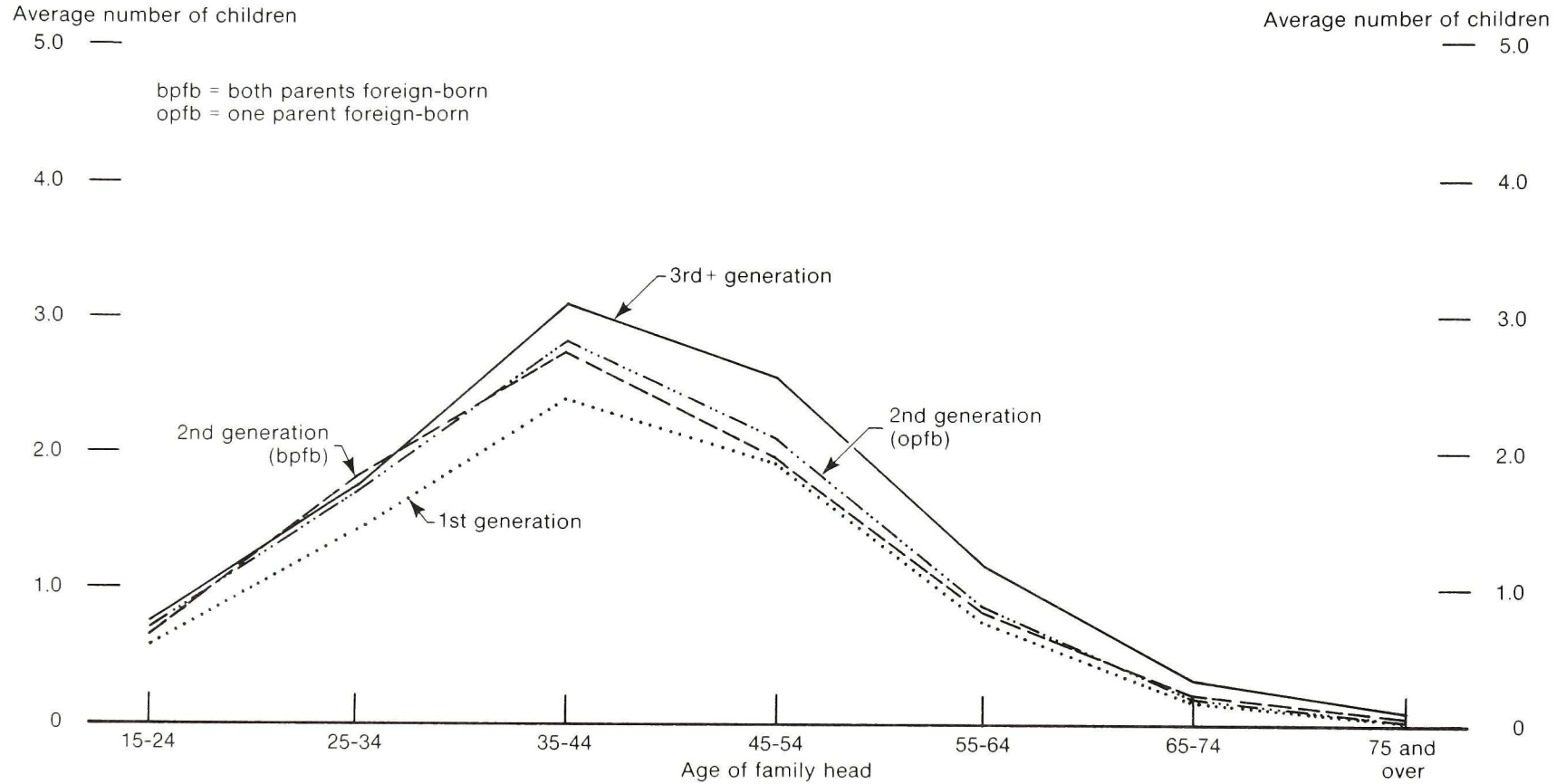
See footnote(s) on page 241.

for all families combined, was 2.86 in 1971 compared to a maximum family size of 4.78. Data presented in Chart 6.1 show that the average number of children at home increases rapidly for young family heads up to the 35-44 year age group, and then declines with increasing age of family heads as children begin leaving home.

Generational differences in number of children under 25 years of age at home are fairly clear and consistent throughout the age range of family heads. First generation family heads not only had the smallest average number of children at home for all age groups combined but had the lowest averages for every age group of family head as well. The number of children for family heads belonging to the third and subsequent generations consistently exceeded those of the first generation, with the greatest difference occurring for the 35-44 year age group, when the number of children is at its peak. The relative position of second generation families is intermediate to those of the first and third generations but varies somewhat according to age. For younger family heads, the second generation families were more like the third-plus generation with respect to the number of children at home. For older heads of families, those over 45 years of age, the second generation was almost identical to the first generation. Fertility differentials, discussed at a later point in this chapter, show the same age shift in the second generation vis-à-vis the fertility of the first and third generation families and is no doubt directly reflected in these data on family size in terms of the average number of children under 25 years still living at home.

The age composition of children at home would also be expected to change in relation to a family's position in its life-cycle. Table 6.4 shows that for all families combined almost three-fourths, or 71%, of all children living at home were under the age of 15 years. One-fourth was under six years of age, and 11.0% were in the older age range, 19-24 years. Variations from this general age mix by family heads of differing generational status are not very great as may be seen in Table 6.4. The first and third-plus generation heads of families have practically identical proportions in each age group. Second generation heads, however, show slightly lower proportions under six years, larger proportions in the age groups 6-14 and 15-18, and an intermediate proportion for the oldest age group where the differences are quite minimal. The usual intermediate position which seems to be characteristic of the second generation families is, in this case, partially masked by the presence of both old and young families in the second and first generation totals.

Chart 6.1
Average Number of Children 24 Years and Under at Home, by Age and Generation of Family Head, Canada, 1971



Source: 1971 Census of Canada, unpublished data

TABLE 6.4. Percentage Age Distribution of Children Under 25 Years of Age at Home by Generation of Family Head and Period of Immigration for Foreign-born Heads, Canada, 1971

Generation/ Period of immigration	Total children at home	Age group of children				
		Total	Under 6	6-14	15-18	19-24
3rd+ generation	5,366,450	100.0	26.0	45.9	17.2	10.9
2nd generation	1,899,081	100.0	20.1	48.1	20.5	11.2
One parent foreign-born	885,419	100.0	24.9	48.6	17.6	9.0
Both parents foreign-born	1,013,662	100.0	15.9	47.8	23.1	13.2
1st generation	1,594,776	100.0	26.3	45.5	16.7	11.5
Pre- 1946	265,582	100.0	8.0	37.9	29.0	25.1
1946-60	927,182	100.0	24.3	49.9	16.0	9.8
1961-65	163,973	100.0	43.1	39.9	10.4	6.6
1966-71	238,039	100.0	43.1	40.9	10.0	6.0
Total	8,860,307	100.0	24.8	46.3	17.8	11.0

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

Second generation family heads with both parents foreign-born appear to have older families given the small proportion of children under six years of age. Their distributions are intermediate between the third-plus generation and the pre-1946 immigrants of the first generation. Note also that the latter group of families includes most of the parents of the second generation family heads and their distributions are typical of older families with small proportions of very young children and large proportions of older children 15 and over. This lack of homogeneity within generational groups makes it imperative to control for variations in the age of family heads while examining the age composition of children living at home.

Age composition of children living at home does vary consistently with generation, although the differences are small within most age groups of family heads. Under the age of 55 years, first generation heads tend to exceed the third-plus generation in terms of the proportions of children at home under 15 and to a lesser extent those 15-18 years of age. Above the age of 55, the reverse relationship appears; it is the third-plus generation heads that have the highest proportions in these age groups. Below the age of 55, the differences are relatively small; the third generation heads tend to be intermediate between the second and first generation family heads. Over 55 years of age, the second generation heads assume the intermediate position between the first and third-plus generation families and the differences between them tend to increase with increasing age of the family head.

While the proportion of older children at home increases naturally with each succeeding stage in the family life-cycle, until the last child has left home, it is interesting to note that older family heads of the first generation tend to have larger proportions of their children still at home in the 19-24 year age range than third-plus generation family heads of the same age. A number of explanations seem plausible. If older heads of immigrant families either encouraged their children to continue with their education beyond the normal leaving age or to continue to live at home and contribute to the support of their aging parents, the effect would be a larger proportion of the children in these families in the 19-24 age group.

While there are no data bearing directly on this situation that would permit an analysis of the relative importance of these two possible explanations, data on school attendance may provide the basis for a partial explanation. Whether one

examines the proportions of children 15-18 or 19-24 years of age still attending school, the highest proportions are found in families whose heads are first or second generation. The proportions of children at home attending school are essentially identical for the first two generations; both are significantly greater than for families whose heads are third-plus generation. These data suggest that the differences previously noted with respect to the larger proportions of older children at home in first generation families are, in part, a consequence of the higher proportions in the older age groups still attending school. This fact takes on additional significance given the findings reported elsewhere in this study concerning the economic success of second generation Canadians relative to the third-plus generations.

6.2.4. Ethnic Variations in Family Characteristics

The amount of variation in family types, for Canada as a whole, is not very great. Almost all, or 97%, are primary-type families that maintain their own separate households. It has already been shown that the proportion of primary-type families varies with the age of the family head, rising during the younger ages to a maximum for heads 45-54 years of age and then declining during the later stages of the family life-cycle as the family begins to grow smaller. Given that the various ethnic populations vary with respect to their average age, it would be natural to expect some variation from this factor alone, as well as from variations in cultural preferences for various types of living arrangements at different stages of the family life-cycle.

For all of Canada, the range of variation was not very great. Family heads of Southern European origins had the lowest percentage of primary-type families with 91.6% in contrast to the Jewish who had 98.3%. These two groups held the same limiting positions for both first and second generation; for the combined third and later generations, other Western and Northern Europeans and Asian family heads reported the highest and lowest percentages of primary families respectively (97.3% vs. 89.2%). For total generations, the other Western and Northern Europeans ranked second to the Jewish; the Asian heads had the next lowest proportions. The three groups having the lowest proportions of primary-type families, the Southern European, Asian, and other ethnic origins, contain the largest proportions of recent immigrants. Thus, it would appear that secondary types of family arrangements would be more attractive in that they tend to provide more economical and

convenient living arrangements during the period of initial adjustment which immigrants must face in a new society.

Assuming that the establishment of a primary family still represents the ideal objective for families in an urban post-industrial society, then Jewish families have generally been more successful in achieving this goal. It is possible, as the next section suggests, that larger proportions of Jewish family heads have achieved this objective mainly because as a group they tend to be older and at a later point in their family life-cycle than most other ethnic populations in Canada.

French origin family heads reported the largest families with 4.01 persons, followed by Asian and Southern Europeans with 3.75 persons per family. The smallest families, averaging 3.27 persons, were of Jewish origin, followed by Central and Eastern Europeans, with 3.48 persons per family and those of British origin with 3.56.

Family size, for all ethnic origins combined and for Canada as a whole, increases from the first generation to the combined third and subsequent generations. This, however, is the composite result of three distinctive patterns associated with ethnic origins. For the British and French origins, the first generation has the smallest family size but there appears to be no significant difference between the second and following generations. For the remaining European origins, Jewish and Asian, the second generation heads consistently have the largest size families. The remaining non-European origin family heads, those who comprise the other ethnic origin category, are the only ones to show the consistent positive relationship between family size and generation.

Family size at any point in time reflects variations in family life-cycle due to differences in age at marriage, timing and spacing of children, duration of marriage, and the retentive power of families with respect to older children continuing to live at home, as well as differences in completed fertility. It can only be assumed from the data that these various factors are quite similar in their configurations for the British and French and different from the other two clusters of ethnic groups revealed in this analysis.

The percentage of children at home who are 15-24, as an indicator of position in the family life-cycle, shows considerable variation by ethnic origin of family head. For Canada as a whole, Jewish families had almost 40% of their children in the 15-24 category. At the other end of the continuum, the other origins had only one in five children at home in this age group. Again, the more recent immigrant groups, Southern Europeans, Asians, and other non-European ethnic origins, tended to have relatively fewer older children for Canada as a whole. The British, French, and the Central and Eastern Europeans were intermediate between the two extremes while other Western and Northern Europeans have had proportions closer to those groups with the lowest proportions in this age group.

Variations by generation for all origins combined are very similar in pattern to those observed for the proportions of primary-type families. The second generation, which tended to have the highest proportions of primary families, also had the highest proportions of older children. This pattern appears for each of the major ethnic groupings for all of Canada except for family heads of Central and Eastern European origin and those of Jewish origin. In these two cases, the proportion of older children varies from a maximum in the first generation to a minimum in the third and subsequent generations. The first generation of each of these groups appears to be considerably older than the corresponding generation for the remaining ethnic origins. Only the Jewish retain the highest proportion of older children among second generation families, while both groups possess the smallest proportions among third and subsequent generations.

6.3. Fertility Differentials

6.3.1. Variation by Generation

Analyses of data on number of children living at home have suggested significant differences in fertility behaviour between generations, in addition to other factors affecting family size through time. This is not unexpected since Henripin's analysis of fertility based on the 1961 Census showed significant differences between first generation husband-wife families and families with Canadian-born husbands and wives at all age levels (Henripin, 1972, p. 151).

The 1971 Census not only permits a similar examination of fertility differentials but allows a more specific comparison between first and second generation

women and an analysis of the fertility of women belonging to the third and subsequent generation. Chart 6.2 shows some interesting differences in the fertility of women according to their age and generation. Most obvious is the consistent difference between the foreign-born women and the native-born of native-born parents, with members of the latter generational group having consistently higher fertility at all age levels. Only in the case of the 15-24 year-olds is the difference probably not significant.

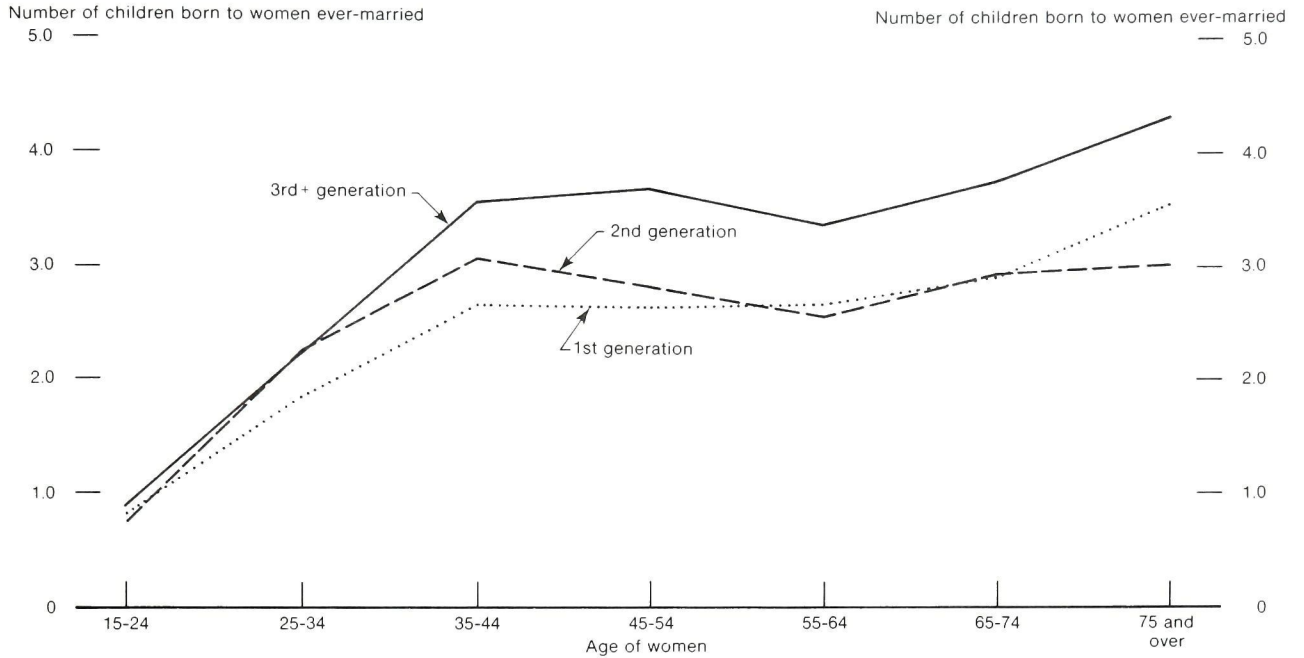
Differences between first and second generation women are a bit more complex. Below the age of 55, second generation women tend to exceed the fertility of first generation women for each age group and approach the levels achieved by those of the third-plus generation with each succeeding younger age group. The only exception is the youngest age group where the generational differences are minimal. For women over 55 years of age, the fertility of those of the first generation exceeded that of second generation women for two of the three age groups. In the case of the remaining age group, those 65-74, the fertility for both generations was almost identical.

The most important data here are those relating to age groups of women who had almost or actually completed their childbearing years. For these groups, the first generation clearly exceeded the fertility of the second generation women who were 75 or over, while they fell short of the second generation in the youngest age group of completed fertility. It would appear that the older first generation, those 75 years and over, reflects the higher fertility characteristic of the earlier immigrants to North America. In contrast, those who were 45-54 years of age in 1971 and had essentially completed their fertility were in the peak years of childbearing during the immediate post-World War II years. The fertility of immigrants tended to be low relative to those born in Canada who were at the same stage of childbearing. The two age groups in between were childbearing prior to and during the great Depression of the 1930s and conditions were probably not favourable enough to encourage second generation women to achieve levels of fertility much different from those achieved by the preceding generation.

6.3.2. Education and Fertility

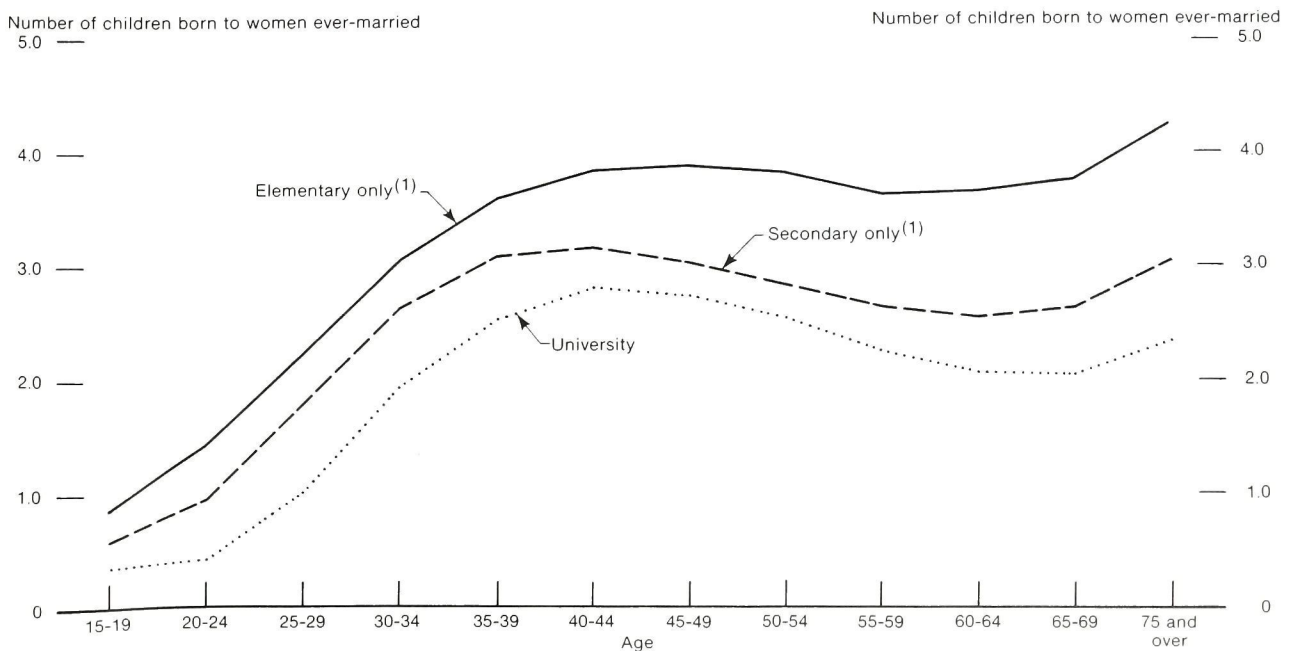
Educational attainment of women continues to be a highly significant factor in accounting for variations in reproductive behaviour. This is clearly shown in

Chart 6.2
Number of Children Born to Women Ever-married by Age and Generation, Canada, 1971



Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes

Chart 6.3
Number of Children Born to Women Ever-married by Age and Educational Attainment of Women, Canada, 1971



(1) Excluding those with some vocational training

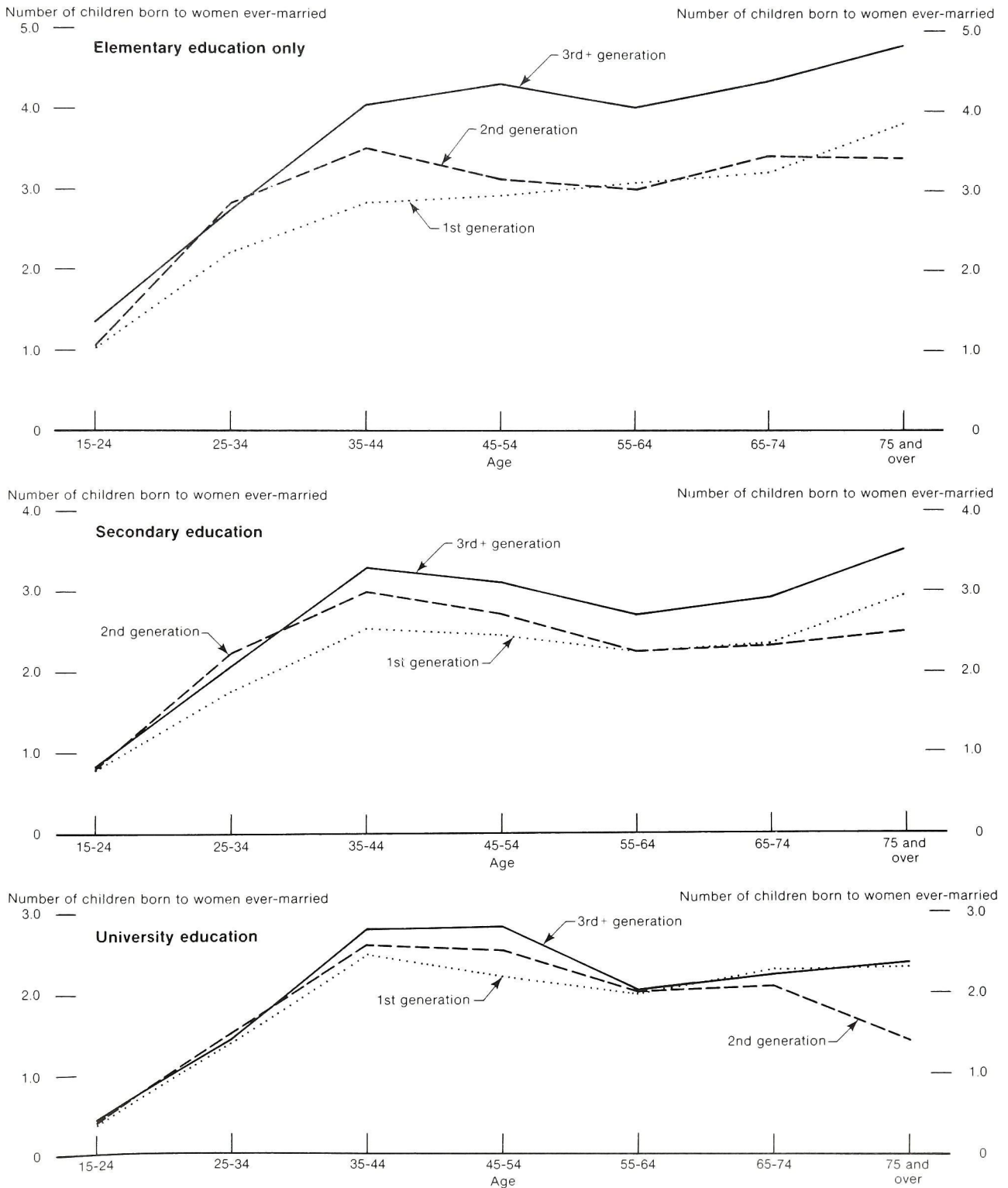
Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Catalogue No. 92-751, Bulletin 1.5-11, Table 34

Chart 6.3, which gives the number of children born to women ever married by age and educational attainment at the time of the 1971 Census. If education was the crucial factor in accounting for generational differences, these would be expected to disappear when variations in educational attainment for women were controlled. Interestingly, the same general pattern of fertility differentials by generation holds for each educational attainment level (Chart 6.4). However, while the differences become more pronounced for those with only elementary education, they decrease as educational attainment levels increase. For those with university education, the overall differences between generations appear to be minimal. For specific age groups of women with university education past the childbearing years, the generational differences are greatest for the women 45-54 years of age, minimal for the 55-64 age cohort, and begin to diverge again for the two oldest age groups.

If education were the sole determinant of fertility levels, then the distributions of numbers of children born by generation of women ever married would suggest that third generation women had lower levels of educational attainment than either the first or second generations since their fertility level is consistently higher for every age group. Considering all age groups combined, this is supported by the data from the 1971 Census. Only 6.1% of third generation women ever married had some university education or degree, compared to 8.1% and 8.5% for the second and first generations respectively. Most of this difference is a reflection of the differences between women under 65 and especially those 25-34 years of age. Second generation women are intermediate to the first and third-plus generations for every age group under 55. Second and third-plus generation women, 55-64, have the same proportions of women ever married with university education, while for older women the second generation women had the highest proportion married with university education of any generational group.

The generational differences in fertility for the total population of women ever married do not totally disappear when controlling for differences in educational attainment. The differences increase for those women with only elementary education and are only slightly reduced for those with secondary education, while they are almost eliminated for those with university. The significance of generation for fertility increases as educational attainment decreases.

Chart 6.4
**Number of Children Born to Women Ever-married by Age,
 Educational Attainment and Generation, Canada, 1971**



Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes

6.3.3. Ethnic Variations in Fertility

Variations in family size by ethnic origin groups would suggest the possibility of similar variations in the reproductive behaviour of Canada's ethnic populations. The average number of children born to women ever married, as a measure of fertility, does in fact reveal considerable interethnic group variation with some interesting similarities, as well as differences, with patterns previously observed with respect to family size. The groups with the highest overall fertility, at the time of the 1971 Census, are consistent with those origins showing the larger family sizes. The Native Indians, who were incorporated within the other ethnic origins in the family size data of Table 6.5, show the highest average fertility of 4,706 children born per 1,000 women ever married; women of French origins show the second highest, with 3,277 per 1,000 women. Jewish women, who had the smallest family size, also show the next to lowest fertility (Table 6.5). For those with intermediate levels of fertility, direct comparisons are more difficult to make and interpret.

Life family size, the number of children born per 1,000 women ever married increases with generation, 2,516 for the first generation, 2,609 for the second generation and 2,922 for subsequent generations combined. However, the separate ethnic origin groups vary considerably from this general pattern, as each is highly affected by the age distribution of each of its generations and the general social and economic milieu at the time of their arrival in Canada. The overall average is clearly reflective of the patterns that characterize the two dominant groups of British and French origins. Women of Scandinavian, Ukrainian, Italian, and to a certain extent those of Dutch origins, show a pattern of declining fertility with increasing generation. Most of the other ethnic origin groups in Table 6.5 exhibit higher levels of fertility among second generation women and lower levels for the subsequent generations. A cumulative measure of fertility for women at various stages in the family life-cycle such as the one used here might correlate more directly with family size during their years of childbearing. However, once they have stopped bearing children, the two measures would tend to diverge as children began leaving home. In an analysis of comparative reproductive behaviour, cumulative measures of fertility for women who have completed their fertility (those 45 and over) do have an advantage over other measures that do not control for age or family life-cycle variation.

TABLE 6.5. Number of Children Born Per 1,000 Women Ever Married by Ethnic Origin and Generation, Canada, 1971

Ethnic origin group	Number of women ever married ('000)				Number of children born per 1000 women ever married			
	Total	Generation			Total	Generation		
		1st	2nd	3rd+		1st	2nd	3rd+
Native Indian	55.1	1.9	2.4	50.8	4,706	2,368 ¹	4,375	4,809
French	1,506.7	43.3	66.1	1,397.3	3,277	3,136	3,053	3,292
Dutch	99.7	56.9	16.7	26.1	3,103	3,297	2,808	2,870
Negro	6.4	3.8	.6	2.0	2,929	1,895	2,500 ¹	5,000
German	368.9	141.6	103.9	123.4	2,715	2,704	2,959	2,523
Japanese	9.5	3.4	5.6	.5	2,674	2,647	2,821	1,200 ¹
Chinese	30.3	25.3	3.1	1.9	2,630	2,731	1,839	2,579 ¹
Ukrainian	179.5	45.7	94.5	39.3	2,604	3,177	2,589	1,975
British	2,668.5	509.8	640.3	1,518.4	2,564	2,421	2,530	2,626
Scandinavian	101.1	30.2	47.8	23.1	2,557	2,868	2,609	2,043
Italian	182.5	140.6	28.6	13.3	2,536	2,583	2,535	2,038
Russian	19.4	7.3	9.0	3.1	2,438	1,890	3,056	1,936
Slovakian	7.1	4.0	2.3	.8	2,394	1,950	2,870	3,250 ¹
Polish	87.3	41.4	32.4	13.5	2,383	2,355	2,497	2,193
Czech	16.3	10.4	3.9	2.0	2,337	2,288	2,487	2,300
Hungarian	37.9	24.9	10.2	2.8	2,324	2,249	2,735	1,500
Other origins	202.1	142.6	29.2	30.3	2,280	2,171	2,568	2,515
Austrian	13.4	5.6	5.4	2.4	2,187	1,857	2,741	1,708
Finnish	18.2	9.9	6.4	1.9	2,176	2,263	2,062	2,105 ¹
Jewish	90.9	49.2	31.6	10.1	2,080	2,098	2,127	1,852
West Indian	6.5	6.1	.1	.3	1,646	1,688	0 ¹	1,333 ¹
Total	5,707.3	1,303.9	1,140.1	3,263.3	2,767	2,516	2,609	2,922

¹Rates based on samples of less than 20 women.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

Variations in the age and generational structures of the various ethnic origin groupings of Canada's population confound any attempt to directly compare ethnic group differences in fertility on the basis of the data for total ethnic origins in Table 6.5. This table also shows variations in fertility by generation whose patterns vary somewhat from the general pattern of increasing fertility with increasing generation for all ethnic groups combined. However, hidden within these variations are the effects of long-term trends in fertility that are reflected in the completed fertility rates for successive age cohorts of women and are the consequences of changes in fertility levels related to changing economic and political conditions in society at large. The average numbers of children per 1,000 women, by 10-year age groups for those past the age of childbearing (Table 6.6) reveal the general decline in completed fertility characteristic of successive age cohorts of women born before 1917. Women born between 1916 and 1926, who would have started their reproductive years during the mid-Depression and World War II years, were the first to show an increase in completed family size and a reversal of the prior long-term decline. The concern of the analysis at this point is to determine the extent to which the patterns of change characterizing these age cohorts in general are reflected in the separate experiences of the various ethnic groups, as well as to determine the extent to which ethnic variation in fertility remains after controlling for the effects of such major influences as age, generation, and education.

The data for age cohorts of women born prior to 1916 (Table 6.6), those 55-64, 65-74 and 75 years and over, show that all the origin groups, except Native Indian, have experienced a decline in fertility with each successively younger age cohort of women. The major distinguishing feature that differentiates these ethnic groups is the timing of the reversal of this long-term decline in completed fertility. For most ethnic groups, the cohort of women born during 1917-26, those 45-54 years of age in 1971, were responsible for the reversal in fertility. However, for women of Hungarian, Polish, Ukrainian, and West Indian origins, this reversal was not effected by those 45-54 years of age but was achieved by the next younger group. This was apparent in 1971 even though these women of 35-44 years of age, had not yet completed their reproductive years. A few additional ethnic origin groups did not show any evidence of an upturn in their average completed fertility in 1971 but might still do so, as the younger women in this 10-year cohort complete their families during the 1970s. Examples of this are the women of German, Czech, Russian, and Italian origins. Similarly, it is still too early to tell whether French

TABLE 6.6. Number of Children Born Per 1,000 Women Ever Married by Ethnic Origin for Selected Age Groups, Canada, 1971

Ethnic origin	Number of women ever married ('000)					Number of children born per 1000 women ever married				
	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+
British	493.4	511.3	385.3	260.1	216.0	3,195	2,940	2,584	2,690	3,221
French	325.4	275.5	191.3	114.6	67.8	3,608	4,099	4,020	4,835	5,702
German	79.0	65.0	46.2	29.6	21.6	2,986	3,017	3,080	3,595	4,324
Dutch	26.3	20.2	11.3	5.7	2.3	3,768	3,624	3,726	4,526	3,087
Scandinavian	19.1	18.2	13.3	8.5	6.3	3,052	2,940	2,707	3,047	4,111
Austrian	3.9	3.1	1.9	0.8	0.7	2,436	2,355	2,053 ¹	1,375 ¹	5,143 ¹
Czech	2.3	2.0	2.3	2.6	0.7	2,739	2,800	2,870	3,231	2,714 ¹
Hungarian	9.5	6.7	4.0	4.4	1.4	2,453	2,298	2,750	3,068	3,429 ¹
Slovakian	1.5	0.9	1.2	0.8	0.2	2,800 ¹	3,111 ¹	2,250 ¹	3,250 ¹	3,500 ¹
Finnish	2.2	3.3	4.7	2.3	0.9	2,227	2,939	1,915	2,044	3,000 ¹
Polish	16.6	18.0	11.9	8.4	4.1	2,765	2,450	2,571	3,548	3,707
Russian	3.7	4.1	3.3	2.2	1.5	2,568	2,658	2,818	2,864	2,867 ¹
Ukrainian	36.4	37.6	29.2	18.0	7.9	2,808	2,561	2,647	4,017	4,848
Italian	50.8	28.6	19.3	9.1	4.6	2,754	2,923	3,285	3,978	4,652
Jewish	14.6	20.4	15.3	13.7	5.5	2,555	2,240	1,758	2,146	3,473
Chinese	7.6	3.3	5.3	2.4	1.1	3,210	2,667	2,491	2,958	5,182 ¹
Japanese	2.8	2.9	0.6	0.8	0.4	2,821	2,862	1,667 ¹	4,625 ¹	4,500 ¹
Negro	1.1	0.6	0.7	0.2	0.2	2,546 ¹	4,667 ¹	5,571 ¹	2,000 ¹	4,000 ¹
West Indian	1.4	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.2	2,357 ¹	1,600 ¹	2,333 ¹	2,667 ¹	4,500 ¹
Native Indian	10.5	8.5	5.2	2.9	2.4	5,924	6,729	6,942	5,345	4,958
Other origins	44.5	30.8	18.7	11.4	7.5	2,771	2,708	2,690	3,053	3,947
Total origins	1,152.6	1,061.5	771.3	498.8	353.3	3,254	3,239	3,022	3,365	3,882

¹Rates based on samples of less than 20 women.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

origin women, 35-44 years of age, will produce fewer children than did the 45-54 cohort, or whether the reversal in completed fertility that occurred in the latter group will be upheld by the younger women in the process of completing their child-bearing during the decade following the census.

Women's reproductive behaviour has already been shown to be strongly and negatively related to educational attainment levels. Table 6.7 shows that this relationship holds for every one of the 21 separate ethnic origins listed, from those with relatively high levels of fertility such as the Native Indians, Dutch, French, and Negroes, to those groups characterized by low fertility levels such as the West Indians, Finns and Austrians.

The considerable variation in fertility between the various ethnic groups is not surprising considering the extent to which these groups vary with respect to their age and generational structures, both of which are strongly related to fertility (Table 6.7). What may be surprising, however, is the amount of interethnic variation in fertility that is still apparent after controlling for variations in education. That the extent of variation between ethnic groups decreases considerably between the elementary and subsequent levels of educational attainment suggests that the groups' ethnic and cultural origins are more significant for fertility differences among the less-educated women and, conversely, less significant in accounting for differences in fertility between women of various ethnic origins with secondary and university education. This is, of course, consistent with analyses of residential segregation which suggest that ethnic origin becomes less significant as a differentiating factor among individuals with higher socio-economic status (Richmond, 1972).

There is some consistency in the rank orderings of ethnic origin groups by fertility for the three educational attainment levels presented in Table 6.7. However, while all the groups show declines in fertility as educational attainment levels increase, there are some major shifts in their individual ranking. Only the Native Indians and Dutch origin women hold the same high rank in fertility for each of the educational levels of attainment, with the Indians being highest and the Dutch third highest. The second highest fertility level was achieved by French women with elementary education, by the Japanese with secondary education and by Negro women among those with some university. While the latter group is relatively

TABLE 6.7. Number of Children Born Per 1,000 Women Ever Married by Ethnic Origin and Educational Attainment Levels, Canada, 1971

Ethnic origin	Level of education		
	Elementary	Secondary	University
British	3,294	2,376	1,913
French	4,049	2,491	1,932
Austrian	3,000	1,922	1,286
Chinese	3,036	2,221	1,806
Czech	3,017	2,034	1,588
Finnish	2,295	2,158	1,273
German	3,537	2,294	1,690
Hungarian	2,847	1,966	1,310
Italian	2,797	1,892	1,600
Japanese	3,385	2,727	1,143
Jewish	2,344	2,033	1,812
Native Indian	5,490	2,925	2,533
Negro	3,833	2,649	2,222
Dutch	3,981	2,666	1,971
Polish	2,964	2,002	1,304
Russian	2,893	2,187	1,684
Scandinavian	3,187	2,427	1,903
Slovakian	2,586	2,500	833
Ukrainian	3,282	2,146	1,521
West Indian	1,857	1,638	1,545
Other	2,702	2,002	1,599
Total	3,553	2,363	1,843

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

small numerically, confidence in the accuracy of its fertility estimate is enhanced by the consistency of its ranking among women with elementary and secondary education. In each case, Negro women showed the fourth highest fertility among the 21 separate ethnic origin groups.

There is less consistency among the low fertility groups, perhaps because of the greater sampling variability for the smaller ethnic origins. Those ethnic origins whose fertility levels are among the four lowest for any two of the three educational attainment levels are the Austrians, Finns, Slovaks, and West Indians. Interestingly, the Jewish women only place among the four lowest for women with elementary education only. While fertility for Jewish women does decrease with increasing educational attainment, it is surprising to find that among women with university education they rank seventh highest among the 21 groups. It should be remembered, however, that the relative rankings shown in Table 6.7 are the consequences of the particular combinations of age and generational structures which tend to be somewhat unique for each group. To determine the significance of cultural or ethnic origin differences per se for fertility, these variations in age and generational structure must be controlled within each of the educational attainment levels.

6.4. Quebec and the Rest of Canada

6.4.1. Family Characteristics

Contrasts between Quebec and the other provinces are clearly visible in the characteristics of family heads shown in Table 6.8. Quebec has less than half the proportion of first generation family heads as has the rest of Canada, and less than one-third the proportion of second generation family heads. A preponderance of family heads (81%) in Quebec are native-born of native-born parentage compared to just 48% for the population outside Quebec. In terms of their respective distributions by generation, the foreign-born immigrant in Quebec has a relatively small power base in comparison to first generation heads of families elsewhere in Canada.

There is very little difference between the two populations with respect to their proportions of heads with primary families. Quebec's slightly higher percentage of primary type families (97.3% vs. 96.6%) is due to differences for third-

TABLE 6.8. Percentage Distribution of Family Heads by Generation, and Period of Immigration, Quebec and Other Provinces, 1971

Generation/Period of immigration	Quebec		Other provinces	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
3rd+ generation	1,098,280	80.9	1,771,590	47.6
2nd generation	97,970	7.2	953,910	25.6
1st generation	161,130	11.9	993,215	26.7
Pre-1946	38,330	2.8	334,660	9.0
1946-60	73,465	5.4	442,765	11.9
1961-65	21,260	1.6	76,210	2.0
1966-71	28,070	2.1	139,575	3.8
Total	1,357,375	100.0	3,718,715	100.0

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

plus generation family heads; the proportions for the second and first generations are the same. Differences between proportions of heads with secondary families are more noticeable between first and third-plus generations but mainly because of the relatively small numbers of related- and lodging-type families. With respect to the less prevalent secondary type, there does appear to be an age pattern with the proportions of heads of secondary families, under 55, being somewhat higher in the provinces outside Quebec and higher in Quebec for heads 55 years and over. This pattern is less noticeable for the first and second generations; for the foreign-born the slightly larger proportion of secondary family heads over 55 years of age in Quebec appears to be mainly due to the presence of pre-1960 immigrants. There are regional differences but there does not seem to be a very significant difference between Quebec and the remainder of the country with respect to their distribution of primary and secondary types of families.

A direct comparison of census families by size for Quebec and the rest of Canada shows that the average number of persons is higher in the former than in the latter (3.89 compared to 3.65 persons). Quebec's first and third-plus generation families are larger while its second generation families are the same size. However, when family size is examined by age of head as shown in Table 6.9, this differential is seen to be a function of the differences in distribution of family heads by age. In Quebec, average family size is smaller than in the rest of Canada for all family heads under 45 years of age. Over the age of 45, Quebec family heads tend to have larger families as measured by the average number of persons at home. These data would appear to reflect both the historically higher fertility of Quebec and the recent declines in fertility among younger cohorts of family heads, vis-à-vis the rest of Canada (Table 6.9).

Quebec, with an average of 1.90 children at home under 25 years of age, exceeded the average for Canada as a whole (1.75) and the average of 1.69 for the rest of Canada. The larger average number of children is not uniform for all ages of family heads but is the consequence of larger numbers of children for older heads, 35 years of age and over. For younger heads, the averages for Quebec are smaller. Table 6.10 shows that there are no differences with respect to the age group of head having the largest average number of children at home. This still peaks at 35-44 years of age for both populations and the average number of children varies directly with generation for every age of head group in Quebec as well as the rest of Canada.

TABLE 6.9. Average Number of Persons Per Census Family by Age of Head for Generation and Period of Immigration for Foreign-born Heads, Quebec and Other Provinces, 1971

Generation/Period of immigration	Total families	Age of family head							
		All ages	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+
	('000)								
		<u>Quebec</u>							
3rd+ generation	1,098	3.98	2.56	3.56	4.99	4.83	3.50	2.60	2.39
2nd generation	98	3.76	2.50	3.53	4.55	4.11	2.99	2.39	2.27
1st generation	161	3.42	2.50	3.28	4.17	3.91	2.90	2.35	2.24
Pre-1946	38	2.93	-	3.46	4.75	4.12	2.83	2.32	2.24
1946-60	73	3.68	2.49	3.48	4.22	3.85	2.91	2.37	2.20
1961-65	21	3.56	2.56	3.37	4.01	3.83	3.03	2.47	2.15
1966-71	28	3.30	2.49	3.05	3.93	3.94	3.12	2.57	2.27
Total	1,357	3.89	2.55	3.53	4.85	4.66	3.39	2.55	2.36
		<u>Other provinces</u>							
3rd+ generation	1,772	3.76	2.69	3.77	5.01	4.25	3.04	2.40	2.23
2nd generation	954	3.76	2.73	3.72	4.72	3.93	2.85	2.30	2.17
1st generation	993	3.37	2.53	3.41	4.38	3.90	2.80	2.28	2.16
Pre-1946	335	2.74	-	3.53	4.61	3.91	2.72	2.27	2.16
1946-60	443	3.78	2.55	3.60	4.43	3.88	2.89	2.30	2.20
1961-65	76	3.67	2.64	3.44	4.21	4.00	3.00	2.32	2.20
1966-71	140	3.40	2.46	3.16	4.16	3.95	2.98	2.41	2.27
Total	3,719	3.65	2.66	3.68	4.75	4.05	2.92	2.33	2.19

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

TABLE 6.10. Average Number of Children at Home Under 25 Years of Age by Age and Generation of Family Head and Period of Immigration for Foreign-born Heads, Quebec and Other Provinces, 1971

Generation/Period of immigration	Age of family head							
	All ages	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+
	<u>Quebec</u>							
3rd+ generation	1.98	0.63	1.62	3.07	2.87	1.38	0.35	0.09
2nd generation	1.80	0.58	1.60	2.65	2.17	0.94	0.24	0.08
1st generation	1.42	0.56	1.32	2.23	1.95	0.82	0.21	0.07
Pre-1946	0.85	-	1.53	2.84	2.18	0.75	0.19	0.07
1946-60	1.70	0.56	1.53	2.27	1.89	0.84	0.25	0.10
1961-65	1.59	0.62	1.41	2.05	1.86	0.93	0.24	0.01
1966-71	1.33	0.54	1.08	1.98	1.99	0.99	0.33	0.07
Total	1.90	0.62	1.59	2.93	2.70	1.27	0.32	0.08
	<u>Other provinces</u>							
3rd+ generation	1.80	0.80	1.86	3.11	2.32	1.01	0.30	0.10
2nd generation	1.81	0.70	1.79	2.80	2.02	0.83	0.22	0.06
1st generation	1.38	0.60	1.46	2.44	1.96	0.76	0.19	0.05
Pre-1946	0.70	-	1.63	2.71	1.99	0.68	0.19	0.05
1946-60	1.81	0.63	1.66	2.49	1.93	0.85	0.21	0.09
1961-65	1.71	0.72	1.49	2.27	2.04	0.94	0.20	0.12
1966-71	1.44	0.52	1.20	2.32	2.01	0.93	0.29	0.14
Total	1.69	0.75	1.76	2.84	2.12	0.89	0.24	0.07

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

The age composition of children under 25 years of age at home varies slightly between the two populations. Quebec has a somewhat higher percentage of its children 15 years and over than the rest of Canada and, conversely, a somewhat lower proportion under 15. This is especially true of the second and third-plus generations, but Quebec's first generation has a slightly larger proportion under six years as well as for children 19 years of age and older than does the remainder of the country. These contrasts for the first generation populations also hold for each period-of-immigration group (Table 6.11).

6.4.2. Fertility Contrasts

Comparisons of Quebec and the rest of Canada do not produce consistent differences with respect to fertility levels of generation and age groupings of women ever married. For all ages combined, Quebec women ever married had more children per 1,000 women than did those from the rest of Canada. However, this was so only because of the fertility experience of older women who had completed their childbearing. Younger Quebec women, who had not yet finished their childbearing years, those born since 1931, had fewer children per 1,000 women than their counterparts in the rest of the country. The Depression years, World War II and the post-war economic development appear to have had a very significant effect on fertility trends in Quebec vis-à-vis the rest of Canada.

Cumulative fertility data, for age and generation groups of women, are presented in Table 6.12. They show that Quebec's greater overall fertility record is due primarily to the higher fertility of its third-plus generations of women. Note that this is not true of the younger age groups but only for the older women, those over 45 years of age. The first and second generation women in Quebec had lower fertility than women in the rest of Canada. For the second generation in Quebec, most women under 65 had lower fertility than those living outside Quebec with the exception of those 45-54; and, for first generation, only those over 75 years of age (those born prior to 1896) exceeded the existing levels of fertility elsewhere in Canada.

Controlling for differences in the educational attainment of women does not alter the positions of the respective age groups very much from the basic patterns

TABLE 6.11. Percentage Age Distribution of Children Under 25 Years of Age At Home by Generation of Family Head and Period of Immigration for Foreign-born Heads, Quebec and Other Provinces, 1971

Generation/Period of immigration	Total children at home	Age of children				
		Total	Under 6	6-14	15-18	19-24
<u>Quebec</u>						
3rd+ generation	2,171,057	100.0	22.5	45.5	18.4	13.7
2nd generation	176,085	100.0	18.7	46.0	20.0	15.2
1st generation	228,840	100.0	28.0	43.6	15.4	13.0
Pre-1946	32,739	100.0	8.0	35.9	27.1	29.0
1946-60	125,076	100.0	23.8	48.9	15.5	11.8
1961-65	33,739	100.0	44.8	37.4	10.0	7.8
1966-71	37,286	100.0	44.1	38.0	9.9	7.9
Total	2,575,982	100.0	22.7	45.4	18.2	13.7
<u>Other provinces</u>						
3rd+ generation	3,195,393	100.0	28.4	46.2	16.4	9.0
2nd generation	1,722,996	100.0	20.3	48.4	20.6	10.8
1st generation	1,365,936	100.0	26.0	45.9	16.9	11.2
Pre-1946	232,843	100.0	7.9	38.2	29.3	24.6
1946-60	802,106	100.0	24.4	50.0	16.0	9.5
1961-65	130,234	100.0	42.7	40.6	10.5	6.3
1966-71	200,753	100.0	42.9	41.5	10.0	5.6
Total	6,284,325	100.0	25.7	46.7	17.6	10.0

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

TABLE 6.12. Number of Children Born Per 1,000 Women Ever Married by Age and Generation,
Quebec and Other Provinces, 1971

Age group	Generation					
	Third+		Second		First	
	Quebec	Other provinces	Quebec	Other provinces	Quebec	Other provinces
15-24	789	923	600	796	750	816
25-34	2,038	2,308	1,968	2,241	1,761	1,864
35-44	3,509	3,629	2,821	3,087	2,400	2,709
45-54	4,040	3,440	2,871	2,828	2,535	2,657
55-64	3,948	2,012	2,341	2,594	2,450	2,717
65-74	4,608	3,292	3,103	2,918	2,825	2,949
75+	5,433	3,815	3,116	3,000	3,862	3,542
Total	3,198	2,758	2,464	2,623	2,356	2,540

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

observed for Quebec and the remainder of Canada. Table 6.13 shows that the identical patterns hold for women of the two areas who were third or later generation, as well as for those who were first generation with elementary or secondary education. The variations observed for first generation women with university education and for second generation women at all three educational levels may be due to small sample sizes for the various age groups in Quebec.

6.4.3. Metropolitan Areas

The Montréal CMA was larger in 1971 than the Toronto CMA, but it was second to Toronto in relation to the number of families living within their metropolitan area boundaries. Of greater importance are the differences in the generational structure of the family populations in the two cities and the extent to which Montréal differs from Quebec and Toronto from the rest of Canada. Toronto's families whose heads are third-plus generation, for example, comprised only 31.8% of the total population of family heads compared to 21.5% and 46.7% for second and first generations. This contrasts sharply with the reverse situation in Montréal where 67.3% are third-plus generation and 32.7% the combined first and second generations. The foreign-born heads plus second generation heads make up over two-thirds of the Toronto CMA population while in Montréal they comprise approximately one-third of the total.

Montréal has relatively more first and second generation heads than Quebec as a whole (32.6% vs. 19.1%). The same may be said for Toronto in relation to that part of Canada outside Quebec where the proportions are 68.2% and 52.3% respectively. In relative terms, both are short on family heads who are third-plus generation Canadians with the under-representation being somewhat greater for the Toronto CMA.

The primary-type family is predominant in both CMAs with approximately 97% of all family heads maintaining their own households in Montréal and 95% in Toronto. The lower proportion in Toronto is attributable to its larger proportions of first generation population and recent immigrants. The lowest proportions of primary-type families are found in the youngest and oldest age group of family heads who immigrated to Canada between 1961-66. Of family heads 15-24 years of age, 65.6% maintained their own households. While the proportions for some older family heads (65 and over) were even lower, their effect on the overall percentage of primary families would be minimal because of their relatively small numbers.

TABLE 6.13. Number of Children Born Per 1000 Women Ever Married by Age and Generation for Selected Levels of Educational Attainment, Quebec and Other Provinces, 1971

Age group	Generation					
	Third+		Second		First	
	Quebec	Other provinces	Quebec	Other provinces	Quebec	Other provinces
<u>Elementary education</u>						
15-24	1,099	1,560	692	1,175	907	1,076
25-34	2,517	3,155	2,450	2,912	2,029	2,248
35-44	3,833	4,373	3,262	3,580	2,456	2,951
45-54	4,422	4,265	3,314	3,139	2,835	2,971
55-64	4,314	3,738	2,322	3,099	2,849	3,132
65-74	4,877	3,983	3,788	3,444	3,097	3,300
75+	5,666	4,290	4,546	3,305	3,980	3,872
Total	3,874	3,829	3,000	3,206	2,356	2,540
<u>Secondary education</u>						
15-24	712	882	648	831	690	820
25-34	1,787	2,228	1,905	2,258	1,718	1,788
35-44	3,172	3,367	2,650	3,023	2,365	2,568
45-54	3,372	3,010	2,534	2,726	2,396	2,488
55-64	3,039	2,605	2,383	2,246	2,000	2,291
65-74	3,974	2,573	2,333	2,304	2,315	2,347
75+	4,741	3,214	1,667	2,623	3,529	2,917
Total	2,402	2,375	2,189	2,474	2,103	2,197
<u>University education</u>						
15-24	506	399	125	419	579	355
25-34	1,396	1,479	1,500	1,524	1,329	1,422
35-44	2,670	2,887	2,452	2,628	2,255	2,567
45-54	2,917	2,823	2,800	2,528	1,933	2,295
55-64	2,429	1,969	2,125	2,023	1,538	2,105
65-74	2,818	2,046	1,500	2,737	2,636	2,222
75+	3,000	2,250	1,333	1,429	3,500	2,222
Total	1,840	1,805	1,957	2,002	1,688	1,796

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

The average family size is smaller in Toronto than in Montréal with the respective averages being 3.45 and 3.62 persons. The same relative difference is characteristic of each generation but the largest differences tend to be found for the families with third-plus generation heads. In general the largest families in both Toronto and Montréal have third-plus generation family heads, 35-44 years of age, and are 4.47 and 4.61 persons respectively. The differences in family size tend to be greater between families with older heads as might be expected given the information about higher fertility of older Quebec women.

The ethnic compositions of Toronto and Montréal are unique in their contrasts and provide quite different cultural milieus for the Canadian family. The families of British and French origin heads are consistently larger in Montréal than in Toronto for each generation, as was the case for all the third-plus generation family heads for each of the major ethnic origin groups (Table 6.14). The ethnic families in Toronto were larger on the average than those in Montréal in those cases where the family heads were either second or first generation and neither French nor British in origin. The only exception in this case was the other ethnic origin group consisting mainly of a relatively small number of non-European and non-Asian groups of recent immigrants. The largest family size for any third generation ethnic group in Toronto was 3.62 persons for those of French origin. Family heads of Asian and Southern European origins had the largest families among the remaining generational groups. These latter two groups also had the largest families among the first generation in Montréal and along with the French the largest among the second generation population.

The forces of urbanization that operate to reduce fertility as reflected in family size are clearly seen in the data for Montréal when compared to Quebec and for Toronto in comparison with the rest of Canada outside Quebec. At the same time the strong influence of a traditionally high fertility culture can also be seen when comparing the native-born of native-born parents from the same ethnic origins in the two metropolitan centres as well as the first and second generations of the two founding cultural groups. That the families of foreign-born and second generation heads of non-English and non-French origins fail to conform to these general patterns of differences raises interesting questions concerning the effects on

minority ethnic groups arising from living within the French-British fact of Montréal as opposed to the British-French fact of Toronto. The latter environment appears to provide a more positive socio-cultural environment insofar as family reproduction and growth is concerned.

TABLE 6.14. Average Number of Persons Per Census Family by Generation and Major Ethnic Origin Groups, Montréal and Toronto CMAs, 1971

Ethnic origin	Montréal			Toronto		
	Generation			Generation		
	3rd+	2nd	1st	3rd+	2nd	1st
British	3.53	3.57	3.24	3.44	3.52	3.19
French	3.71	3.79	3.37	3.62	3.49	3.19
Other Northern and Western European	3.62	3.62	3.33	3.46	3.61	3.43
Central and Eastern European	3.34	3.58	3.16	3.33	3.59	3.18
Southern European	3.52	3.73	3.68	3.46	3.80	3.75
Jewish	3.20	3.54	3.07	3.09	3.62	3.08
Asian	3.36	3.79	3.51	3.35	3.87	3.55
All other	3.77	4.06	3.37	3.53	3.50	3.36
Total	3.69	3.63	3.40	3.45	3.56	3.39

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

FOOTNOTES

¹Henripin showed consistent differences in fertility between native-born couples and foreign-born couples at all age levels with the former having the higher fertility. See J. Henripin, Trends and Factors of Fertility in Canada, Ottawa: Information Canada, 1972, pp. 149-159. In an analysis of fertility based on the 1941 Census, Enid Charles found that Canadian-born with a European tongue had somewhat higher fertility than European-born but the difference was not statistically significant. Charles did not appear to compare fertility level of the total native-born with that for all foreign-born. See E. Charles, The Changing Size of the Family in Canada, Ottawa: The King's Printer, 1948, pp. 65-66.

²Jacques Henripin discusses some of these same factors in explaining fertility differentials by age between immigrant groups with differing lengths of residence in his 1961 Census monograph. See J. Henripin, op. cit., pp. 165-170.

CHAPTER 7

EDUCATION, TRAINING AND SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

After 1961, Canadian immigration policy became increasingly selective in terms of the educational achievement and occupational qualifications of immigrants. As a consequence post-war immigrants were better educated than those born in Canada. However, relaxed criteria, which applied to sponsored, nominated and certain immigrants, meant that some arrived with little or no formal education and others had only completed elementary school. This was especially true of those arriving in the period 1961-65. Only a small minority of pre-war immigrants from Asia and from Southern and Eastern Europe reported no schooling.

Age is an important determinant of the level of education and the incidence of vocational training for both Canadian and foreign-born populations. An average of 35% of the population, 15 and over and not in full-time school, had only elementary education and no additional training. However, the proportion ranged from 16% of the population under 24 to 61% of those 65 and over. Although a little under 5% of the total population had a university degree, only 2% of the oldest group were university graduates compared with nearly 8% of those who were 25-34. An average of 13% of the population had completed a vocational course, but this was characteristic of 19% of those 25-34. The youngest and the oldest were less likely to have had such training.

The age distribution of the various cohorts of immigrant arrivals, the generational categories, and ethnic groups varied considerably. At the time of the census recent immigrants were much younger than immigrants who came immediately before or after World War II. The age distribution of the Canadian-born of foreign parentage also differed from that of the population as a whole and was influenced by ethnic origin. It follows that, in interpreting differences in levels of educational training together with other social and economic characteristics, it is necessary to consider age-specific distributions or distributions that have been standardized by age. When age is controlled, the native-born population was less likely to have a university education than the foreign-born, with the exception of the foreign-born who were 55 years or older at the time of the census and who had immigrated before 1946 or between 1961 and 1965. The latter category probably included a number of older sponsored parents. Those with the highest level of education, by this criterion, were those who immigrated in 1966-71.

Table 7.1 shows the distribution of the population, 15 and over, not attending school full time, by level of schooling and training. The actual percentage distribution and the figures standardized against the age distribution of the population of Canada as a whole are shown by birthplace. Approximately 35% of the population had elementary education only and no vocational training. Due to the numerical predominance of the Canadian-born, standardizing for age makes only a fractional difference to them but has a more substantial influence upon the proportions in the other birthplace categories. After allowing for age, 48% of the other European immigrants were in the lowest educational category compared with 24% of those born in the United States and 17% of those born in the United Kingdom. At the other extreme, almost 10% had some university education, but there was considerable variation by birthplace. After allowing for age, this was characteristic of 9% of the Canadian-born compared with more than 12% of the foreign-born.

The foreign-born were also more likely to have had some vocational training. The age-standardized distribution shows that this was true of 16% of the foreign-born compared with 12% of the Canadian-born. The table suggests that immigrants from the United Kingdom were the most likely to have had such training; a more detailed analysis shows that immigrants from Germany and the Netherlands were also above-average. This reflects the emphasis that immigration policy placed upon selecting independent immigrants according to special skills and occupational qualifications that were in demand in the Canadian economy at the time of immigration.

Variations in the level of schooling and training of the foreign-born by period of immigration are shown in Table 7.2. The table refers only to those over 15 not in school full time. Again, the effects of standardizing for age are evident. More than half the pre-1946 immigrants had elementary education and no further training. However, this was also the oldest cohort and, when allowance is made for age, it is evident that the immigrants who arrived between 1961 and 1965 also had a rather high proportion with less education. Even after allowing for age, the pre-1946 immigrants had only a small proportion with any university experience (9%) compared with one in five of the immigrants who came between 1966 and 1971. This reflects the influence of the points system of selection introduced in 1967 which was heavily weighted in favour of higher educational qualifications. The distribution of vocational training among the foreign-born was also related to period of immigration. After standardizing for age, only 10% of pre-1946 immigrants had some training, compared with 18% of the immediate post-war immigrants.

TABLE 7.1. Population 15 Years of Age and Over, Not Attending School Full Time by Level of Schooling and Training, Showing Birthplace, Canada, 1971

Birthplace	Total		Elementary		Secondary				University			
			Less than Grade 9 with other training		Grades 9-13 with other training				University only		University and other training	
	Number	Per cent	None	Voca- tional	None	Voca- tional	Post- secondary non- university	Vocational and post- secondary non- university	Without degree	With degree	Without degree	With degree
<u>Unstandardized percentage distribution</u>												
Canada total	13,168,025	100.0	34.7	2.5	38.0	4.7	4.5	5.7	3.4	3.8	1.7	0.9
Canada-born	10,341,845	100.0	33.7	2.2	40.2	4.5	4.6	5.5	3.3	3.5	1.6	0.8
Born outside Canada	2,826,180	100.0	38.4	3.7	30.1	5.5	4.0	6.5	3.9	4.8	2.1	1.1
United States	246,065	100.0	32.6	1.9	31.4	3.3	3.9	4.1	7.3	11.4	2.5	1.6
United Kingdom	824,385	100.0	24.2	2.3	42.8	7.2	4.9	8.2	3.5	3.6	2.4	0.9
Other European countries	1,490,020	100.0	50.1	5.0	22.9	5.0	4.0	5.7	3.0	2.8	1.6	0.7
Other countries	265,710	100.0	22.6	1.8	29.4	5.3	5.8	7.6	7.1	13.3	4.0	3.1
<u>Standardized percentage distribution with age composition of Canadian population</u>												
Canada total	13,168,025	100.0	34.7	2.5	38.0	4.7	4.5	5.7	3.4	3.8	1.7	0.9
Canada-born		100.0	34.5	2.2	40.0	4.5	4.6	5.4	3.3	3.5	1.6	0.8
Born outside Canada		100.0	35.9	3.5	31.2	5.7	4.3	6.8	4.2	5.0	2.2	1.1
United States		100.0	24.0	1.5	32.4	3.4	4.2	4.5	9.7	15.4	3.0	1.9
United Kingdom		100.0	17.4	1.8	44.5	7.8	6.1	9.8	4.3	4.4	2.8	1.1
Other European countries		100.0	48.3	4.9	24.3	5.1	3.4	5.8	3.1	2.8	1.7	0.7
Other countries		100.0	27.5	1.9	29.8	5.0	5.3	6.8	6.5	11.2	3.5	2.6

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, The Out-of-School Population, Bul. 1.5-3, Table 7.

TABLE 7.2. Foreign-born Population 15 Years of Age and Over, Not Attending School Full Time by Level of Schooling and Training, Showing Period of Immigration, Canada, 1971

Period of immigration	Total		Elementary		Secondary				University			
			Less than Grade 9 with other training		Grades 9-13 with other training				University only		University and other training	
	Number	Per cent	None	Vocational	None	Vocational	Post-secondary non-university	Vocational and post-secondary non-university	Without degree	With degree	Without degree	With degree
<u>Unstandardized percentage distribution</u>												
Born outside Canada	2,826,180	100.0	38.4	3.7	30.1	5.5	4.0	6.5	3.9	4.8	2.1	1.1
Pre-1946	951,025	100.0	52.4	3.3	29.9	3.4	2.3	3.1	2.1	2.0	1.0	0.5
1946-55	742,855	100.0	31.8	4.3	33.1	6.6	4.4	7.5	4.4	4.5	2.4	1.0
1956-60	410,370	100.0	33.9	4.5	30.9	7.0	4.5	8.2	3.9	3.8	2.4	1.0
1961-65	247,285	100.0	36.8	3.4	26.6	6.0	4.5	7.8	4.2	6.6	2.6	1.5
1966-71 ¹	474,645	100.0	25.7	2.7	26.8	6.4	6.1	9.4	6.5	10.7	3.5	2.3
<u>Standardized percentage distribution with age composition of Canadian population</u>												
Born outside Canada	13,168,025	100.0	35.9	3.5	31.2	5.7	4.3	6.8	4.2	5.0	2.2	1.1
Pre-1946		100.0	34.2	2.6	27.8	3.7	2.9	4.0	2.8	3.6	1.5	0.8
1946-55		100.0	29.8	4.0	34.8	6.6	4.7	7.6	4.6	4.6	2.4	1.0
1956-60		100.0	34.2	4.2	32.4	6.7	4.3	7.6	3.9	3.6	2.3	0.9
1961-65		100.0	40.9	3.2	27.2	5.4	4.0	6.4	3.8	5.7	2.2	1.3
1966-71 ¹		100.0	32.6	2.6	26.4	5.6	5.1	7.7	5.6	9.4	3.0	2.0

¹Includes the first five months only of 1971.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, The Out-of-School Population, Bul. 1.5-3, Table 7.

7.1. Quebec and the Rest of Canada

The age group specific proportions of those who had some university education, or a university degree, are shown in Chart 7.1 for Quebec and other provinces, respectively. The discrepancy between the educational achievement of the Canadian-born compared with the foreign-born was greater in Quebec. Even the older pre-1946 immigrants exceeded the native-born in the proportion with a university education. An exceptionally high proportion (41%) of the immigrants resident in Quebec, who were 35-44 at the time of the census and who immigrated in 1966 or later, had a university education. Charts 7.2 and 7.3 show the distribution of other levels of education and training for the population 15 and over in Quebec and other provinces, respectively. The figures include those still in school. They distinguish those with two Canadian-born parents from those with one or two foreign-born parents among the Canadian-born, and those who immigrated before and after 1961, among the foreign-born. The data have been standardized by age. In Quebec, 43% of the third-plus generation had only elementary education, with no training, compared with 28% in other provinces. The high educational achievement of the second generation is evident and is particularly notable in Quebec, where 17% had some university, including those with further training, compared with 13% in other provinces.

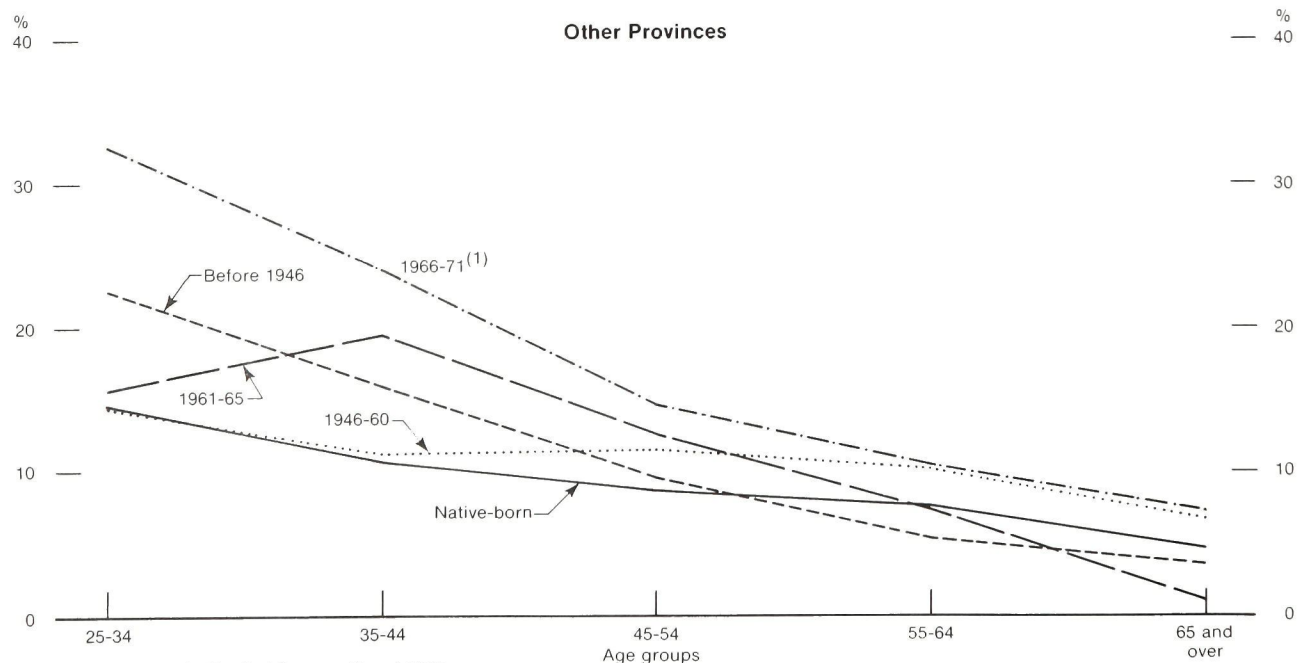
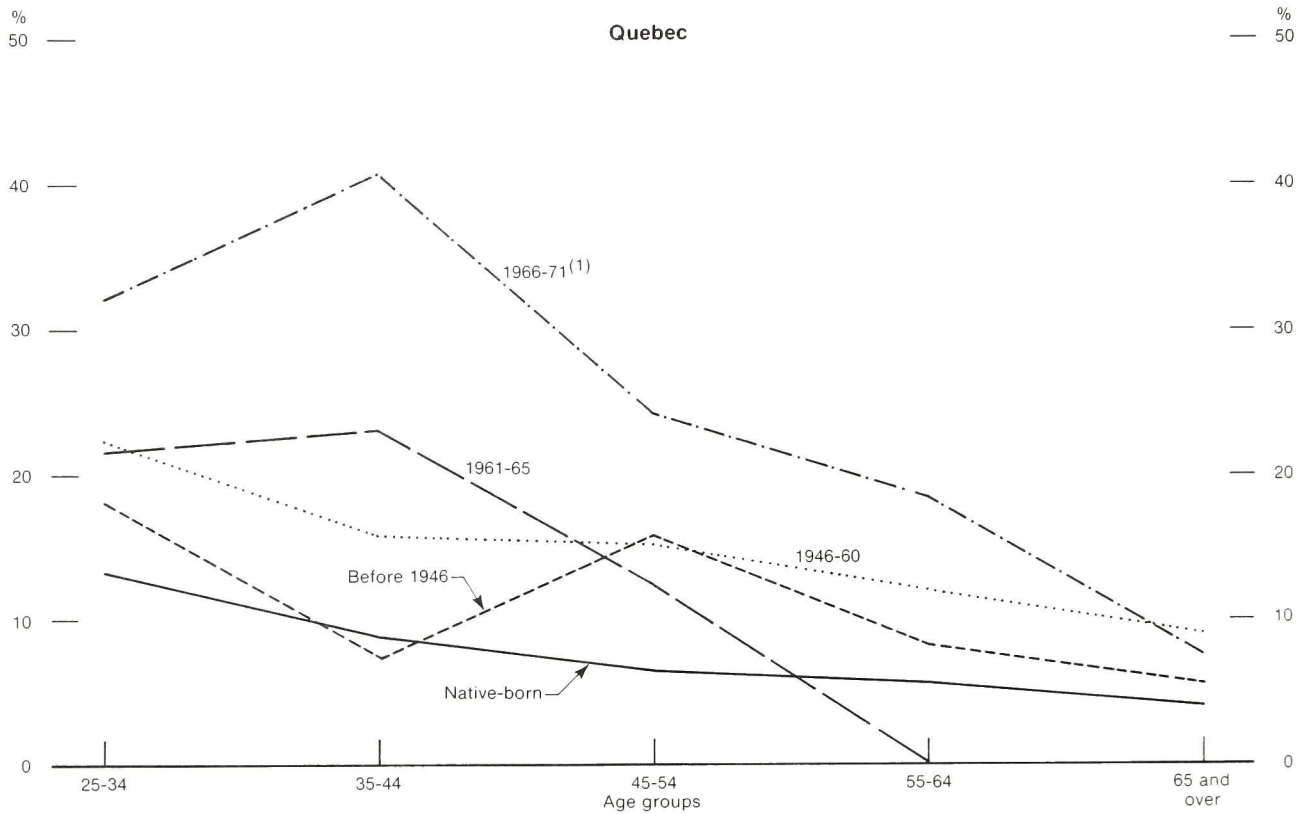
An analysis by birthplace shows that the low average in Quebec was mainly due to the poor educational achievement of the Canadian-born. The reverse was actually true of the foreign-born as far as university education was concerned. In Quebec, after standardizing for age, nearly 17% of the foreign-born not in school had some university education, compared with only 12% of the foreign-born residing in other provinces. Only United States immigrants in Quebec had a smaller proportion with some university education than their counterparts in the rest of Canada. In Quebec, more of the foreign-born had higher education, but there were also more in the lowest educational category. Other provinces appeared to attract more immigrants in the middle grades of secondary education.

7.1.1. Ethnic and Generational Variation

Using the relative numbers of the population 15 and over who had some university education as a measure of educational attainment, considerable variation can be observed between ethnic populations in Canada. The third-plus generation of Native Indians, with only 2.2% having some university education, had the lowest

Chart 7.1

Population 25 Years and Over, by Age Groups, Showing Percentage with Some University Education or a University Degree, for Canadian-born and Foreign-born by Period of Immigration, Quebec and Other Provinces, 1971



(1) Includes only the first five months of 1971

Chart 7.2

Age-standardized Percentages of Population 15 Years and Over, by Level of Education, for Quebec, 1971

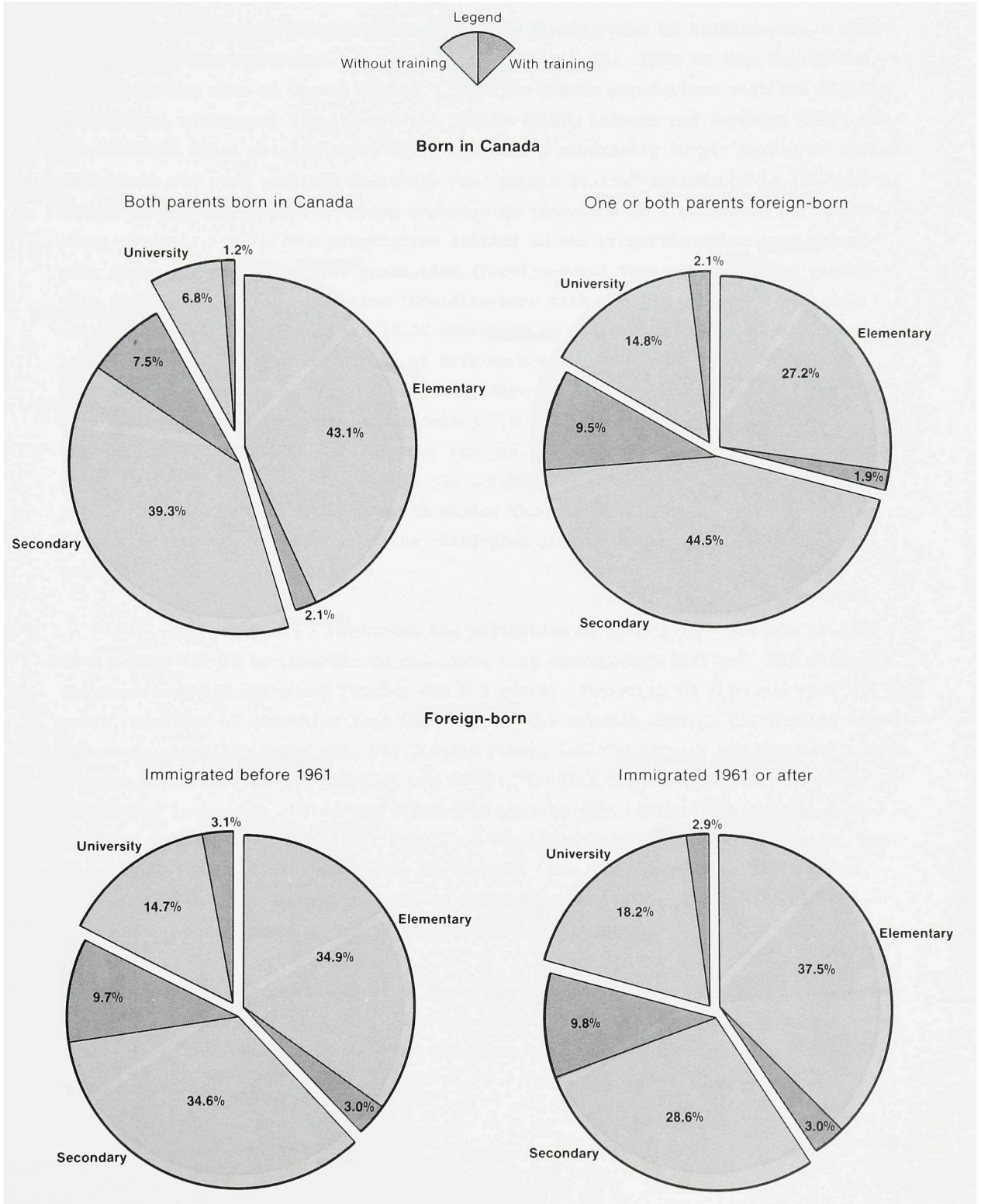
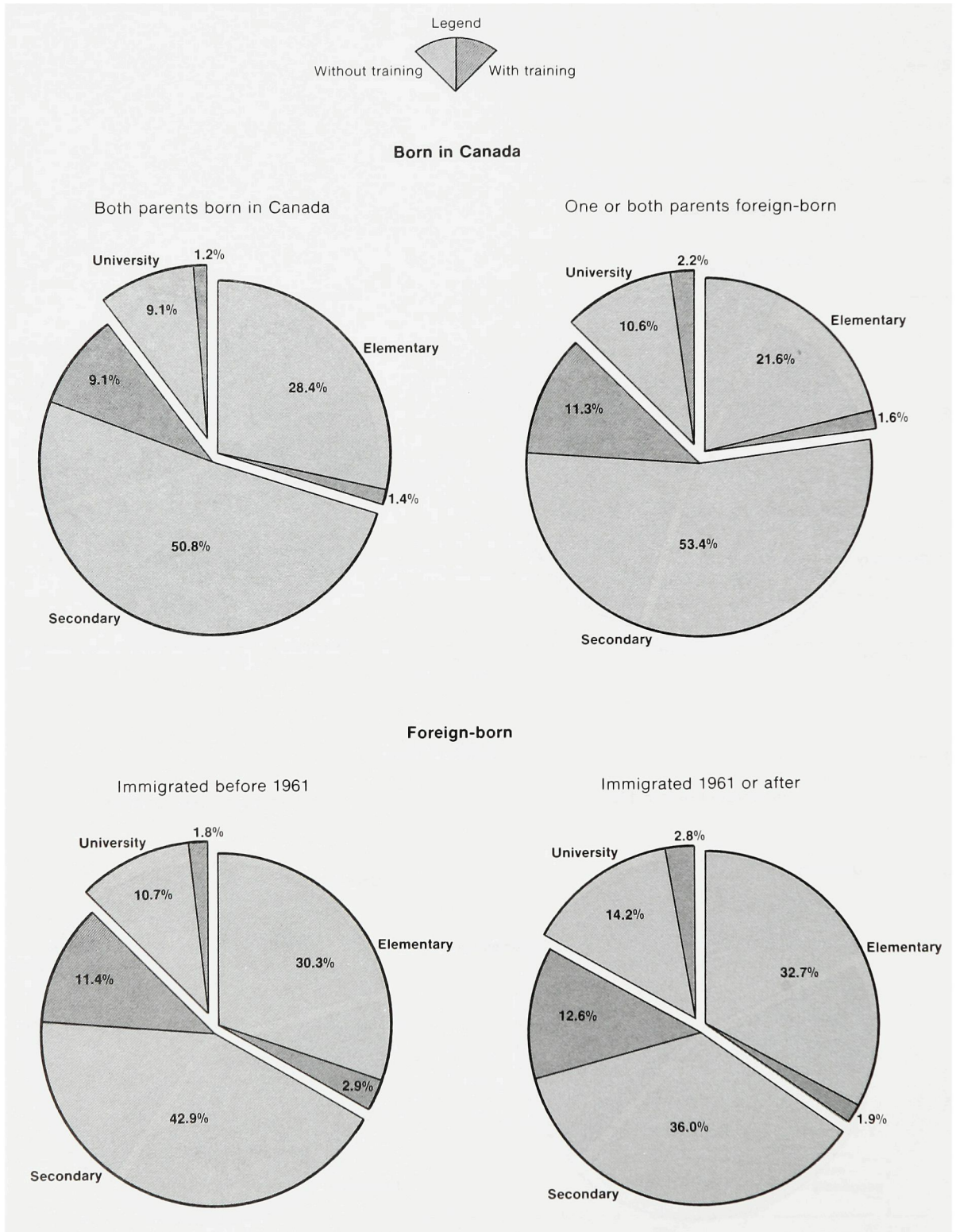


Chart 7.3

Age-standardized Percentages of Population 15 Years and Over by level of Education, for Other Provinces, 1971



educational attainment levels, followed by the foreign-born of Italian origin who had 4.6% and the third-plus generation French with 7.4%. This is true for Quebec as well as the rest of Canada (Table 7.3). The ethnic populations with the highest educational attainment levels were the Jewish (27%), Chinese and Japanese (22%) and the residual other origins (15%) which contains a relatively larger number of recent immigrants who were admitted under the new "points system" introduced in 1967 which, as has been noted, placed a strong emphasis on education as a criterion for admission. Overall, there is a progressive decline in the proportion with some university education from the first generation (foreign-born) through the second generation to the third-plus generation (Canadian-born with two Canadian-born parents), of whom only 8.2% in Quebec and 10.6% elsewhere in Canada had any university education. The pattern holds for those of British origin as well as those of French origin, but there is some variation among others. The reverse tendency, a progressive improvement in educational attainment, is characteristic of the Ukrainian, Italian and Jewish groups, while among the Polish, Russian and the Chinese-Japanese group there is some drop in level in the second generation and a recovery in the third. Among Scandinavians living in Quebec the second generation has the highest level; this is characteristic of the third-plus generation among Scandinavians in other provinces.

By converting the educational classification by grades into a scale ranging from zero to 17 it is possible to calculate mean educational levels.¹ The average for Canadian-born males and females was 9.5 years. Immigrant females averaged 9.0 years, one year of education less than males. The overall average for foreign-born males was slightly higher than for Canadian-born, but the reverse was the case for females. The foreign-born average was reduced by the low educational achievement of pre-war immigrants, which was related in part to age. Recent immigrants, both male and female, averaged higher levels of education than those born in Canada, but there was considerable variation by birthplace. The highest average, 14.8 years, was achieved by male immigrants born in the United States who arrived after 1961. The lowest were Southern European females with 6.4 years.

Those born in Canada with one Canadian-born parent averaged higher than those with two Canadian-born or two foreign-born parents. French-Canadians averaged one-and-a-half years less education than Canadians of British origin.

See footnote(s) on page 274.

TABLE 7.3. Percentage of the Population 15 Years of Age and Over, With Some University Education, by Ethnic Group and Generation,¹ Canada, Quebec and Other Provinces, 1971

Ethnic origin group	Canada				Quebec				Other provinces			
	Total	1st	2nd	3rd+	Total	1st	2nd	3rd+	Total	1st	2nd	3rd+
British Isles	12.2	13.5	12.6	11.7	16.5	20.2	16.9	15.3	11.9	12.9	12.3	11.4
French	7.8	19.3	10.5	7.4	7.7	19.8	10.3	7.4	8.1	18.3	10.8	7.5
German	10.4	11.8	9.3	9.9	17.5	20.4	12.8	14.7	10.0	11.1	9.2	9.7
Dutch	9.6	11.1	8.2	8.0	25.0	25.9	23.1	23.8	9.1	10.5	7.9	7.6
Scandinavian	12.7	11.7	11.9	14.8	21.8	21.4	26.3	19.4	12.4	11.3	11.6	14.6
Hungarian	12.7	15.8	7.9	6.8	26.9	28.9	22.2	14.3	11.0	13.8	6.8	6.3
Polish	11.2	12.3	9.2	10.6	20.5	22.7	20.4	11.5	9.9	11.0	8.4	10.5
Russian	11.2	15.4	7.8	11.4	25.0	33.3	0.0	0.0	10.3	12.6	8.0	11.5
Ukrainian	10.1	7.7	10.2	11.8	18.2	14.5	21.3	20.0	9.8	7.2	9.8	11.7
Italian	6.0	4.6	9.3	10.7	7.2	6.0	8.9	12.7	5.6	4.2	9.5	10.0
Jewish	27.3	22.3	30.9	32.2	28.1	23.2	30.8	36.5	26.8	21.6	31.0	29.8
Chinese/Japanese	22.2	24.6	15.2	22.0	27.7	27.3	25.0	33.3	21.7	24.3	14.8	20.7
Native Indian	2.7	22.2	4.1	2.2	4.9	20.0	0.0	4.6	2.4	22.6	4.5	1.8
Other ethnic origins	15.1	17.4	13.4	8.0	18.4	20.5	22.8	3.7	14.5	16.7	12.3	8.7
Total	10.9	13.3	12.2	9.7	9.8	18.2	16.5	8.2	11.3	12.5	11.8	10.6

¹ 1st generation = foreign-born; 2nd = Canadian-born with one or two foreign-born parents; 3rd+ = Canadian-born with two Canadian-born parents.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

Differences between generational and ethnic groups persisted even after standardizing for age. The most recent British immigrants were better educated and trained than either earlier British immigrants or the Canadian-born of British origin. Allowing for age, 7% of the post-1961 British immigrants had elementary education only and no training, compared with a quarter of the Canadian-born of British origin who had two Canadian-born parents. The latter were little more than half as likely as the most recent British immigrants to have any vocational training or university education. The comparatively low level of education of the third-plus generation of those born in this country is particularly evident in the case of the French. Of the French origin group with two Canadian-born parents, 42% were in the lowest educational category; after standardizing for age, the proportion was 44%. Only 7% had achieved some university education. The proportion with vocational training was also slightly below average. The education achievement and level of training of those born in Canada of foreign parentage is of particular interest. Overall, the second generation consistently achieved a higher educational level than the third-plus generation of the same ethnic group.

The highest incidence of vocational training was found among post-war immigrants from Germany, followed by those from the United Kingdom and other Northwest European countries, including the Netherlands. The Canadian-born of foreign parentage, in these same ethnic groups, also tended to have an above-average proportion with some vocational training, suggesting that there was a tendency to emulate the foreign-born parent in this regard.

The experience of the Italian ethnic group in Canada is of particular interest. The foreign-born shared with others from Southern Europe the lowest levels of education and training. After adjusting for age, 74% of the post-1961 cohort had only elementary education and no training, 6% had a vocational training and only 4% had some university education. However, the Canadian-born of Italian origin showed remarkable upward social mobility compared with their foreign-born parents and grandparents. The level of education of the Italians who were born in Canada of foreign parentage came very close to the third-plus generation of British and exceeded that of the French charter group. The third-plus generation of Italian origin was not as well educated as the second generation. They had about the same proportion as the British third-plus in the lowest educational category but a somewhat lower proportion with some university or vocational training. It may be con-

cluded that when the immigrant group has a high level of education the children tend to sustain that level; when the immigrant group has a poor educational background, children of that group who were born in Canada nevertheless tend to achieve an average or better-than-average education, compared with their parents or other Canadians.

7.1.2. Metropolitan Areas

Generally speaking, educational opportunities are greater in large urban centres and metropolitan areas than in small towns and rural areas. Furthermore, metropolitan areas tend to attract those with higher educational qualifications, whether as internal or external migrants because there are greater economic opportunities in the larger cities for those with training. Therefore, it is important to consider some of the differences in the large metropolitan areas between the Canadian-born and the foreign-born, as well as differences between the generational and ethnic groups. In this way the effect of differential degrees of urbanization can be controlled. This is important in view of the fact that a high proportion of immigrants tend to locate in the large metropolitan areas, particularly Montréal and Toronto.

Charts 7.4 and 7.5 show the age-standardized distribution of the population 15 and over (including those still in school) by level of education, for Montréal and Toronto respectively. The general level of education, in both metropolitan areas, was above the national average but there were significant differences between them when generation and period of immigration were taken into account. Most notable was the fact that the proportion of the third-plus generation in Montréal with elementary education and no training (37.4%) was almost double that in Toronto (18.8%). The second generation in Montréal tended toward the extremes, having only 43.4% with secondary education only, compared with Toronto's 58.2% in this category. The foreign-born in Montréal showed a similar tendency with higher proportions at the lower and higher ends of the scale and fewer than Toronto at the secondary level.

Table 7.4 shows the age-standardized proportion of the Montréal and Toronto populations, 15 and over, having vocational training and the proportion having some university education. In Montréal, those of Italian origin were the least well educated or trained. This was due to the numerical predominance of the foreign-born in this group. (Some of the other Southern European groups may have had as low or lower education than the Italians, but they are not separately categorized in the

Chart 7.4

Age-standardized Percentages of Population 15 Years and Over, by level of Education, for Montréal CMA, 1971

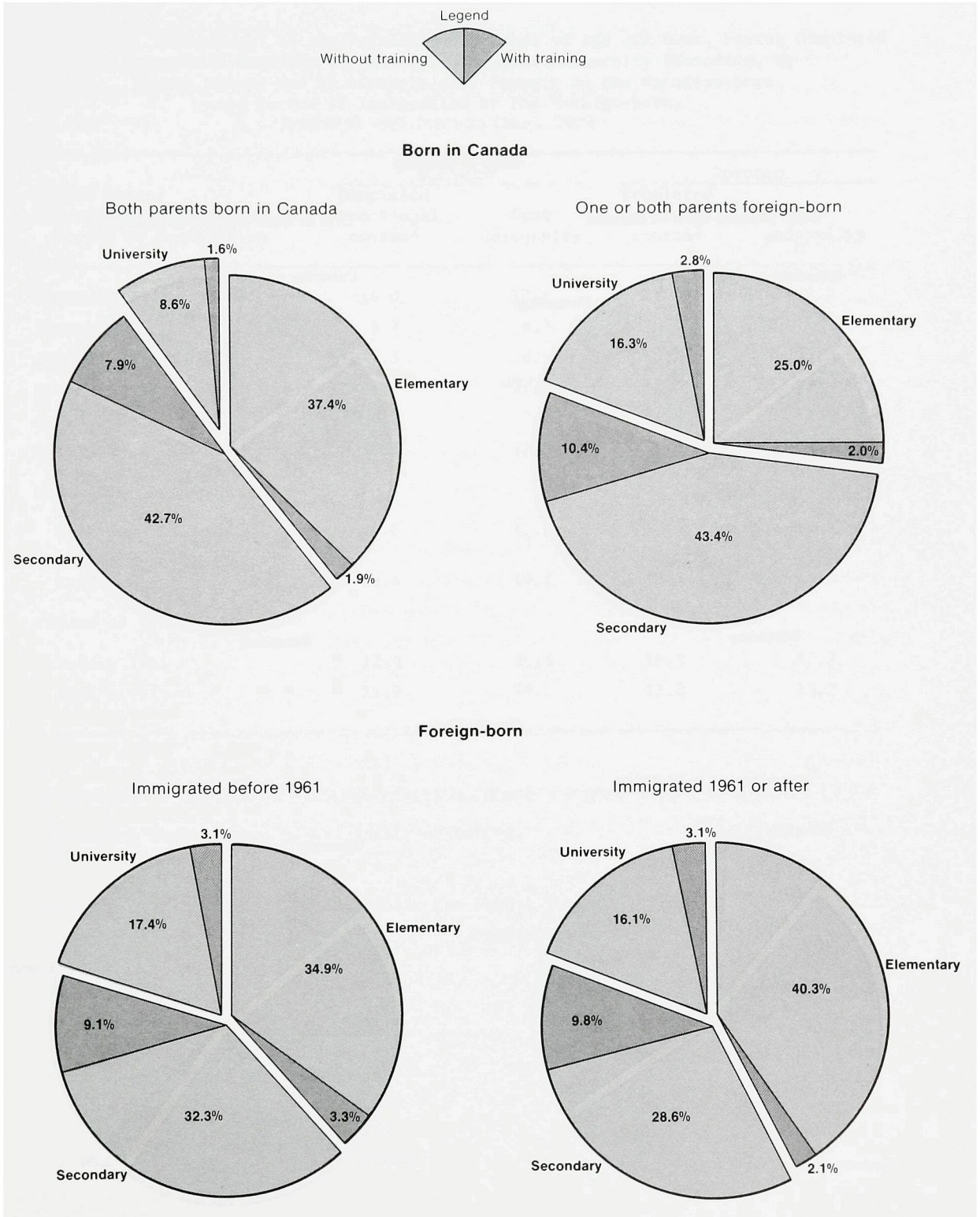
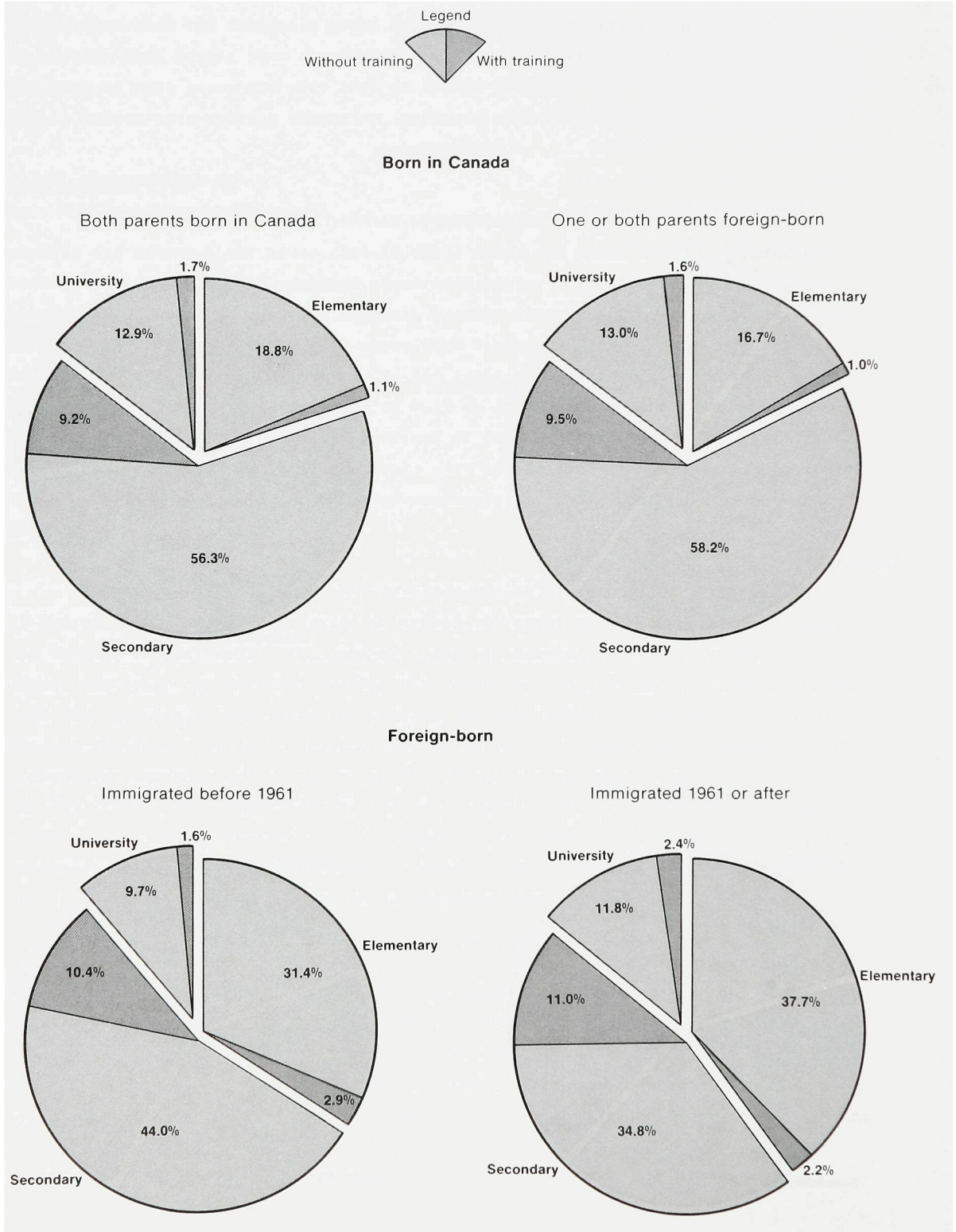


Chart 7.5

Age-standardized Percentages of Population 15 Years and Over by level of Education, for Toronto CMA, 1971



Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes

TABLE 7.4. Percentage¹ of the Population 15 Years of Age and Over, Having Completed a Vocational Training Course or Having Some University Education, by Ethnic Group, and by Birthplace of Parents of the Canadian-born and Period of Immigration of the Foreign-born, Montréal and Toronto CMAs, 1971

Ethnic group/ Birthplace of parents/ Period of immigration	Montréal		Toronto	
	Completed vocational course ²	Some university	Completed vocational course ²	Some university
British	14.0	19.6	11.9	13.7
French	9.7	8.7	10.7	8.1
Italian	7.5	6.5	6.3	4.0
Other European countries	14.7	27.0	15.0	18.7
Other countries	9.7	9.4	10.9	12.8
Total ethnic groups	10.8	12.6	11.8	13.5
Birthplace of parents				
Both born in Canada	9.8	11.2	10.3	14.6
One or both born outside Canada	12.4	19.1	10.5	14.6
Period of immigration				
Before 1961	12.4	20.5	13.3	11.3
1961 or after	11.9	19.2	13.2	14.2

¹Percentage standardized with age distribution of the population of Canada.

²Excluding those with some university education.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

table.) Next to the Italians, the native-born French-Canadian population was the least well educated or trained. Approximately 10% had vocational training and a further 9% had some university education. This was in contrast with the British ethnic group in Montréal, of whom 14% had a vocational training and almost 20% some university education. The other European category had a higher proportion with vocational training than the British and an above-average proportion with some university education. The analysis by generation and period of immigration shows that the Canadian-born of Canadian parentage were the least well educated; the foreign-born population was the best educated with the Canadian-born of foreign parentage holding an intermediate position.

It is interesting to note that the British ethnic group in Toronto was not as well educated or trained as the British group in Montréal. Similarly, Toronto's Italian population was even less well educated or trained than members of that ethnic group in Montréal. The other European and the residual others group also had a smaller proportion with some university education in Toronto, compared with Montréal. An examination of the data for generation and period of immigration suggests that this is mainly due to the attraction which Montréal appears to have had for the foreign-born with some university education. It would seem that well-educated immigrants have filled the gap created in Montréal by the shortage of qualified French-Canadians. One in five of all immigrants in Montréal had some university education, compared with one in eight in Toronto.

The position of the Canadian-born of foreign parentage is of some interest. In Toronto there appears to be no significant difference in the levels of schooling and training between this group and the third-plus generation. However, in Montréal, those with one or two foreign parents were better educated than their counterparts in Toronto and substantially more so than the French-Canadian population. It was noted earlier that those of Italian origin born here showed considerable upward mobility when compared with the first generation. They also compared favourably in this respect with the British and French charter groups. However, the data for Montréal and Toronto suggest that some of this difference is due to the urbanization factor. In both metropolitan areas the Canadian-born of Italian parentage have higher levels of education than foreign-born Italians. In Montréal they are closer to the French in their relatively low level of achievement compared with the third-plus generation of British. In Metropolitan Toronto, upward social mobility,

as measured by educational achievement, appears to have been greater than in Montréal for the Italian group, although the third-plus generation of Italian origin was still behind the equivalent generation of British, particularly with regard to the proportion achieving university education. Canadian-born Italians of Canadian parentage had only 6% with some university education, compared with 15% British of the same generation who were resident in Toronto. However, second-generation Italians in Toronto did better than the third-plus generation.

When other ethnic groups are considered, their relative advantage over the British charter group is reduced in the metropolitan areas of Montréal and Toronto. This is probably because those of British origin with lower education are to be found outside these cities, particularly in the rural Maritimes. Nevertheless, even when the effects of urbanization are controlled, by considering only the residents of these two metropolitan areas, the high educational achievement of the Canadian-born of foreign parentage, particularly in the other European category, is evident. Whereas 15% of the third-plus generation of British origin living in Toronto had some university education, this was true of nearly 20% of the other European category in the second and third-plus generations. In Montréal the pattern was similar. Nineteen per cent of the third-plus generation British had some university training compared with the same percentage of the other Europeans in that generation and 28% of the Canadian-born of foreign parentage. The maintenance and/or further advancement of educational status among the children and grandchildren of the foreign-born is evident at a national level and in the two major metropolitan areas.

7.2. School Attendance

In modern societies, education is valued as an end in itself, an economic asset and a means of maintaining social status or achieving upward social mobility (Porter, 1968). Equality of educational opportunity is seen as an important objective by all political parties in Canada, although, by 1971, the ideal was far from realization. Compared with many countries, Canada's investment in schools, colleges and universities is substantial and increased considerably in the decade preceding the census. As a consequence, a high proportion of children, over 15 were still in school. There were significant variations in the probability of children remaining in school which were related to the demographic and social background of the family head. Of children in families between the ages of 15 and 18, 82% were in full-time school attendance in the year preceding the 1971 Census. Characteristics of the

family head which influenced the probability of children remaining in school after the age of 15 included age, education, location of residence, birthplace, generation, period of immigration, ethnicity and religion.

The younger the family head the greater the probability that a child would remain in school after 15. The proportion ranged from 74% of children in families whose family head was over 65 to 85% of those whose family head was under 45. In families where the head was university educated, 90% of the children were in school compared with 80% or less of those where the family head had only a Grade 10 education or lower. Living in a rural area reduced the probability that children would remain in school, as did residence in Quebec compared with the other provinces, when the latter are treated as a whole. With the exception of Montréal, living in a metropolitan area increased the probability of full-time school attendance.

Birthplace was an important determinant of school attendance. Generally, the children of foreign-born family heads were more likely to be in school from 15 to 18 than those of the Canadian-born. Foreign-born family heads born in Eastern and Central Europe were most likely to ensure that their children were in full-time school attendance, followed by those born in Britain, Northern and Western Europe, and Asia. The lowest proportion, falling considerably below the national average, was for family heads born in areas of Southern Europe other than Italy.

The generation and period of immigration of the family head influenced the probability of children remaining in school after the age of 15. When the family head was Canadian-born of foreign parentage or had immigrated between 1946 and 1960, 86% of the children in families were in school full time. This contrasts with the most recent immigrant cohort (1966-71) where only 77% were continuing education full time. In the case of the third-plus generation, 80%, slightly below the national average, were still in school full time. There was considerable variation by ethnicity and religion among the Canadian and foreign-born. Among Jewish families, 90% of children between 15-18 years were still in school full time. This contrasts with approximately 79% of the Catholic population. However, the smaller proportion of Catholics remaining in school was largely due to the influence of the French among the Canadian-born population and the other Southern European Catholics, among the foreign-born. The other European, British and Asian ethnic groups all had on above-average proportion remaining in school. By far the lowest average

was found among the third-plus generation of other origins (mainly Native Peoples) of whom only two-thirds were continuing their education beyond the age of 15.

A comparatively small proportion of children in families over 15 were in part-time schooling. For census purposes, this was defined as "part-time courses which include only organized instructional classes aimed at expanding knowledge or skills but do not include activities which have no educational aim or which are not planned in systematic sequences (isolated public lectures)" (Census Dictionary 1971, p. 29). Part-time schooling was characteristic of 2.5% of those between 15 and 18 and of 6.7% of those 19-24. Under 19 there were few differences by birthplace or ethnicity, although there was a slightly greater tendency for children of the most recently arrived immigrants to be undertaking part-time schooling. Between 19 and 24 the differences were more marked. Ten per cent of the most recently arrived immigrants (those whose family head had immigrated between 1966 and 1971) were in part-time schooling and the proportion of Italian, West Indian and Asian children was even greater. In this respect, part-time schooling compensated to some extent for the smaller-than-average proportion of the recent immigrants in full-time schooling.

Children in school until 18 were generally completing secondary school programs. Not all of those continuing in full-time education beyond 18 were engaged in post-secondary courses, although this was probably true of the majority. In addition to full-time courses of study at universities, there were a variety of other post-secondary institutions, such as community colleges, colleges of education and technical institutes providing various types of vocational training. In view of the evident importance of birthplace, generation, period of immigration and ethnicity in influencing access to further education, a more detailed analysis of the experience of children 19-24 in families is provided below. A word of caution is necessary in interpreting these data. In that age bracket the word children is hardly appropriate since the persons concerned are legally adult. Some of those pursuing a full-time education were no longer in families as defined for census purposes.² Some were married and had established their own families; others who were still single were living in non-family households. Evidence from the 1% sample of the census suggests that persons in the age group 19-24 who were not in families were less likely than others to be in full-time school attendance. While not providing complete information concerning all those continuing their education on a full-time basis beyond the age of 18, these data do provide a means of

See footnote(s) on page 274.

examining the influence of the birthplace of family head and other variables on an age-specific or age-standardized basis.

Table 7.5 shows the percentage of children, 19-24, in families, attending school full time by the age group and birthplace of family head for Canada in 1971. A small number of heads under 35 is omitted from the separate analysis but is included in the total ages column. It is evident that the younger the family head the greater the probability that the children will remain in school. This is true for all birthplace and ethnic categories. However, family heads with children aged 19-24 are a more homogeneous group than the population as a whole. There is less variation in the age distribution of these family heads by such factors as birthplace, generation and ethnicity than in the population-at-large. As a consequence, standardization of these rates by age of family head does not make any significant difference to the degree of variation between birthplace and other categories.

Altogether, 39% of all the children concerned were attending school full time, but there was a greater probability that those in families where the head was foreign-born were doing so. Children of Asian family heads were the most likely to remain in school, followed by those whose parent was born in Poland and other parts of Central and Eastern Europe. Among the foreign-born, those in the other Southern Europe category were the least likely to be attending school full time.

The effects of generation and period of immigration are shown in Table 7.6. Children of immigrant family heads who arrived in the five years preceding the 1971 Census were the least likely to remain in school. This would suggest that economic and other pressures on immigrants to adjust in the first few years after arrival reduced the chances for their children to continue their education. However, family heads who were Canadian-born of Canadian parentage (the third-plus generation) also had a smaller-than-average proportion of children in school. The greatest propensity to continue in full-time education was evident among the children of immigrant family heads who entered the country between 1946 and 1960, particularly when the family head was under 45. More than half this group were attending school full time compared with only a little more than a quarter of those whose family head was Canadian-born of Canadian parentage and over 65.

TABLE 7.5. Percentage of Children Aged 19-24 Years in Families Attending School Full Time, by Age Group and Birthplace of Family Head, Canada, 1971

Birthplace of family head	Age group of family head							
	35-44		45-64		65 and over		Total ages	
	Children aged 19-24 number	Attending school per cent	Children aged 19-24 number	Attending school per cent	Children aged 19-24 number	Attending school per cent	Children aged 19-24 number	Attending school per cent
Canada total	114,695	42.0	808,235	39.0	51,731	30.1	978,917	38.8
Born in Canada	95,026	40.6	660,643	37.7	36,883	27.2	795,951	37.5
Born outside Canada	19,669	48.6	147,592	44.5	14,848	37.3	182,966	44.3
United States	1,905	50.2	13,090	43.4	1,822	32.4	16,845	42.9
United Kingdom and Ireland	3,697	44.5	39,519	43.5	4,265	35.0	47,596	42.8
Germany	1,462	45.8	5,141	43.4	476	36.6	7,113	43.4
Other Northern and Western Europe	2,190	46.5	15,337	40.6	1,751	32.7	19,325	40.5
Poland	1,206	52.5	14,444	54.4	1,348	44.7	17,004	53.5
Other Central and Eastern Europe	2,533	55.0	21,389	54.1	2,395	41.4	26,405	52.9
Italy	2,740	43.9	21,910	35.2	1,149	29.5	25,969	35.7
Other Southern Europe	1,022	34.4	5,898	25.5	241	36.9	7,268	27.1
Asia	1,750	66.9	6,290	54.9	1,093	51.1	9,214	56.5
Other	1,164	44.6	4,574	49.3	308	42.4	6,227	47.6

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

TABLE 7.6. Percentage of Children Aged 19-24 Years in Families Attending School Full Time, by Age Group and Birthplace of Parents of Canadian-born and Period of Immigration of Foreign-born Family Heads, Canada, 1971

Birthplace of parents/ Period of immigration of family head	Age group of family head							
	35-44		45-64		65 and over		Total ages	
	Children aged 19-24 number	Attending school per cent	Children aged 19-24 number	Attending school per cent	Children aged 19-24 number	Attending school per cent	Children aged 19-24 number	Attending school per cent
Canada total	114,695	42.0	808,235	39.0	51,731	30.1	978,917	38.8
Birthplace of parents for Canadian-born family head	95,026	40.6	660,643	37.7	36,883	27.2	795,951	37.5
Both born in Canada	68,096	38.7	479,848	35.4	32,076	26.2	582,892	35.2
One born in Canada	12,262	43.8	64,583	43.0	2,145	32.8	79,313	42.8
Both born outside Canada	14,668	47.2	116,212	44.5	2,662	34.9	13,374	44.6
Period of immigration of Foreign-born family head	19,669	48.6	147,592	44.5	14,848	37.3	182,966	44.3
Pre-1946	3,190	48.3	51,630	43.8	11,876	36.7	66,721	42.8
1946-60	12,111	52.0	76,679	47.3	2,135	44.0	91,252	47.8
1961-65	1,913	44.3	8,410	38.6	284	27.7	10,795	39.0
1966-71 ¹	2,455	35.8	10,873	32.2	553	31.1	14,198	32.5

¹Includes the first five months only of 1971.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

The further effect of ethnic origin, controlling for generation and period of immigration, is shown in Table 7.7. The greatest propensity to remain in school was exhibited by those whose family head was Jewish. This was most marked among the children of Jewish family heads who were Canadian-born of foreign parentage, of whom 65% were still in school between the ages of 19 and 24. Notable also was the high proportion of children of Asian families who were continuing their education full time. These may be contrasted with the post-1961 immigrants from Southern Europe who had the smallest proportion (13%) remaining in school. Also reflecting the considerable inequality of opportunity were the third-plus generation other origins (mainly Native Peoples) of whom less than a quarter were in full-time schooling. The Canadian-born of French origin were also considerably below-average in this regard, having only 31% in full-time school.

The propensity for educational levels to be generationally self-perpetuating is shown in Table 7.8 where the influence of the level of schooling of the family head is shown. This table is based upon the 1% sample census and differs from the previous tables in that the definition of birthplace and ethnicity refers to that of the child and not the family head. However, the level-of-schooling data do refer to the family head. Comparisons between the data from the 1% sample and from the special tabulations suggest that this slight variation in the definition of the population makes very little difference to the estimated school attendance rates. The table shows clearly that, for the Canadian and foreign-born and all ethnic groups considered, the level of schooling of the family head was a major determinant of the probability that children would remain in full-time school attendance. Altogether, the proportion varied from 32% of those whose family head had a Grade 10 education or less to almost two-thirds of those whose family head had some university education. The biggest contrast was between the Native Indian population, on the one hand, and the Canadian-born Jewish population where the family head had some university education. The latter were three times as likely to be attending school full time than the former. Canadian-born French-Canadian children whose family heads had a Grade 10 education or less were little better off than the Native Peoples. Being a member of the British charter group (Canadian-born of British origin) was of little advantage when the family head had a Grade 10 education or lower. Less than one-third of this group, compared with more than two-thirds of those whose family head had some university education, continued in school full time.

TABLE 7.7. Percentage of Children Aged 19-24 Years in Families Attending School Full Time, by Ethnic Group and Birthplace of Parents of Canadian-born and Period of Immigration of Foreign-born Family Head, Canada, 1971

Birthplace of parents/ Period of immigration of family head	British	French	Other Northern and Western Europe	Central and Eastern Europe	Southern Europe	Jewish	Asian	All other	Total ethnic groups
Canada total	43.0	31.2	40.5	47.1	35.8	63.2	56.8	27.8	38.8
Birthplace of parents for Canadian-born family head	42.9	31.0	40.1	42.0	40.8	64.7	57.2	26.0	37.5
Both born in Canada	41.9	30.9	39.6	35.4	34.3	57.1	41.5	24.9	35.2
One born in Canada	45.0	34.4	41.5	42.8	37.6	62.7	57.1	36.1	42.8
Both born outside Canada	44.2	33.7	40.2	42.8	42.9	65.3	58.5	35.8	44.6
Period of immigration of foreign-born family head	43.8	38.8	40.9	52.0	34.4	61.7	56.7	43.2	44.3
Pre-1946	41.7	33.6	37.3	45.7	45.0	62.0	57.9	33.1	42.8
1946-60	47.9	47.8	43.1	56.9	39.3	64.2	62.3	46.4	47.8
1961-65	45.1	42.8	45.8	48.3	24.1	53.4	56.9	60.6	39.0
1966-71 ¹	34.3	47.2	36.8	36.2	13.2	49.6	49.6	38.5	32.5

¹Includes the first five months only of 1971.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

7.2.1 Quebec Compared with Other Provinces in School Attendance

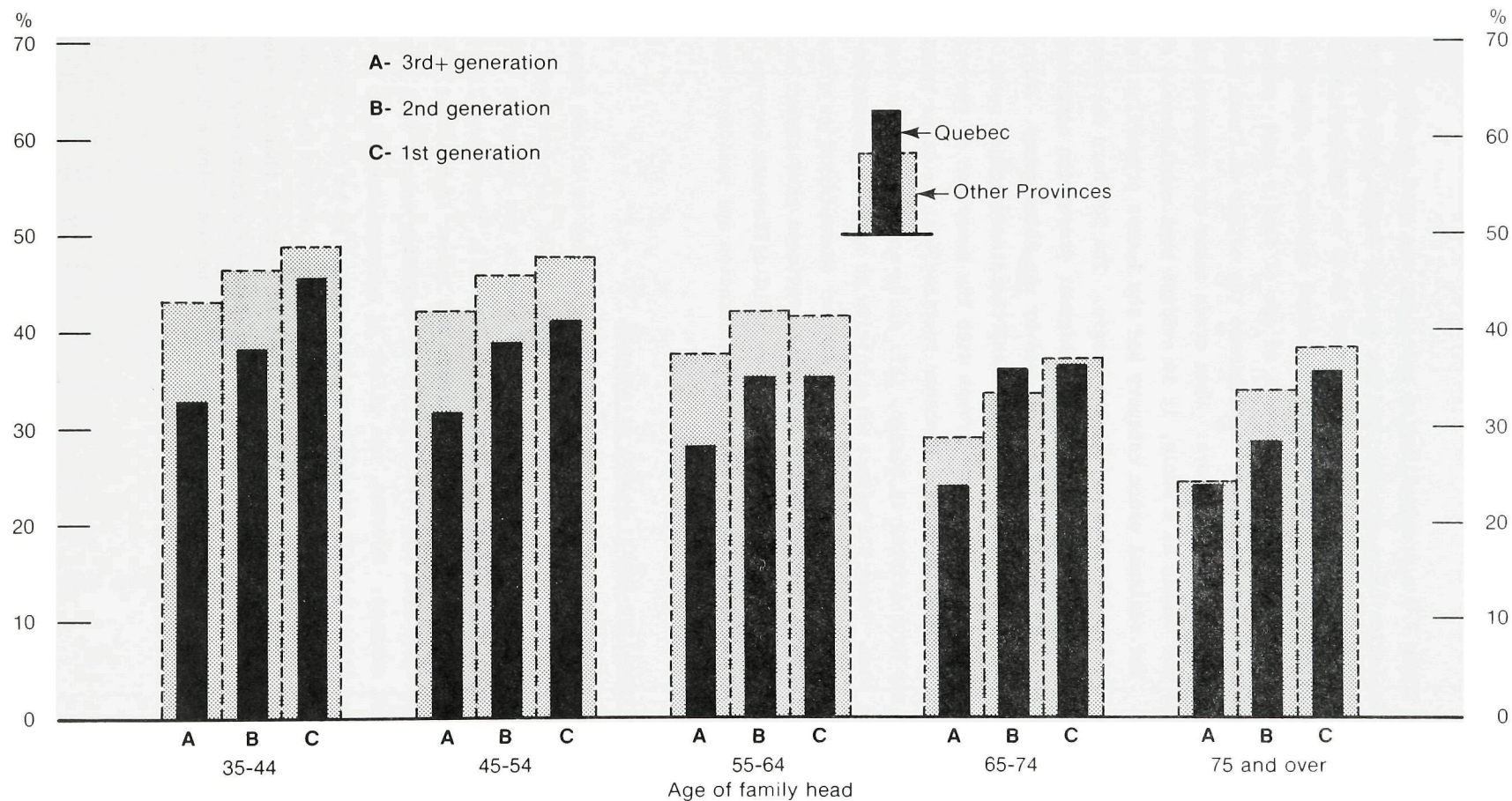
The propensity to remain in school was lower in Quebec than in the other provinces when the latter were combined into a single category (Chart 7.6). There were some exceptions when detailed birthplaces were considered. Children of family heads born in Germany had an above-average probability of continuing in school whether they lived in or outside Quebec. In the case of family heads born in other parts of Northern and Western Europe, the probability of attending school full time was greater for those resident in Quebec. For all other birthplaces, including Canada, school attendance was higher in other provinces than in Quebec.

For the British origin group, residence in Quebec reduced the probability of full-time school attendance for all except those where the family head immigrated between 1961 and 1965. For the Canadian-born French, living outside Quebec increased the probability of continuing education, but not sufficiently to reach the national average. Only 30% of the third-plus generation French in Quebec, compared with 36% in other provinces, were attending school full time in the 19-24 group. In other words, French-Canadians living outside Quebec experienced inequality of educational opportunity to a degree only slightly less than French-Canadians in Quebec. It is notable that children of foreign-born French parentage, whether living in Quebec or elsewhere, had an average or slightly above-average proportion attending school full time.

In the case of the other Northern and Western European ethnic groups, living in Quebec was a disadvantage only for those in the third-plus generation. Only one-third of the latter were attending school full time compared with 40% of the same origin and generation in other provinces. However, for the Canadian-born of foreign parentage and for the foreign-born, the reverse was the case: living in Quebec increased the probability of remaining in school. For almost all other ethnic groups, generational and period-of-immigration categories, living in Quebec reduced the probability of remaining in school. The highest propensity was exhibited by the Canadian-born with two foreign-born parents of Jewish origin living outside Quebec, of whom 71% were still in school, compared with 55% of the same category living in Quebec. The lowest was the Southern European group who immigrated 1966-71 irrespective of province.

Chart 7.6

Percentage of Children 19-24 Years at Home Attending School, by Age and Generation of Family Head, for Quebec and Other Provinces, 1971



Source: 1971 Census of Canada, unpublished data

In Table 7.9 a standardization procedure was used in order to examine the residual variation between Quebec and the rest of Canada with regard to school attendance. The percentage of children aged 19-24 in families, attending school full-time by ethnic group has been standardized against the composition of the Canadian population in 1971, in respect of age of family head, generation and period of immigration. The object was to eliminate the effect of these variables in making comparisons between ethnic groups. When crude rates are compared with the standardized rates for Canada as a whole, it is evident that considerable ethnic variation persisted. The residual other category had the lowest proportion continuing their education, followed by those of French origin. The Southern European group was also slightly below-average. By far the highest proportion attending school full time were those of Jewish origin, followed by the Asian group. Turning to the comparison between Quebec and other provinces, the disadvantaged position of those in Quebec is evident for all ethnic groups with the exception of the other Northern and Western European category. Whatever institutional or other barriers to further education may have existed in Quebec, this group appears to have been successful in overcoming them. When the effect of ethnicity as well as generation and period of immigration are taken into account by a further standardization procedure, there remain differences between Quebec and other provinces that cannot be explained by these factors. Where the crude rates show a 10% difference between Quebec and other provinces, standardization by ethnicity, generation and period of immigration reduces this differential to six percentage points.

7.2.2. Metropolitan Areas: School Attendance

The propensity of those aged 19-24 in families to attend school full time was influenced by location of residence, and those living in rural areas were at a disadvantage. Therefore, it is of interest to compare the situation in major metropolitan areas where this effect is eliminated. Overall, the probability of remaining in school was highest in Metropolitan Toronto and lowest in Montréal. Those living in Winnipeg and Vancouver had a probability of attending school full time slightly above the national average. However, the effect of metropolitanization on the French-Canadian and other (mainly Native Peoples) appeared to be the reverse of that expected. The third-plus generation of French and other origins had a lower probability of full-time school attendance if they lived in Montréal than the average for Quebec. Only 28% of the French charter group in Montréal and a startling 17% of the other category were attending school full time. For the remaining ethnic groups the

TABLE 7.9. Percentage of Children Aged 19-24 Years in Families Attending School Full Time, by Ethnic Group of Family Head, Canada, Quebec and Other Provinces, 1971

Ethnic group of family head	Canada		Quebec		Other provinces	
	Crude rates	Standardized rates ¹	Crude rates	Standardized rates ¹	Crude rates	Standardized rates ¹
British Isles	43.0	43.3	37.2	38.1	43.5	43.8
French	31.2	34.2	30.1	32.5	35.9	38.4
Other Northern and Western Europe	40.5	40.2	41.0	40.6	40.4	40.4
Central and Eastern Europe	47.1	39.9	43.2	31.5	47.5	40.4
Southern Europe	35.8	37.0	27.6	29.8	38.7	40.5
Jewish	63.2	60.5	55.4	53.1	68.6	65.6
Asian	56.8	49.0	45.6	39.4	59.0	52.6
Other	27.8	31.3	27.1	27.4	28.0	32.0
Total ethnic groups	38.8	39.6	31.7	34.7	42.8	42.8

¹Standardized for age of family head, generation and period of immigration composition of Canadian population, 1971.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

proportions were either the same or fractionally higher for those living in Montréal. Living in Toronto appeared to be advantageous for all except the most recent immigrants (arriving 1966-71), while Vancouver appeared to be more favourable for this cohort. Living in Winnipeg strongly favoured school attendance for the Jewish and Asian groups.

It is reasonable to assume that some of the differences between the four metropolitan areas considered were due to the differential composition of the populations of these areas by age of family head, generation and period of immigration. Table 7.10 shows the crude and standardized distributions by the ethnic group of family head for the four metropolitan areas. When these factors are taken into account, the greater probability of those resident in Toronto continuing in school is evident for all ethnic groups with the exception of the Asian. Those of French-Canadian origin living in Metropolitan Toronto were only slightly less likely than the British to be still in school. However, the French-Canadian group in Vancouver was even more disadvantaged than in Montréal. Those of Southern European origin living in Winnipeg appeared also to be underprivileged in terms of educational opportunity and the apparent advantage for Jews and Asians was reduced. In fact, after standardization, the Jewish group was higher in Toronto and the Asian in Vancouver. When a further standardization procedure was undertaken to remove the effect of ethnicity as well as generation and period of immigration, differences between the metropolitan areas were considerably reduced but not entirely eliminated. On this basis, children in Montréal and Vancouver had about equal probability of full-time school attendance in the age-group 19-24 years; those in Winnipeg had a five percentage point advantage over Montréal and Vancouver; those in Toronto had a further three percentage point advantage over Winnipeg. There remains the possibility that some of these variations may be explained by differences in the educational levels of family heads.

TABLE 7.10 Percentage of Children Aged 19-24 Years in Families Attending School Full Time, by Ethnic Group of Family Head, Montréal, Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver CMAs, 1971

Ethnic group of family head	Montréal		Toronto		Winnipeg		Vancouver	
	Crude rates	Standardized rates ¹	Crude rates	Standardized rates ¹	Crude rates	Standardized rates ¹	Crude rates	Standardized rates ¹
British Isles	37.6	37.1	46.7	45.5	41.7	40.8	39.4	38.7
French	28.3	30.6	37.5	42.5	36.9	34.0	29.8	28.1
Other Northern and Western Europe	44.5	40.8	48.5	46.6	42.6	40.6	36.6	36.5
Central and Eastern Europe	42.8	30.8	53.3	40.3	42.1	33.4	37.9	39.1
Southern Europe	26.9	26.5	35.0	43.4	32.6	22.1	37.9	30.4
Jewish	55.5	51.1	67.9	71.6	72.8	66.8	62.9	64.9
Asian	44.5	40.3	57.0	31.1	67.5	53.2	59.4	64.5
Other	30.1	24.4	40.9	36.4	35.2	28.2	36.2	34.9
Total ethnic groups	32.1	32.9	47.1	46.3	43.1	41.3	40.3	38.8

¹Standardized for age of family head, generation and period of immigration composition of Canadian population, 1971.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

FOOTNOTES

¹Mean levels of education were calculated using the 1% public use sample of the 1971 Census. The education categories were recorded as follows: no schooling, 0; under 5, 2.5; 5-8, 6.5; 9-10, 9.5; 11, 11; 12, 12; 13, 13; 1-2 years of university, 14.5; 3-4 years of university with no degree, 15.5; 3-4 years of university with degree, 16; over five years of university with no degree, 17; over five years of university with degree, 18.

The ethnic categories used in the 1% public use sample did not correspond precisely with those used for the special tabulations provided by Statistics Canada. In the former, Native Peoples, Negro and West Indian were treated as a separate category, whereas in the special tabulations of earnings they were included in the residual other category. In rank ordering education, the mean educational level of the Native Peoples, Negro and West Indian category was used in place of the residual other category.

²A census family "consists of a husband and wife (with or without children who have never been married, regardless of age) or a parent with one or more children never married, living in the same dwelling. A family may consist also of a man or woman living with a guardianship child or ward under 21 for whom no pay was received" (Statistics Canada, 1972, Dictionary of the 1971 Census Terms, p. 6).

CHAPTER 8

LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION AND CLASS OF WORKER

Between the Census of 1961 and that of 1971 the experienced labour force grew from 6.47 million to 8.63 million workers. In 1971 the Canadian-born constituted 79.9% of the labour force; pre-1961 immigrants accounted for 13.8% and immigrants who arrived in 1961 and later for 6.3%. The female labour force grew much faster than the male labour force over the decade, increasing by 1,194,878 or 67.6% compared with a growth of 960,197 or 20.4% in the number of males at work or seeking work. The relative contribution of the Canadian-born, pre-1961, and post-1961 immigrants to this growth was quite different for men and women.

There was a net loss of pre-1961 male immigrants as a consequence of an excess of deaths, retirements, dropouts and remigrations over new additions to the labour force through 1961-71. In contrast, new additions to the female labour force in the pre-1961 cohorts exceeded losses from death, retirement, dropping out and remigration. These gains were not large enough to compensate for the net loss of pre-1961 immigrant males, giving rise to an overall net loss of the labour force from these cohorts, which was likely to have been most marked among the pre-1946 group, due to aging. During 1961-71 there was a net gain in the experienced labour force of 1.8 million persons born in Canada, the number of women slightly exceeding that of men. There were further net gains from post-1961 immigration, including 336,000 men and 201,000 women. Altogether, post-1961 immigration accounted for 25% of the net growth of the labour force in the decade.

8.1. Labour Force Participation

Labour force participation is defined as the percentage of the population 15 and over, the labour force forms, in a specific category or area. In the 1971 Census, the labour force refers to non-inmates 15 and over, who, in the week prior to enumeration, worked for pay or profit, helped without pay in a family business or farm, looked for work, were on temporary layoff, or had jobs from which they were temporarily absent because of illness, vacation or strike. Persons doing housework in their own home or volunteer work only are excluded from the labour force (1971 Census of Canada, Bulletin 3.7-6).

In 1971, 76.4% males 15 and over were in the labour force. There was considerable variation by age for the population as a whole. The highest rate, 92.8%, was found among those 35-44. This contrasts with 46.6% of those under 20 and 23.6% of those 65 and over. Generally, labour force participation rates of the foreign-born were higher than those of the Canadian-born. Immigrants who had arrived in Canada between 1946 and 1960 had the highest participation rates. Earlier and later arrivals had somewhat lower participation rates, although these were still higher than those of the Canadian-born. Immigrants in the younger and older age groups were also more likely to be in the labour force than those of the same age born in Canada. Although the crude rates show only a slight difference between the foreign-born and Canadian-born, the age-standardized rates indicate a difference of 3.4 percentage points. The highest labour force participation rates of all were found among immigrants, aged 35-44 at the time of the census, who had entered Canada between 1951 and 1961, of whom 96.6% were in the labour force.

Immigrant women were also more likely to be in the labour force than Canadian-born women. On average, 39.9% of all women 15 and over were in the labour force in 1971. The peak age for labour force participation, 20-24, was younger than that of the male population. Of this age group, 62.8% were working. Although the difference between the crude rates for Canadian and foreign-born women was less than one percentage point, the age-standardized difference was six percentage points. The highest female labour force participation rates were exhibited by foreign-born women aged 20-24 who had arrived in Canada between 1951 and 1960. Of this group, 69.4% were in the labour force. Although the most recently arrived immigrant women had the highest rates on average, when the age-standardized rates were examined there was little difference between those who arrived between 1951 and 1960 and those who arrived after 1961. It may be of interest to note that the highest labour force participation rates were exhibited by women who arrived in Canada as infants or young children. This contrasts with male immigrants who had high participation rates if they arrived between the age 16 and 36. Immigrant males who arrived as infants or young children had labour force participation rates that were closer to their Canadian-born counterparts than young female immigrants. Among the factors contributing to this difference may be the smaller proportion of immigrant women remaining in full-time school attendance, up to the age of 24, and the somewhat lower age of marriage of Canadian-born women.

8.1.1. Quebec and the Rest of Canada

Labour force participation rates were lower in Quebec compared with the rest of Canada for both males and females. However, care must be taken in interpreting differences in labour force participation between Quebec and the rest of Canada. Statistics Canada has noted that there are indications that the labour force counts for Quebec may be somewhat underestimated due to response problems (Statistics Canada, 1971 Census of Canada, Bulletin 3.7-6). This would not account for differences between groups within Quebec and response rates alone are unlikely to account for the whole of the difference found between Quebec rates and those in other provinces. For males, there was a difference of seven percentage points in the crude rates and eight percentage points in the age-standardized rates. Comparisons between the Canadian-born and the foreign-born by period of immigration for Quebec and for the other provinces are shown in Tables 8.1 and 8.2. Although the age-standardized labour force participation rates for the foreign-born compared with the Canadian-born were slightly higher in the other provinces, the difference was much more marked in Quebec. The age-standardized participation rate for the Canadian-born in Quebec was 70.0% compared with 75.8% for the foreign-born. In the other provinces, the age-standardized rates were 78.3% and 79.9% respectively. In Quebec, the highest rates were exhibited by immigrants aged 35-54 who entered Canada between 1951 and 1960. In the rest of Canada this age group and cohort also had high participation rates, but so also did those aged 25-34 and those who arrived between 1946 and 1950. The highest rate was 97.2% of those aged 35-44 who arrived in 1951-60 and were living outside Quebec.

Female labour force participation rates for Quebec and for other provinces are also shown in Tables 8.1 and 8.2. Only 35% of Quebec women were in the labour force, compared with 42% of those in other provinces. There were almost eight percentage points difference between the age-standardized rates. In Quebec the age-standardized rate for Canadian-born women was 33.4% compared with 41.5% in the rest of Canada. Foreign-born women had higher participation rates in Quebec and elsewhere, but the difference was much larger in Quebec where there was 9.5 percentage points difference between the age-standardized labour force participation rates of Canadian-born and foreign-born women. In Quebec, the highest labour force participation rates were exhibited by immigrant women, aged 20-24 who entered Canada between 1951 and 1960 of whom 70.7% were in the labour force. This same age group and cohort also had the highest rates in other provinces but the proportion was slightly

TABLE 8.1. Population 15 Years and Over, Crude, Age-specific and Age-standardized Labour Force Participation Rates by Birthplace and Period of Immigration Controlling for Sex, Quebec, 1971

Age group	Total Quebec	Born in Canada	Born outside Canada	Before 1946	1946-50	1951-60	1961-71 ¹
<u>Males</u>							
Crude: All ages	71.4	70.6	78.1	53.8	85.9	84.6	84.2
15-19	37.4	37.2	42.8	...	...	41.6	44.1
20-24	80.8	80.6	83.0	...	81.8	81.5	84.3
25-34	87.9	87.5	91.1	90.0	88.9	91.2	91.3
35-44	87.3	86.5	92.2	90.0	92.3	92.7	91.9
45-54	84.3	83.4	91.6	89.6	93.1	92.8	89.3
55-64	73.4	72.3	82.4	79.0	87.4	86.5	78.9
65+	21.5	20.4	27.0	24.7	43.7	38.3	25.8
Standardized: All ages ²	70.6	70.0	75.8	73.3	77.0	77.4	75.3
<u>Females</u>							
Crude: All ages	35.0	34.3	40.9	20.6	41.8	46.0	50.7
15-19	32.5	32.1	41.8	...	...	41.6	42.0
20-24	61.4	61.1	64.9	...	65.5	70.7	61.4
25-34	39.9	38.6	52.2	43.4	47.2	46.9	55.3
35-44	34.4	32.6	48.9	40.0	44.5	47.5	54.1
45-54	33.8	32.4	46.0	40.9	40.8	48.1	52.1
55-64	26.4	25.9	30.5	28.3	41.6	34.8	24.4
65+	9.0	9.1	8.5	8.3	10.8	10.9	6.9
Standardized: All ages ³	34.3	33.4	42.9	37.1	40.8	43.5	44.0

... not applicable.

¹Includes the first five months only of 1971.

²Standardized with age composition of male population of Canada, 1971.

³Standardized with age composition of female population of Canada, 1971.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Labour Force Activity-Work Experience, Bul. 3.7-6, Table 11.

TABLE 8.2. Population 15 Years and Over, Crude, Age-specific and Age-standardized Labour Force Participation Rates by Birthplace and Period of Immigration Controlling for Sex, Other Provinces, 1971

Age group	Total other provinces	Born in Canada	Born outside Canada	Before 1946	1946-50	1951-60	1961-71 ¹
<u>Males</u>							
Crude: All ages	78.3	78.9	76.4	49.1	89.4	89.8	88.5
15-19	50.4	50.2	52.6	...	...	53.7	51.2
20-24	88.9	88.9	88.9	...	89.7	88.4	89.2
25-34	94.6	94.3	95.4	92.5	93.8	96.3	95.3
35-44	95.0	94.4	96.6	92.8	96.5	97.2	96.2
45-54	92.5	91.7	95.1	93.0	95.5	96.5	94.0
55-64	82.4	81.7	84.3	80.8	90.3	90.6	81.5
65+	24.3	25.1	23.3	22.0	34.7	36.3	26.6
Standardized: All ages ²	78.6	78.3	79.9	77.5	81.3	82.6	79.5
<u>Females</u>							
Crude: All ages	41.9	42.4	40.2	21.3	45.9	49.2	52.5
15-19	38.8	38.1	46.0	...	...	47.4	44.3
20-24	63.4	62.9	66.0	...	66.7	69.2	63.6
25-34	46.5	44.9	51.9	49.2	49.0	47.6	54.7
34-44	47.8	46.4	51.9	50.9	50.0	50.2	56.6
45-54	48.4	47.4	51.6	49.1	50.5	53.7	53.5
55-64	37.4	38.1	35.2	33.5	39.9	39.5	30.7
65+	8.0	8.5	7.3	6.9	10.9	10.7	8.2
Standardized: All ages ³	42.2	41.5	45.3	42.7	44.4	46.0	45.9

... not applicable.

¹Includes the first five months only of 1971.

²Standardized with age composition of male population of Canada, 1971.

³Standardized with age composition of female population of Canada, 1971.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Labour Force Activity-Work Experience, Bul. 3.7-6, Table 11.

lower, 69.2%. The most recently arrived immigrant women had the highest participation rates; but, when allowance was made for age distribution, there was little difference between those who arrived in 1951-60 and those who arrived in 1961-71.

8.1.2. Metropolitan Areas

Labour force participation in the metropolitan areas was higher than the average for Canada, with the exception of Montréal, where the average rate was higher than for Quebec as a whole. The higher participation rates in metropolitan areas were evident even after age standardization. Overall, male labour force participation rates were higher in Toronto and Winnipeg than in Vancouver or Montréal. This was true both for Canadian-born and foreign-born when the age-specific and age-standardized rates were compared. However, age-standardized differences between Canadian and foreign-born males were negligible. Altogether, the highest labour force participation rates were exhibited by males in Winnipeg aged 35-44 in 1971 and who had entered Canada between 1946 and 1960. Over 98% of these immigrants were in the labour force. Labour force participation rates for Montréal and Toronto are shown in Tables 8.3 and 8.4 for both males and females. There was an even more marked tendency for women in metropolitan areas to have higher labour force participation rates than men. The highest rates were found in Toronto where, after age-standardization, 48.8% of women 15 years of age and older were in the labour force. In Montréal, there were very substantial differences between the Canadian-born and foreign-born women. Of the former, 36.4%, compared with 44.1% of the latter, were in the labour force when age-standardized rates were compared. Differences between Canadian and foreign-born women were smaller in Toronto and Winnipeg, and there was virtually no difference in Vancouver, after allowing for age. As in the case of immigrant males, the highest female labour force participation rates were exhibited by those resident in Winnipeg who immigrated between 1946-50. However, the peak age was 20-24 for women in this immigrant cohort, compared with 35-44 for male immigrants. The age-specific rate of 77.8% for this group of women in Winnipeg contrasted with a rate of 63.9% for Canadian-born women of the same age living in Montréal. This age group and cohort of female immigrants also exhibited high labour force participation rates in Toronto, although there was not a great difference between immigrant and Canadian-born women of the same age in Vancouver. This could be due to the different ethnic composition of the immigrant population of Vancouver. It suggests that there are peculiar pressures on young women, who came to Canada as children in the immediate post-war period, to enter and remain in the

TABLE 8.3. Population 15 Years and Over, Crude, Age-specific and Age-standardized Labour Force Participation Rates by Birthplace and Period of Immigration Controlling for Sex, Montréal CMA, 1971

Age group	Total Montréal	Born in Canada	Born outside Canada	Before 1946	1946-50	1951-60	1961-71 ¹
<u>Males</u>							
Crude: All ages	74.4	73.3	79.1	54.6	86.2	84.8	84.1
15-19	38.7	38.3	43.2	...	...	41.9	44.4
20-24	81.4	81.2	83.0	...	80.8	81.2	84.6
25-34	88.7	88.1	91.1	91.7	89.6	91.2	91.2
35-44	88.7	87.6	92.3	91.4	92.6	92.6	91.9
45-54	86.5	85.1	91.9	90.5	93.8	92.9	89.4
55-64	76.7	74.9	83.5	81.1	87.7	86.4	79.1
65+	24.6	23.0	28.4	26.1	44.5	38.6	25.8
Standardized: All ages ²	72.3	71.3	76.2	74.6	77.5	77.4	75.4
<u>Females</u>							
Crude: All ages	38.3	37.4	42.5	20.9	42.9	46.8	51.7
15-19	37.3	36.8	42.9	...	...	42.9	43.0
20-24	64.2	63.9	66.3	...	66.2	71.6	63.1
25-34	43.1	40.8	53.4	44.1	46.5	47.7	56.9
35-44	38.2	35.2	50.2	41.5	44.9	48.5	55.5
45-54	38.7	36.7	47.7	43.7	43.4	48.9	52.3
55-64	30.4	30.0	32.0	30.7	43.3	35.3	24.3
65+	9.1	9.4	8.2	7.8	11.3	11.2	6.6
Standardized: All ages ³	37.7	36.4	44.1	39.1	42.2	44.3	44.8

... not applicable.

¹Includes the first five months only of 1971.

²Standardized with age composition of male population of Canada, 1971.

³Standardized with age composition of female population of Canada, 1971.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Labour Force Activity-Work Experience, Bul. 3.7-6, Table 11.

TABLE 8.4. Population 15 Years and Over, Crude, Age-specific and Age-standardized Labour Force Participation Rates by Birthplace and Period of Immigration Controlling for Sex, Toronto CMA, 1971

Age group	Total Toronto	Born in Canada	Born outside Canada	Before 1946	1946-50	1951-60	1961-71 ¹
<u>Males</u>							
Crude: All ages	83.0	82.3	84.1	56.0	89.9	90.3	89.0
15-19	48.1	46.9	52.2	...	...	51.3	53.1
20-24	89.4	89.7	88.8	...	87.4	87.5	89.8
25-34	95.7	95.9	95.5	93.0	94.1	96.3	95.3
35-44	96.5	96.4	96.7	93.4	96.8	97.4	95.8
45-54	95.1	94.7	95.7	94.7	95.7	96.5	93.8
55-64	87.6	87.4	87.9	85.1	90.8	91.5	83.0
65+	29.1	29.6	28.7	26.1	41.4	41.0	29.1
Standardized: All ages ²	80.3	80.2	80.9	78.6	81.5	82.7	80.2
<u>Females</u>							
Crude: All ages	49.4	49.3	49.6	25.6	53.1	53.6	58.5
15-19	44.5	43.3	48.5	...	...	49.2	48.0
20-24	72.1	72.7	70.8	...	74.9	73.8	68.9
25-34	56.4	53.8	59.4	59.3	57.6	53.0	62.4
35-44	54.2	51.2	57.7	53.4	55.7	55.3	63.3
45-54	55.6	54.5	57.3	54.5	57.5	58.3	57.6
55-64	43.2	45.4	40.0	39.4	48.7	42.5	30.9
65+	9.3	9.5	9.1	8.5	13.2	12.3	7.7
Standardized: All ages ³	48.8	47.8	50.2	48.5	51.0	49.9	50.2

... not applicable.

¹Includes the first five months only of 1971.

²Standardized with age composition of male population of Canada, 1971.

³Standardized with age composition of female population of Canada, 1971.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Labour Force Activity-Work Experience, Bul. 3.7-6, Table 11.

labour force. Some sources of generational and ethnic variation are considered below.

8.1.3. Generational and Ethnic Variation

Reference has been made to the effect of period-of-immigration on labour force participant rates. For men, those who immigrated between 1946 and 1960 had the highest rates but when allowance is made for age, there was little difference between immigrant women by period of immigration. Among the Canadian-born, both men and women of foreign parentage had higher labour force participation rates than the Canadian-born with two Canadian-born parents (Table 8.5). The effect of standardizing for age was to reduce the differences between the third-plus generation and other Canadian-born although they remained significant, particularly in Quebec. For Canada as a whole, male participation rates were highest for those who had one Canadian-born parent. In the province of Quebec, and in Montréal specifically, the difference between those with one or two Canadian-born parents was negligible. However, there was a difference of approximately six percentage points in the standardized rates between the third-plus generation and the second generation in Montréal. In other provinces, the difference was much smaller and, in Toronto, virtually disappeared after age-standardization. (As these figures are based upon the 1% public use sample, the sampling errors are larger and the small differences must be regarded as insignificant.)

Female labour force participation rates were significantly higher for the second generation compared with the third-plus generation. For Canada as a whole, the age-standardized rate for the third generation was 37% compared with 43.6% for the second generation. The differences were greatest in Quebec compared with other provinces, but not as substantial in Montréal or Toronto. After allowing for the effects of age, there were significant ethnic differences among the foreign-born which appeared to persist among the Canadian-born of the same ethnic origin. Among males, the highest labour force participation rates were exhibited by those of German and other Northern and Western European ethnic origins. Compared with an average participation rate of 76% for males, the standardized rate for these ethnic groups was approximately 82%. This contrasted with a rate of 70% for native-born French-Canadian males.

TABLE 8.5. Population 15 Years and Over, Crude and Age-standardized Labour Force Participation Rates¹ by Birthplace of Parents for Males and Females, Canada, Quebec, Other Provinces, Montréal and Toronto CMAs, 1971

Birthplace of parents	Canada		Quebec		Other provinces		Montréal		Toronto	
	Crude	Standardized	Crude	Standardized	Crude	Standardized	Crude	Standardized	Crude	Standardized
<u>Males</u>										
All Canadian-born	76.2	75.5	70.2	69.6	78.9	78.2	73.7	71.7	82.8	81.1
Both born in Canada	73.8	74.1	69.6	69.2	76.4	77.1	72.5	70.8	81.8	81.1
One born in Canada	83.3	80.3	76.4	73.3	84.2	81.3	79.6	76.5	83.4	81.5
Both born outside Canada	84.4	77.8	79.2	73.8	84.9	78.2	84.3	77.2	85.5	78.7
<u>Females</u>										
All Canadian-born	39.8	38.7	34.2	33.1	42.5	41.4	37.0	36.4	50.9	49.3
Both born in Canada	38.2	37.0	33.6	32.5	41.1	40.0	36.5	35.8	50.4	49.0
One born in Canada	45.4	43.6	42.1	40.9	45.9	44.0	41.6	40.7	53.7	51.6
Both born outside Canada	44.6	43.6	39.6	38.8	45.0	44.0	39.5	36.5	50.2	47.7

¹Standardized against age distribution of population of Canada by sex, 1971.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

Among females, the highest labour force participation rates were exhibited by those of Asian origin, irrespective of birthplace. Compared with an average of 39.9%, the standardized rate for immigrant Asian women was 50.9% and for women born in Poland 50.1%. This contrasted with a standardized rate of 33% for native-born French-Canadian women and 41.6% for Canadian-born women of British origin. All women of European ethnic origin, other than the French and irrespective of birthplace, showed somewhat above-average labour force participation rates.

Comparisons between Quebec and other provinces by ethnic group are shown in Tables 8.6 and 8.7. Before and after controlling for age, the labour force participation rates of both British- and French-origin groups were lower in Quebec than in other provinces. This was true of the Canadian and foreign-born, both males and females. For other ethnic groups, the pattern was less consistent. Males of German origin in Quebec had lower rates, but the differences for females were not significant. The Canadian-born of other Northern and Western European origin in Quebec had an exceptionally high participation rate (93% in the case of males and 47% for females), but for other ethnic groups the Canadian-born in Quebec had somewhat lower rates than their counterparts in other provinces. Among the foreign-born, male participation rates were consistently higher in other provinces. Foreign-born females living outside Quebec were also more likely to be in the labour force.

Male and female labour force participation rates were higher in Toronto than in Montréal (Tables 8.8 and 8.9). This is true of all ethnic groups with the exception of the Polish born outside Canada. The foreign-born Polish males in Montréal had an exceptionally high participation rate of 92% compared with 82% for the same group in Toronto. With the exception of the foreign-born French, whose numbers were too small for any reliable conclusion, the Canadian and foreign-born males of all other ethnic origins had higher participation rates in Toronto, after controlling for age. The same is true also of females, with the exception of foreign-born Polish women in Montréal who had a substantially higher-than-average rate.

8.2. Class of Worker

Information concerning class of worker was analyzed for the current experienced labour force. The latter excludes those who were seeking employment for the first time or who had not been employed since 1969. The categories were wage-

TABLE 8.6. Population 15 Years and Over, Crude and Age-standardized Labour Force Participation Rates by Birthplace and Ethnic Group Controlling for Sex, Quebec, 1971.

Birthplace/ Sex	British	French	German	Other Northern and Western Europe	Italian	Polish	Other Europe	Jewish	Asian	All other	Total ethnic groups	
<u>Males</u>												
					<u>Crude rates</u>							
Quebec total	75.6	69.4	78.3	86.2	76.4	73.5	72.9	76.8	73.2	79.4	71.0	
Canada-born	76.0	69.3	73.3	95.2	79.4	70.0	63.5	79.1	87.5	70.3	70.2	
Born outside Canada	73.5	78.3	83.2	77.8	75.4	75.9	77.1	74.0	70.8	84.3	77.5	
					<u>Standardized against age distribution of male population of Canada</u>							
Quebec total	75.9	68.8	73.0	84.6	71.9	72.8	73.1	78.6	72.7	75.1	70.3	
Canada-born	75.8	68.7	72.7	93.1	76.1	66.7	62.4	79.5	57.7	67.3	69.6	
Born outside Canada	77.9	75.8	75.4	75.7	70.7	75.5	78.9	77.7	70.1	80.0	76.3	
<u>Females</u>												
					<u>Crude rates</u>							
Quebec total	37.1	33.3	42.3	41.5	43.2	45.7	45.0	35.6	46.7	46.7	34.7	
Canada-born	38.1	33.2	52.9	45.7	41.4	50.0	49.4	37.4	56.3	37.7	34.2	
Born outside Canada	32.6	34.7	33.6	37.5	44.0	42.3	41.1	33.8	41.4	52.8	39.5	
					<u>Standardized against age distribution of female population of Canada</u>							
Quebec total	38.5	32.3	42.6	40.5	41.0	45.6	43.0	36.2	42.9	42.5	34.0	
Canada-born	38.4	32.2	48.8	46.9	37.9	46.6	53.2	36.8	60.4	33.6	33.1	
Born outside Canada	41.1	38.5	35.2	39.3	42.1	52.5	38.3	39.3	48.9	48.3	42.6	

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

TABLE 8.7. Population 15 Years and Over, Crude and Age-standardized Labour Force Participation Rates by Birthplace and Ethnic Group Controlling for Sex, Other Provinces, 1971

Birthplace/ Sex	British	French	German	Other Northern and Western Europe	Italian	Polish	Other Europe	Jewish	Asian	All other	Total ethnic groups
<u>Males</u>											
	<u>Crude rates</u>										
Other provinces total	77.4	76.0	83.2	82.1	84.5	78.2	77.3	78.4	78.2	76.4	78.2
Canada-born	78.6	76.2	84.0	84.5	77.4	83.3	82.8	79.1	85.7	68.0	78.9
Born outside Canada	70.3	71.1	81.7	78.7	86.7	71.3	66.5	77.4	74.3	83.6	76.1
	<u>Standardized against age distribution of male population of Canada</u>										
Other provinces total	78.6	75.0	81.9	82.4	80.7	79.2	78.3	77.6	79.5	74.2	78.6
Canada-born	78.6	74.9	81.4	82.0	77.1	81.0	79.3	77.0	81.5	68.3	78.2
Born outside Canada	79.4	77.8	83.6	84.1	82.8	78.7	80.4	79.3	78.1	80.7	81.1
<u>Females</u>											
	<u>Crude rates</u>										
Other provinces total	41.4	37.7	43.4	42.4	46.3	46.3	45.2	44.3	52.2	43.4	42.0
Canada-born	42.2	38.0	45.6	45.3	48.5	47.7	49.1	48.8	53.0	34.6	42.5
Born outside Canada	37.7	32.2	38.9	37.8	45.5	44.1	35.9	38.2	51.8	51.7	40.7
	<u>Standardized against age distribution of female population of Canada</u>										
Other provinces total	42.6	36.5	43.3	41.4	43.2	45.4	45.4	45.3	51.0	40.8	42.3
Canada-born	41.9	36.4	43.4	41.9	45.0	44.0	45.5	46.0	49.1	32.7	41.4
Born outside Canada	47.9	35.8	43.9	42.8	43.0	49.9	47.9	46.4	51.6	49.0	46.6

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

TABLE 8.8. Population 15 Years and Over, Crude and Age-standardized Labour Force Participation Rates by Birthplace and Ethnic Group Controlling for Sex, Montréal CMA, 1971

Birthplace/ Sex	British	French	German	Other Northern and Western Europe	Italian	Polish	Other Europe	Jewish	Asian	All other	Total ethnic groups	
<u>Males</u>												
					<u>Crude rates</u>							
Montréal total	76.5	72.9	79.0	71.4	77.4	83.8	78.9	78.0	86.7	77.4	74.6	
Canada-born	76.9	72.6	72.3	70.8	75.6	77.8	83.3	81.3	77.8	70.2	73.7	
Born outside Canada	74.9	81.5	84.9	71.9	78.0	87.2	76.7	74.7	88.9	79.9	78.3	
					<u>Standardized against age distribution of male population of Canada</u>							
Montréal total	76.1	70.7	75.1	69.5	73.2	83.5	78.3	77.8	79.7	74.1	72.7	
Canada-born	75.9	70.5	71.7	55.8	69.2	66.8	73.2	79.4	76.3	69.4	71.7	
Born outside Canada	77.3	79.1	74.6	74.2	74.6	92.1	79.2	75.2	81.0	76.2	77.3	
<u>Females</u>												
					<u>Crude rates</u>							
Montréal total	39.2	36.3	47.9	39.1	41.9	45.6	36.4	40.2	44.4	48.4	38.1	
Canada-born	39.4	36.0	48.2	42.9	41.6	31.0	38.2	44.4	37.5	41.3	37.0	
Born outside Canada	38.5	45.0	47.7	36.1	42.0	54.0	35.4	36.0	47.4	50.9	42.7	
					<u>Standardized against age distribution of female population of Canada</u>							
Montréal total	40.8	35.7	47.9	37.4	39.3	46.1	37.7	40.7	43.6	44.8	37.8	
Canada-born	39.2	35.4	47.8	41.1	37.9	29.5	40.9	42.1	49.4	39.9	36.4	
Born outside Canada	48.0	45.4	49.2	35.3	39.1	59.5	40.5	40.8	43.8	46.5	44.7	

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

TABLE 8.9. Population 15 Years and Over, Crude and Age-standardized Labour Force Participation Rates by Birthplace and Ethnic Group Controlling for Sex, Toronto CMA, 1971

Birthplace/ Sex	British	French	German	Other Northern and Western Europe	Italian	Polish	Other Europe	Jewish	Asian	All other	Total ethnic groups	
<u>Males</u>												
					<u>Crude rates</u>							
Toronto total	81.9	82.7	87.6	87.8	88.0	77.4	84.0	82.2	74.6	86.5	83.4	
Canada-born	83.1	83.2	84.6	86.4	78.2	76.8	84.2	83.1	76.2	76.7	82.8	
Born outside Canada	78.5	76.2	89.7	88.9	89.6	77.8	83.8	80.9	74.0	88.3	84.2	
					<u>Standardized against age distribution of male population of Canada</u>							
Toronto total	81.6	79.1	82.3	82.2	82.0	77.8	81.5	81.5	73.0	81.8	81.5	
Canada-born	81.9	79.5	82.6	83.0	78.4	71.6	80.4	80.7	66.2	73.9	81.1	
Born outside Canada	81.1	75.2	80.1	82.3	83.3	82.1	86.2	84.3	70.2	83.6	82.6	
<u>Females</u>												
					<u>Crude rates</u>							
Toronto total	49.3	53.5	52.7	45.8	46.8	54.2	51.1	41.3	53.7	54.9	49.8	
Canada-born	50.1	54.1	59.0	53.7	43.1	59.0	56.6	46.2	72.1	51.3	50.9	
Born outside Canada	47.2	46.7	49.0	40.9	47.5	50.8	46.7	35.5	46.2	55.8	48.2	
					<u>Standardized against age distribution of female population of Canada</u>							
Toronto total	50.5	49.3	51.7	44.1	43.5	52.7	51.2	42.4	53.4	50.3	49.6	
Canada-born	49.1	49.6	54.4	52.2	41.9	51.9	53.7	43.0	64.6	48.4	49.3	
Born outside Canada	55.1	49.1	51.5	40.3	44.1	53.1	50.8	44.5	46.3	51.0	50.6	

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

earners, unpaid family workers, those working on their own account and employers. In 1971, 86.3% of males and 89.7% of females in the current experienced labour force were wage-earners. For both the males and females the probability of being a wage-earner was greatest among the most recent immigrants and was inversely related to length of residence in Canada. Among the Canadian-born males and females, those with two foreign-born parents were least likely to be wage-earners (Tables 8.10 and 8.11). When Quebec was compared with other provinces it appeared that the probability of being a wage-earner was slightly higher in Quebec than in the rest of Canada.

Being an unpaid family worker was more characteristic of women than men. This category constituted 7.1% of the female experienced labour force compared with 1.3% of the male. There was an above-average proportion of Canadian-born women with two foreign-born parents in the category of unpaid family workers, although this was not true in Quebec, suggesting that such employment was related to the preservation of the family farm in other regions of the country. This type of employment was particularly characteristic of European ethnic groups not living in Quebec or metropolitan areas.

Being an employer or working on one's own account was more characteristic of males than females. Of males in the current experienced labour force 7.4% were working on their own account compared with 2.1% females; a further 5.0% of males were employers compared with only 1.2% of females. Working on one's own account or being an employer was particularly characteristic of the Canadian-born with two foreign-born parents. There were also significant ethnic variations. For males these are shown in Table 8.12. Altogether, 12.4% of all males and 3.3% of females were either employers or working on their own account. Before and after standardizing for age there was considerable variation by birthplace, generation, period of immigration and ethnicity. The most recent immigrants were least likely to be self-employed, but pre-1946 immigrants were more likely to be in this category than the Canadian-born. The Canadian-born with two foreign-born parents had the highest proportion, 16.0% males and 3.5% females after standardizing for age who were employers or were working on their own account. Ethnic variations were even greater than those relating to period of immigration or generation.

Self-employment was most characteristic of the Jewish group, of whom 25.5% males and 5.9% females were employers or working on their own account. They were

TABLE 8.10. Males 15 Years and Over, in Current Experienced Labour Force by Birthplace of Parents of Canadian-born and Period of Immigration of the Foreign-born, Showing Percentage Distribution of Class of Worker, Canada, 1971

Birthplace of parents/ Period of immigration	Total		Wage- earner	Unpaid family worker	Own account	Employer
	Number	Per cent				
<u>Unstandardized percentage distribution</u>						
Canada total	5,665,715	100.0	86.3	1.3	7.4	5.0
Birthplace of parents for Canadian-born	4,519,180	100.0	86.2	1.5	7.5	4.8
Both born in Canada	3,343,410	100.0	87.2	1.7	6.9	4.2
One born in Canada	574,995	100.0	86.8	1.1	7.1	5.0
Both born outside Canada	600,775	100.0	79.7	0.9	11.8	7.6
Period of immigration	1,146,535	100.0	86.8	0.4	7.0	5.8
Before 1946	225,355	100.0	76.2	0.3	15.3	8.2
1946-60	578,270	100.0	86.7	0.4	6.1	6.8
1961-65	115,060	100.0	91.2	0.6	3.8	4.4
1966-71 ¹	227,850	100.0	95.2	0.4	2.4	2.0
<u>Standardized percentage distribution with age composition of Canadian population</u>						
Canada total	5,665,715	100.0	86.3	1.3	7.4	5.0
Birthplace of parents for Canadian-born		100.0	85.8	1.4	7.9	4.9
Both born in Canada		100.0	86.5	1.4	7.5	4.6
One born in Canada		100.0	86.4	1.0	7.5	5.1
Both born outside Canada		100.0	82.0	2.0	9.7	6.3
Period of immigration		100.0	88.3	0.6	5.9	5.2
Before 1946		100.0	85.1	1.3	7.5	6.1
1946-60		100.0	87.8	0.7	5.7	5.9
1961-65		100.0	91.0	1.0	3.9	4.1
1966-71 ¹		100.0	94.1	0.6	3.0	2.3

¹Includes the first five months only of 1971.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

TABLE 8.11. Females 15 Years and Over, in Current Experienced Labour Force, by Birthplace of Parents of Canadian-born and Period of Immigration of the Foreign-born, Showing Percentage Distribution of Class of Worker, Canada, 1971

Birthplace of parents/ Period of immigration	Total		Wage- earner	Unpaid family worker	Own account	Employer
	Number	Per cent				
<u>Unstandardized percentage distribution</u>						
Canada total	2,961,210	100.0	89.7	7.1	2.1	1.2
Birthplace of parents for Canadian-born	2,370,430	100.0	89.7	7.3	2.1	1.0
Both born in Canada	1,742,205	100.0	90.2	7.0	2.0	0.9
One born in Canada	315,155	100.0	90.5	6.7	1.8	1.0
Both born outside Canada	313,070	100.0	86.1	9.5	2.8	1.6
Period of immigration	590,780	100.0	89.7	6.3	2.4	1.6
Before 1946	103,605	100.0	82.7	10.1	4.8	2.5
1946-60	282,140	100.0	89.0	6.8	2.4	1.8
1961-65	66,900	100.0	92.2	5.0	1.5	1.4
1966-71 ¹	138,135	100.0	95.2	3.1	1.0	0.7
<u>Standardized percentage distribution with age composition of Canadian population</u>						
Canada total	2,961,210	100.0	89.7	7.1	2.1	1.2
Birthplace of parents for Canadian-born		100.0	89.4	7.4	2.1	1.1
Both born in Canada		100.0	89.4	7.4	2.2	1.0
One born in Canada		100.0	90.4	6.6	1.9	1.1
Both born outside Canada		100.0	88.1	8.4	2.2	1.3
Period of immigration		100.0	90.7	5.8	2.1	1.4
Before 1946		100.0	88.9	7.4	2.3	1.5
1946-60		100.0	89.9	6.3	2.2	1.6
1961-65		100.0	92.1	5.1	1.5	1.3
1966-71 ¹		100.0	93.6	4.3	1.3	0.8

¹Includes the first five months only of 1971.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

TABLE 8.12. Males, Age-standardized Percentage¹ of Employers or Working on Own Account, by Geographic Area and Ethnicity, 1971

Ethnic group	Canada	Quebec	Other provinces	Montréal	Toronto	Winnipeg	Vancouver
British	10.9	6.9	11.2	4.6	6.1	5.3	8.8
French	11.6	11.8	10.8	7.8	5.7	6.1	9.1
Other Northern and Western Europe	18.3	9.7	18.7	8.1	9.1	8.1	12.3
Central and Eastern Europe	13.9	7.7	14.3	7.5	7.7	6.6	10.4
Southern Europe	9.7	9.9	9.6	9.5	8.9	7.3	10.3
Jewish	25.5	24.8	26.0	24.8	26.1	26.5	25.7
Asian	14.6	12.3	15.0	11.6	9.7	13.0	15.9
All other	9.1	6.8	9.5	5.9	5.2	5.6	8.8
Total ethnic groups	12.4	11.3	12.8	8.3	8.0	7.3	10.1

¹Percentage standardized with age distribution of the population of Canada.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

followed by the Asian population, of whom 14.6% males and 4.9% females were in this category. The other Northern and Western European and the Central and Eastern European groups also had an above-average proportion who were self-employed. All other ethnic groups had a somewhat below-average proportion who were employers or who were working on their own account. In Quebec, the British and all other ethnic groups were the least likely to be employers or working on their own account. In the rest of Canada the British were less likely to be self-employed if living in a metropolitan area. The proportion self-employed was particularly high among Canadian-born Jews with two foreign-born parents, living outside Quebec, of whom 29.1% were employers or working on their own account.

In view of the influence of the agricultural sector on the probability of self-employment for males and of unpaid family employment for females, it is interesting to consider the distributions in metropolitan areas. In Montréal the proportion of wage-earners was higher than the national average, 91.2% for males and 94.1% for females. Although recently arrived immigrants had a slightly higher proportion of wage-earners, differences between them and earlier immigrants for the Canadian-born were much smaller than on a national basis. There was little difference between Metropolitan Toronto and Montréal in the proportion of wage-earners and other classes of worker. Ethnic variations exhibited a similar pattern with the Jewish group having by far the highest proportion in the self-employed category. The pre-1960 cohorts of Italian immigrants and Asian immigrants who arrived between 1946 and 1960 were somewhat above average. With only 7.3% males and 1.9% females self-employed, Winnipeg exhibited a slightly different pattern from Toronto and Montréal but the contrast was greatest with Vancouver where only 89.4% of the male experienced labour force and 92.6% of the female were employed as wage-earners. There was a slightly greater tendency for males in Vancouver to be self-employed and for females to be unpaid family workers. Although, as in other parts of the country, the Jewish and Asian groups were the most likely to be employers or working on their own account, the British and French origin groups in Vancouver, together with others of European origin, were more likely to be in this category than their counterparts elsewhere in the country. For example, of the Canadian-born British males in Toronto 6.6% were employers or worked on their own account compared with 9.1% in Vancouver. Similarly, the foreign-born British in Vancouver were also more likely to be self-employed. This was true both for males and females. The other Northern and Western European group in Vancouver exhibited a similar pattern.

CHAPTER 9

INDUSTRIES

In 1971, to understand the industrial distribution of immigrants, compared with those born in Canada, it is necessary to consider long-term trends in the Canadian economy. There does not appear to have been any tendency toward a convergence of the foreign-born by length of residence, or the Canadian-born by ethnicity, toward the industrial distribution of the British and French charter groups. In fact, the patterns of industrial re-distribution have been more complex than the classical assimilation theory would suggest.

In 1941 approximately 1.27 million male workers were employed in the primary sectors, principally agriculture. By 1971 less than 600,000 were so employed or less than half the number 30 years earlier. As the total male labour force increased substantially during that period, the proportional representation had declined even further, from 38% in 1941 to only 11% in 1971. Over the same 30-year period, the secondary industrial sector increased from 32% to 44.5% of the labour force and the tertiary sector from 30% to 44.2% of the labour force.¹ The shift from primary industries into the secondary and tertiary sectors was not experienced to the same degree by all generations of the Canadian-born or cohorts of immigration. Immigrants entered those industries that were expanding most rapidly at their time of arrival in Canada. The expanding industries were those in which scarcity of labour was most acute and where immigrants would most readily find employment. In many cases immigrants were recruited specifically for employment in certain industries. At the same time, earlier cohorts of immigrants and those born in Canada also shifted toward the expanding industries and away from those that were declining.

The relative contribution of the Canadian-born pre-1961, and post-1961 immigrants to labour force change over the decade varied according to industry. Males born in Canada made a relatively larger contribution to growth in mining, transportation and the public service. Post-1961 immigrant males contributed proportionally more to manufacturing, construction and transportation as well as the tertiary sector. The net losses of pre-1961 immigrants were lowest (and therefore their relative gains were greatest) in finance, insurance and real estate and in the

See footnote(s) on page 314.

public service. In other words there was a significant net shift, among pre-1961 male immigrants, into the rapidly expanding tertiary sector, although they remained relatively more concentrated in secondary industries.

Canadian-born women made above-average contributions to the growth of the female labour force (or reduced the net losses) in agriculture, forestry, and the public service; those arriving after 1961 were proportionally more likely to enter manufacturing industries together with community, business, and personal services. The pre-1961 immigrant women were somewhat above average in their contribution to growth in mining, construction, transportation, finance and the public service.

Indexes of relative concentration, by industry, for foreign-born males are shown in Table 9.1 and for females in Table 9.2. The index for the total, by sex, is relative to the proportion of foreign-born in the labour force as a whole; the indexes by period of immigration are relative to the distribution of the foreign-born by year of arrival. It is evident that immigrant males were under-represented proportionally in all primary industries together with Transportation, Trade, Public Administration, and All Other industries. Immigrants were relatively more concentrated in Community, Business and Personal Services, Construction, Manufacturing, together with Finance, Insurance and Real Estate, in that order of magnitude. There was considerable variation by period of immigration. Pre-war male immigrants were relatively heavily concentrated in Agriculture and other primary industries, except Mining. They were also over-represented, relative to other immigrants, in Public Administration, All Other, Transportation, Finance, Insurance and Real Estate and in Trade. Immigrants who arrived after 1946 showed a rapid decline in degree of relative concentration in Agriculture and other primary industries, except Mining, where they maintained a proportional representation even after 1961. Manufacturing industries maintained a somewhat above-average concentration from 1961 to 1971, while the Construction industry achieved its highest relative concentration among the 1951-60 cohort. Community, Business and Personal Services had the greatest relative concentration among immigrants arriving in 1961 or later.

Table 9.2 shows that foreign-born women were under-represented in all primary industries except Fishing and Trapping, although the absolute numbers in that occupation were very small. They were relatively concentrated in Manufacturing and Construction; immigrant women were proportionally represented

TABLE 9.1. Index of Relative Concentration of Experienced Male Labour Force¹ 15
 Years and Over, Among Industrial Groups, Showing Period of
 Immigration, Canada, 1971

Industrial group	Foreign- born ²	Period of immigration ³			
		Before 1946	1946-50	1951-60	1961-71 ⁴
Agriculture	67	271	88	44	34
Forestry	40	150	104	101	62
Fishing and Trapping	27	237	81	63	53
Mines (including Milling), Quarries and Oil Wells	76	94	108	88	103
Manufacturing	125	77	105	104	108
Construction	129	56	107	128	105
Transportation, Communication and Other Utilities	72	127	111	96	73
Trade	90	105	100	105	93
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	108	120	101	95	89
Community, Business and Personal Service	131	87	87	96	126
Public Administration and Defense	66	133	118	94	62
All other	63	137	76	84	111
Mean deviation of index	33	47	10	15	24

¹Excludes persons looking for work, who last worked prior to January 1 1970, or who never worked.

²Relative to Canadian-born.

³Relative to foreign-born by period of immigration.

⁴Includes the first five months only of 1971.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Industry, Bul. 3.5-7, Table 3.

TABLE 9.2. Index of Relative Concentration of Experienced Female Labour Force¹
15 Years and Over, Among Industrial Groups, Showing Period of
Immigration, Canada, 1971

Industrial group	Foreign- born ²	Period of immigration ³			
		Before 1946	1946-50	1951-60	1961-71 ⁴
Agriculture	87	201	124	70	45
Forestry	65	131	118	131	53
Fishing and Trapping	120	93	63	152	114
Mines (including Milling), Quarries and Oil Wells	88	82	95	95	116
Manufacturing	149	58	88	119	121
Construction	105	92	128	112	74
Transportation, Communication and Other Utilities	72	98	111	100	91
Trade	96	127	111	103	75
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	101	69	109	103	106
Community, Business and Personal Service	98	96	99	94	106
Public Administration and Defense	67	116	118	91	81
All other	80	154	82	89	94
Mean deviation of index	18	28	16	15	21

¹ Excludes persons looking for work, who last worked prior to January 1 1970, or who never worked.

² Relative to Canadian-born.

³ Relative to foreign-born by period of immigration.

⁴ Includes the first five months only of 1971.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Industry, Bul. 3.5-7, Table 3.

in Finance, Insurance and Real Estate but under-represented in all other industries. Again there was significant variation by period of immigration. Foreign-born women who arrived before 1946 were more likely to be found in Agriculture, All Other industries, Forestry, Trade and Public Administration. After 1946 there was a progressive decline in Agriculture and Forestry and a steady increase in relative concentration in Manufacturing industries. Those who arrived between 1946 and 1960 had some relative concentration in Construction, but, after 1961, Community, Business, and Personal Services exhibited greater relative concentration.

9.1. Primary, Secondary and Tertiary Sectors

A broad distribution may be made between the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors of industry.²

Altogether, 44% of males and 74% of females were employed in the tertiary sector; only 11% of males and 6% of females were employed in the primary sector. There was a substantial difference between the Canadian-born and the foreign-born males, particularly in the primary sector which employed 12% of the Canadian-born and only 7% of the foreign-born. There is some interesting variation by generation and period of immigration. Almost 16% of the Canadian-born with two foreign-born parents and the same proportion of pre-1946 immigrants were employed in the primary sector. In contrast, the majority of immigrants who came to Canada between 1946 and 1965 were in secondary industries, but the most recent cohort, 1966-71, was over-represented in the tertiary sector.

The pattern for females was somewhat different. The Canadian-born were more likely to be in the tertiary sector than the foreign-born. This was characteristic of 75% of the Canadian-born of Canadian parentage compared with only 69% of immigrants. Immigrant women appeared more likely than the Canadian-born to be employed in secondary industries. Presumably reflecting the role of women in family farms, there was a concentration of pre-1946 immigrants and the Canadian-born of two foreign parents in the primary sector, similar to that found among males.

See footnote(s) on page 314.

The comparison between Quebec and other provinces is shown in Tables 9.3 and 9.4. For the male experienced labour force there was a somewhat higher participation in the primary sector outside of Quebec. There was no concentration of pre-1946 immigrants and the second generation in primary industries in Quebec. This contrasted with the above-average proportion of immigrants and their Canadian-born children working family farms, characteristic of the Prairie Provinces. The proportion of post-1961 immigrants in Quebec employed in the tertiary sector was higher than in other provinces, although there was little difference between Quebec and other provinces in the case of the Canadian-born.

The contrast between Quebec and the rest of Canada is even greater when the female experienced labour force is considered. Among the Canadian-born women the proportion employed in the primary sector outside of Quebec, although small, was more than twice that in Quebec. The contrast was even greater for the foreign-born, with less than 1% immigrant women in Quebec employed in primary industries compared with nearly 6% in other provinces. The other distinctive feature of the female labour force in Quebec is the high proportion employed in secondary industries compared with the rest of Canada. This is most marked in the case of immigrant women of whom 44% of those living in Quebec were employed in the secondary sector compared with only 23% of those living outside Quebec. Immigrant women in other provinces were much more likely to be in the tertiary sector.

9.2 Birthplace and Ethnic Origin

As well as the variations attributable to generation and period of immigration there were significant birthplace and ethnic differences in the distribution of the experienced labour force by industry. Table 9.5 shows the indexes of relative concentration for males in the experienced labour force by industry and birthplace. Like the Canadian-born, those born in the United States were relatively concentrated in Agriculture and Mining but not in Forestry or Fishing. Americans were most over-represented in Community, Business, and Personal Services, followed by Finance, Insurance and Real Estate. Those born in the United Kingdom were under-represented in all primary industries and showed highest relative concentration in Finance, Insurance and Real Estate, followed by Community, Business and Personal Services, Manufacturing and Public Administration. In contrast, immigrants born in other Northern European countries exhibited marked concentration in primary industries and Construction, reflecting

TABLE 9.3. Percentage of Experienced Labour Force by Industrial Sector by Generation of the Canadian-born and Period of Immigration of the Foreign-born, Controlling for Sex, Quebec, 1971

Birthplace of parents/ Period of immigration	Total		Industrial sector		
	Number ('000)	Per cent	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
			<u>Males</u>		
Quebec total	1,503.0	100.0	7.8	47.3	44.9
Birthplace of parents for Canadian-born	1,328.6	100.0	8.6	47.0	44.4
Both born in Canada	1,217.5	100.0	9.1	46.5	44.3
One born in Canada	63.5	100.0	2.8	53.5	43.6
Both born outside Canada	47.6	100.0	1.7	50.2	48.1
Period of immigration	174.4	100.0	2.1	49.6	48.3
Before 1946	24.1	100.0	2.5	52.3	45.2
1946-60	83.8	100.0	2.3	53.3	44.4
1961-65 ¹	27.0	100.0	1.1	48.5	50.4
1966-71 ¹	39.5	100.0	2.3	40.8	57.0
			<u>Females</u>		
Quebec total	781.2	100.0	3.2	26.5	70.3
Birthplace of parents for Canadian-born	693.7	100.0	3.5	24.3	72.2
Both born in Canada	630.1	100.0	3.7	23.9	72.4
One born in Canada	40.2	100.0	2.0	25.9	72.1
Both born outside Canada	23.4	100.0	0.4	34.2	65.4
Period of immigration	87.5	100.0	0.9	43.8	55.3
Before 1946	11.2	100.0	0.9	29.5	69.6
1946-60	40.0	100.0	1.8	48.3	50.0
1961-65 ¹	15.1	100.0	..	45.0	55.0
1966-71 ¹	21.2	100.0	..	42.0	58.0

.. not available due to small sample size.

¹Includes the first five months only of 1971.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

TABLE 9.4. Percentage of Experienced Labour Force by Industrial Sector by Generation of the Canadian-born and Period of Immigration of the Foreign-born, Controlling for Sex, Other Provinces, 1971

Birthplace of parents/ Period of immigration	Total		Industrial sector		
	Number	Per cent	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
	('000)		<u>Males</u>		
Other provinces total	4,179.1	100.0	12.5	43.5	44.0
Birthplace of parents for Canadian-born	3,180.5	100.0	13.9	41.8	44.2
Both born in Canada	2,112.4	100.0	13.5	42.2	44.3
One born in Canada	514.7	100.0	12.3	41.6	46.1
Both born outside Canada	553.4	100.0	17.0	40.6	42.4
Period of immigration	998.6	100.0	8.2	48.7	43.2
Before 1946	212.2	100.0	17.1	38.9	44.0
1946-60	502.8	100.0	6.4	51.8	41.7
1961-65	92.5	100.0	4.5	55.2	40.2
1966-71 ¹	191.1	100.0	4.6	48.0	47.4
			<u>Females</u>		
Other provinces total	2,499.1	100.0	6.7	18.5	74.8
Birthplace of parents for Canadian-born	1,932.9	100.0	7.0	17.1	75.9
Both born in Canada	1,289.9	100.0	6.1	17.6	76.3
One born in Canada	318.0	100.0	6.5	15.8	77.6
Both born outside Canada	325.0	100.0	10.7	16.3	72.9
Period of immigration	566.2	100.0	5.8	23.2	71.0
Before 1946	97.7	100.0	11.5	16.2	72.4
1946-60	276.7	100.0	5.7	23.5	70.8
1961-65	61.5	100.0	3.7	28.5	67.8
1966-71 ¹	130.3	100.0	2.6	25.6	71.8

¹Includes the first five months only of 1971.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

TABLE 9.5. Index of Relative Concentration of Experienced Male Labour Force¹ 15 Years and Over, Among Industrial Groups, Showing Birthplace, Canada, 1971

Industrial group	Canada total	Total Canada-born	Total foreign-born	United States	United Kingdom	Other Northern Europe	Western Europe	Southern Europe	Eastern Europe	Asia	All other
Agriculture	100	108	67	165	37	100	122	15	111	27	21
Forestry	100	115	40	94	28	181	47	22	36	19	19
Fishing and Trapping	100	119	27	58	17	206	18	17	16	24	11
Mines (including Milling), Quarries and Oil Wells	100	106	76	114	71	138	83	52	85	70	63
Manufacturing	100	94	125	80	123	100	124	143	142	102	109
Construction	100	93	129	70	71	177	145	242	111	33	60
Transportation, Communication and Other Utilities	100	107	72	79	96	83	63	50	70	59	81
Trade	100	103	90	90	91	82	100	78	93	96	98
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	100	98	108	125	166	109	92	59	88	95	145
Community, Business and Personal Service	100	92	131	164	133	97	108	117	106	247	193
Public Administration and Defense	100	109	66	71	119	69	57	26	48	56	70
All other	100	109	63	77	50	64	53	73	68	78	72
Mean deviation of index		8	33	29	40	35	32	59	30	49	46

¹Excludes persons looking for work, who last worked prior to January 1 1970, or who never worked.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Industry, Bul. 3.5-7, Table 3.

the fact that, as source countries, they were part of the pre-war rather than post-war intake. Western European countries had greatest relative concentration in Construction, followed by Manufacturing and Agriculture, with a slight over-representation, also, in Community, Business and Personal Services. Immigrants from Southern European countries were rarely found in primary industries of any kind and were most heavily concentrated in Construction, followed by Manufacturing and, to a lesser extent, Community, Business and Personal Services. Eastern European males had high relative concentration in Manufacturing, followed by Agriculture, Construction and, also Community, Business and Personal Services. Asian immigrants showed by far the largest relative concentration in Community, Business and Personal Services; they had about the expected proportion in manufacturing but were under-represented proportionally in all other industries. The residual "other birthplaces" included many of the new source countries that only began to send immigrants to Canada, on any scale, after the mid-1960s. They were relatively concentrated in Community, Business and Personal Services, Finance, Insurance and Real Estate and, to a lesser extent, in Manufacturing.

The indexes of relative concentration by industry for women in the experienced labour force by birthplace are shown in Table 9.6. Overall, foreign-born women showed the greatest relative concentration in Manufacturing but there was considerable variation by birthplace. When compared with males the mean deviation of the indexes of relative concentration was lower for all birthplace categories, suggesting a lower propensity to cluster. Women workers born in the United States had a tendency to concentrate in Agriculture, as did American males, suggesting a family-farm situation. Other industries with some over-representation of American women were Community, Business and Personal Services, and the "all other" industry category. Women born in the United Kingdom were relatively concentrated in Finance, Insurance and Real Estate, Trade and Mining and Construction; they also exhibited slight over-representation in Public Administration and in Community, Business and Personal Services. Women born in Northern European countries were heavily concentrated in Fishing, Mining and Forestry but not in Agriculture; they were also over-represented in Construction and in Community, Business and Personal Services. Immigrant women born in Western European countries were most heavily concentrated in Construction, with a lesser concentration in Finance, Insurance and Real Estate, and in Manufacturing. Southern European women showed a very heavy concentration in Manufacturing.

TABLE 9.6. Index of Relative Concentration of Experienced Female Labour Force¹ 15 Years and Over, Among Industrial Groups, Showing Birthplace, Canada, 1971

Industrial group	Canada total	Total Canada-born	Total foreign-born	United States	United Kingdom	Other Northern Europe	Western Europe	Southern Europe	Eastern Europe	Asia	All other
Agriculture	100	103	87	134	41	79	167	46	189	50	26
Forestry	100	109	65	110	80	298	79	19	35	40	19
Fishing and Trapping	100	94	120	37	60	342	92	223	153	199	—
Mines (including Milling), Quarries and Oil Wells	100	103	88	103	124	140	97	35	59	77	90
Manufacturing	100	88	149	62	97	86	110	319	153	126	103
Construction	100	99	105	92	109	111	151	94	120	41	68
Transportation, Communication and Other Utilities	100	107	72	81	97	84	84	31	51	64	95
Trade	100	101	96	93	123	101	105	67	98	67	68
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	100	100	101	78	128	103	110	62	83	90	143
Community, Business and Personal Service	100	100	98	118	103	115	98	69	92	124	124
Public Administration and Defense	100	108	67	78	106	65	64	20	42	63	94
All other	100	105	80	111	59	83	78	94	93	86	62
Mean deviation of index		5	18	21	22	51	21	67	38	39	40

¹Excludes persons looking for work, who last worked prior to January 1 1970, or who never worked.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Industry, Bul. 3.5-7, Table 3.

industries and, although the absolute numbers were very small, also in Fishing. Female immigrants from Eastern European countries also exhibited relative concentration in the Fishing industry; but, in absolute terms, the more significant concentration was in Manufacturing, followed by Construction. Asian women were also relatively concentrated in Fishing, together with Manufacturing and Community, Business and Personal Services. Those from other countries were markedly over-represented in Finance, Insurance and Real Estate, followed by Community, Business and Personal Services, and to a lesser degree, Manufacturing.

To a large extent ethnic variation in industrial distributions reflected a combination of birthplace and period-of-immigration influences. Immigrants who came to Canada before or immediately after World War II, together with their Canadian-born descendants, were more likely to be found in the primary sector, particularly agriculture. This was true of men and women of Dutch, Scandinavian, Polish and German origin. The forestry industry revealed a relative concentration of Native People, together with those of Scandinavian origin; this was true also of fishing and trapping where, in addition, there was some relative concentration of British and the "all other" ethnic groups. Mining and quarrying exhibited some over-representation of Scandinavian, Polish, Ukrainain, Native People, French, and German ethnic groups, in that order of magnitude. Manufacturing industries showed relative concentrations of Italian, "other European", Polish, and French. The construction industry had a substantial relative concentration of the Italian ethnic group together with Netherlands, other European, German, Scandinavian, Native People, and French. Transportation showed some over-representation of British, other ethnic groups, and Scandinavian. Trade was marked by relative concentrations of the Jewish ethnic group, together with a lesser concentration of Asian and British. Finance, insurance and real estate was also notable for its over-representation of the Jewish group and the British. Community, business and personal services showed relative concentrations of Asians, Jews, "all others", and "other Europeans". In public administration there were relative concentrations of Native People, British and "all other" ethnic groups. The remaining unspecified industries had relative concentrations of Native People, "all other" ethnic groups, French and "other Europeans".

In the third-plus generation the Canadian-born Indian, West Indian, and Negro males had the highest proportion, 25%, in primary industries, followed by those of Northern, Western, Central, and Eastern European origins. The third-plus generation of British origin was slightly over-represented in primary

industries. As noted above, the Canadian-born of foreign parentage were most likely to be found in the primary sector, and this was particularly true of the European origin groups, excluding the Italian. By the same token, among the pre-1946 immigrants, participation in the primary sector was most characteristic of the Northern, Western, Central, and Eastern European groups. Even among more recent immigrants there was a somewhat above-average propensity to enter the primary sector among the Northern and Western Europeans. Significantly under-represented in the primary sector were the Canadian- and foreign-born of Asian, Italian, and particularly Jewish origin; most notable among women workers was the very high proportion, 82%, of the Jewish women in the tertiary sector. The only exception was the somewhat smaller proportion among female Jewish immigrants who came to Canada between 1946 and 1965. European women immigrants including those from Italy were also somewhat under-represented in the tertiary sector.

When Quebec was considered separately it was evident that the majority of males in the primary sector were of British or French origin. Almost all other ethnic groups were under-represented in the primary sector compared with other provinces. Outside Quebec the major concentrations in primary industries were among pre-1946 immigrants and the Canadian-born of Northern, Western, Central and Eastern European origin. Even among the most recent immigrants 13% of those of Northern and Western European origin were in the primary sector. This contrasts with immigrants of other origins, particularly Italian, Jewish, and West Indian, virtually none of whom were in the primary sector.

There were also differences between Quebec and the rest of Canada with regard to the distribution of the female labour force by industry and ethnic group. In Quebec, both immigrant and Canadian-born women of Central and Eastern European origin were under-represented in the tertiary sector. Surprisingly, this was true also of Jewish immigrant women in Quebec, a higher-than-average proportion of whom appeared to be in secondary industries, whereas in other provinces Jewish women were predominantly in the tertiary sector. This was true of about 90% of Jewish immigrant women who arrived after 1960. In contrast, immigrant women of European origin including Italian were under-represented (compared with other immigrant or Canadian-born women of British or French origin) in the tertiary sector in other provinces, as in Quebec.

9.3 Metropolitan Areas

To allow for the effects of urbanization, the industrial distribution of the experienced labour force was examined for the metropolitan areas of Montréal and Toronto.³ Needless to say, comparatively few males or females located in the metropolitan areas were employed in the primary sector. However, it is interesting to examine the distribution of those born in and outside Canada and the extent of ethnic concentrations in specific industries such as manufacturing, construction and services. Foreign-born males in Montréal showed the greatest relative concentration (index 133) in Community, Business and Personal Services, followed by Manufacturing (122) and Construction (111); they were under-represented in all other industries. Immigrant women in Montréal were relatively concentrated in Manufacturing (159) and under-represented elsewhere. In Toronto, foreign-born males were relatively concentrated in Construction (147), Manufacturing (110), and in Community, Business and Personal Services (107). Immigrant women in Toronto were relatively concentrated in Manufacturing (126) and had proportional representation in Community, Business and Personal Services (100). Immigrants were under-represented in other industries.

The distribution of the total male labour force was quite similar for Montréal and Toronto, with the exception that in Montréal a slightly higher proportion was employed in Transportation compared with Toronto while the latter had a somewhat higher proportion in construction industries. However, when the distributions of the foreign-born alone were considered, there was greater difference between the two metropolitan areas. In Montréal, a somewhat higher proportion of immigrants were employed in Manufacturing and in Community, Business and Personal Services, compared with Toronto which had a higher concentration of immigrants in Construction.

Table 9.7 shows the distribution of the male labour force for Montréal and Toronto by birthplace of parents for the Canadian-born and period of immigration for the foreign-born. In Montréal, the proportion of immigrants employed in Manufacturing declined slightly by length of residence, but the proportion remained fairly constant in Toronto. In both areas the proportion

See footnote(s) on page 314.

TABLE 9.7. Percentage of Experienced Male Labour Force by Industrial Divisions and Birthplace of Parents of the Canadian-born and Period of Immigration of the Foreign-born, Controlling for Sex, Montréal and Toronto GMAs, 1971

Industrial division	Total Canada-born	Birthplace of parents			Total foreign-born	Period of immigration				Total labour force
		Both born in Canada	One born in Canada	Both born outside Canada		Before 1946	1946-60	1961-65	1966-71 ¹	
<u>Montréal</u>										
Manufacturing	26.1	25.7	27.1	31.0	35.0	38.6	35.7	33.9	32.1	28.0
Construction	6.7	7.1	3.9	5.3	8.4	2.3	10.6	11.9	4.4	7.1
Transportation	13.5	13.5	15.8	11.6	6.5	10.8	7.0	5.0	4.0	12.1
Trade	15.7	15.3	14.7	21.1	14.5	13.6	15.2	11.5	15.6	15.5
Finance	4.7	4.4	7.4	5.3	4.6	8.5	3.8	5.0	4.0	4.7
Community	16.8	16.7	18.2	15.5	23.2	19.9	20.1	24.8	30.8	18.1
Administration	7.3	7.6	6.1	4.4	1.7	1.1	1.7	1.4	2.2	6.1
Primary and unspecified	9.1	9.7	6.9	5.8	6.2	5.1	6.1	6.5	6.9	8.6
Total: Per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number ('000)	557.6	478.3	38.0	41.3	143.3	17.6	71.8	21.8	32.1	700.9
<u>Toronto</u>										
Manufacturing	26.2	25.6	28.4	26.3	31.4	31.9	30.6	32.7	32.4	28.5
Construction	6.3	6.4	6.0	6.3	13.3	6.9	13.3	19.8	12.7	9.3
Transportation	11.9	11.2	12.4	13.8	6.9	10.7	7.1	6.3	5.1	9.7
Trade	15.8	16.1	16.0	14.8	14.3	16.2	14.9	14.9	11.9	15.2
Finance	6.0	5.8	6.5	6.3	4.7	4.4	5.1	3.9	4.3	5.4
Community	17.7	17.1	19.3	18.5	19.4	17.0	19.2	16.6	22.3	18.5
Administration	6.3	6.2	6.7	6.4	5.2	7.1	5.8	1.7	4.9	5.8
Primary and unspecified	9.8	11.7	4.8	7.6	4.8	5.7	4.1	4.2	6.4	7.6
Total: Per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number ('000)	436.4	273.7	75.1	87.6	336.9	36.4	175.3	41.0	84.2	773.3

¹Includes the first five months only of 1971.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

entering the Construction industry was highest in 1961-65. In Montréal there was a steady increase in the proportion employed in Community, Business and Personal Services, from 20% among the pre-war immigrants to 31% of the 1966-71 cohort. In Toronto this trend was not as marked. When the industrial distribution of the Canadian-born was considered by generation, there appeared to be no very strong tendencies in either Montréal or Toronto, except for a slight decline in the proportion employed in Manufacturing when those with two foreign-born parents were compared with the third-plus generation.

Table 9.8 shows the distribution of the female labour force for Montréal and Toronto by birthplace of parents for the Canadian-born and period of immigration for the foreign-born. Again, the industrial profiles for the two cities were quite similar, but the distribution of the immigrant population exhibited some variation. In Montréal, a larger proportion of women was employed in Manufacturing than in Toronto, where a higher proportion than in Montréal was employed in Trade. In both Montréal and Toronto, women who entered Canada between 1961-65 had the highest proportion employed in Manufacturing. In Montréal, almost half the 1966-71 cohort was employed in Community, Business and Personal Services, compared with less than a third that cohort in Toronto. Among the Canadian-born in both metropolitan areas, there was a tendency for those with two foreign-born parents to be over-represented in Trade.

Variations by birthplace reflected in part the different periods of immigration and the differences between independent and nominated streams. In Montréal, a very high proportion of immigrants from the United Kingdom, Poland, and other Eastern European countries was employed in Manufacturing. In Toronto, this concentration was not as significant. In both areas the Italian concentration in Construction was evident, although it was most marked in Toronto where 32% of male workers born in Italy were employed in the Construction industry. This contrasted with only 2.9% of those born in the United States, 1.7% of the Asian born, and 2.6% of those born in "all other" countries. In both metropolitan areas the latter nationalities tended to be over-represented in Community, Business and Personal Services.

In Montréal, immigrant women from Italy and other Southern European countries were heavily concentrated in Manufacturing. This was also the case in Toronto, although to a lesser extent. Female immigrants from Poland and

TABLE 9.8. Percentage of Experienced Female Labour Force by Industrial Divisions and Birthplace of Parents of the Canadian-born and Period of Immigration of the Foreign-born, Controlling for Sex, Montréal and Toronto CMAs, 1971

Industrial division	Total Canada-born	Birthplace of parents			Total foreign-born	Period of immigration				Total labour force
		Both born in Canada	One born in Canada	Both born outside Canada		Before 1946	1946-60	1961-65	1966-71 ¹	
<u>Montréal</u>										
Manufacturing and Construction	19.5	19.6	23.1	14.4	31.9	25.0	32.2	38.1	30.4	22.0
Transportation	5.5	5.5	6.7	3.9	3.1	2.4	3.4	4.5	2.1	5.0
Trade	14.5	14.1	11.3	23.8	12.7	14.3	16.2	13.4	5.2	14.1
Finance	8.4	8.1	10.5	9.9	5.1	6.0	5.7	3.7	4.6	7.7
Community	36.0	36.4	35.7	30.9	37.0	36.9	34.2	28.4	47.9	36.2
Administration	3.8	3.8	5.5	1.1	0.9	0.0	1.4	1.5	0.0	3.2
Primary and unspecified	12.3	12.4	7.1	16.0	9.2	15.5	6.9	10.4	9.8	11.7
Total: Per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number ('000)	300.6	258.7	23.8	18.1	76.3	8.4	35.1	13.4	19.4	376.9
<u>Toronto</u>										
Manufacturing and Construction	16.8	16.2	18.2	17.6	24.6	16.9	25.8	29.4	23.2	20.0
Transportation	5.1	4.7	7.2	4.5	2.9	2.9	3.8	2.4	1.5	4.2
Trade	17.8	16.7	15.2	23.4	17.2	24.2	17.3	11.5	16.5	17.5
Finance	9.0	9.0	11.0	7.1	9.8	6.8	9.6	8.6	11.9	9.3
Community	36.0	36.9	36.8	32.4	34.8	35.7	35.2	38.0	32.4	35.5
Administration	4.8	4.3	5.2	6.2	4.5	6.3	4.2	2.4	5.3	4.7
Primary and unspecified	10.5	12.1	6.4	8.9	6.3	7.3	4.0	6.7	9.1	8.7
Total: Per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number ('000)	281.5	176.3	50.0	55.2	198.0	20.7	93.7	25.5	58.1	479.5

¹Includes the first five months only of 1971.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

other Eastern European countries were also over-represented in Manufacturing. For most other birthplace groups, foreign-born women were over-represented in Community, Business and Personal Services, compared with the Canadian-born.

In Montréal, Jewish immigrants were over-represented in Manufacturing whereas they were under-represented in these industries in Toronto. In Toronto, Jewish immigrant males were more likely to be found in Construction, Trade, and in Community, Business and Personal Services than in Montréal. In both metropolitan areas, the Canadian-born of Asian origin showed an even greater propensity than the Asian born to be in Community, Business and Personal Services. As in the case of males, Jewish immigrant women in Montréal were more likely than those in Toronto to be employed in Manufacturing and less likely to be employed in Transportation, Trade, or Finance. Asian immigrant women in Montréal were also more likely than their counterparts in Toronto to be employed in Manufacturing, but a substantially higher proportion were found in Trade.

When the Canadian-born of British origin were compared with French-Canadians in Montréal, the differences were comparatively small, although there was a slightly greater tendency for the British to be employed in Transportation and the French in Trade, Community, Business and Personal Services. Canadian-born Jewish men were more likely to be found in Manufacturing and in Trade if resident in Montréal, compared with the same group in Toronto. French-Canadian women were more likely to be found in Manufacturing and British women were over-represented in Finance. Canadian-born Jewish women had a high proportion in Manufacturing in Montréal, but this was not the case in Toronto where the largest proportion, 41%, was employed in Community, Business and Personal Services.

It is interesting to consider whether in the metropolitan areas there is any evidence of a process of assimilation or convergence toward the characteristics of the numerically predominant Canadian-born origin groups. In the case of Toronto, this would be the British and for Montréal, the French. In fact, considerable ethnic variation persisted among the Canadian-born as far as industrial distributions were concerned. However, these ethnic concentrations were not the same as those found for the foreign-born of the same ethnic group. For example, there was an index of dissimilarity of 26 between the Canadian-born of British origin in Toronto and the foreign-born of Italian origin. When the Canadian-born of Italian origin were compared with the

"charter group" the index was 25, showing little change. However, when the Canadian-born of Italian origin were compared with the foreign-born of Italian origin, the index was 30. A closer examination showed that there had been a very substantial move by the Canadian-born of Italian origin from the Manufacturing and Construction industries, in which the foreign-born Italians predominated, into Community, Business and Personal Services. When the foreign-born of British origin were compared with the Canadian-born of the same ethnic group, there was no evidence of any substantial redistribution. However, the move out of secondary into tertiary industries exhibited by Canadian-born Italians was also found in several other ethnic groups, in varying degrees. It must be concluded that, in Toronto, there was very substantial intergenerational mobility by industry, but this did not lead to any significant convergence toward the distribution exhibited by the "charter group."

Similarly, among male workers in Montréal, ethnic variation and industrial distribution persisted among the Canadian-born but was not indicative of convergence toward the characteristics of either the French or British charter groups. To a greater extent than in Toronto, the ethnic concentrations in industry by ethnic origin of the Canadian-born appeared to indicate a greater measure of persistence, when the foreign-born were compared with the Canadian-born of the same ethnic group. This was particularly very true of the Polish and Jewish origin groups. Compared with the French, most other ethnic origin groups in Montréal appeared to be under-represented in public administration, whereas this sector appeared to be successfully penetrated by both foreign- and Canadian-born ethnic groups, of all origins, in Toronto.

FOOTNOTES

¹The industrial classification used in the 1971 Census may be reduced to three main sectors: primary, secondary and tertiary. The major industrial groups were collapsed as follows:

Primary: Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing and Trapping, Mines (including Milling, Quarrying and Oil Wells).

Secondary: Manufacturing, Construction, Transportation, Communication, and Other Utilities.

Tertiary: Trade, Finance, Insurance and Real Estate, Community, Business and Personal Services, Public Administration and Defense.

²Percentage distributions by industry exclude the unspecified and undefined categories when computing primary, secondary, and tertiary sectors.

³Percentage distributions by industrial divisions include the unspecified and undefined industries.

CHAPTER 10

OCCUPATIONS

Further evidence that the foreign-born and their children were not structurally assimilated into the Canadian-born population of British or French ethnic origin is provided by the data on occupational distributions. Occupations in manufacturing expanded rapidly up to 1960, after which the professional and service categories grew more rapidly than others. Immigration was a major source of this growth. This distribution of males in the experienced labour force by birthplace and occupational divisions is shown in Table 10.1. The specific occupational distributions by birthplace reflect varying periods of immigration and whether the immigrants concerned were more likely to have come to Canada as refugees, independent immigrants, or were in the sponsored or nominated classes.¹ Thus, immigrants from Italy and other Southern European countries were most likely to be found in Construction, Machining, Production and Service occupations. Immigrants from the United Kingdom, Western Europe and Asia were more often in Professional and Semi-professional occupations, with the exception of those from the Netherlands and some other European countries who came to Canada earlier and, like those from the United States and the Canadian-born, were over-represented in Farming and other primary occupations.

The distribution of the female experienced labour force by birthplace and occupational division is shown in Table 10.2. Canadian-born women and those born in the United States, United Kingdom and most Western European countries were under-represented in Machining and Production processes; these were common occupations for immigrant women from Italy, Southern Europe, and some Eastern European countries. Clerical employment was typical of women of all nationalities but was most characteristic of those born in Canada and the United Kingdom. Service occupations, particularly those requiring little education or knowledge of English, attracted immigrant women from countries in Southern and Eastern Europe. Canadian-born women and those born in the Netherlands, Germany, and other Northern and Western European countries were over-represented in Farming occupations.

See footnote(s) on page 360.

TABLE 10.1. Percentage of Male Experienced Labour Force by Major Occupational Divisions and Birthplace, Canada, 1971

Occupation	Foreign-born												Total Canada
	Canada- born	United States	United Kingdom	Germany	Nether- lands	Other Northern and Western Europe	Italy	Other Southern Europe	Poland	Other Eastern Europe	Asia	Other	
Managerial	5.7	10.5	8.6	5.4	4.4	6.5	1.5	1.3	4.7	4.5	4.5	6.2	5.7
Natural Sciences	3.5	6.3	8.3	7.3	4.7	6.0	1.5	2.5	3.9	6.3	10.6	8.1	4.0
Social Sciences	1.1	1.7	0.9	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.1	0.0	0.6	0.5	0.8	1.3	1.0
Religion	0.4	1.5	0.6	0.2	0.3	0.5	0.0	0.2	0.5	0.7	0.5	0.3	0.4
Teaching	2.5	9.2	4.0	2.0	1.6	2.7	0.9	0.7	1.7	1.7	4.7	8.4	2.7
Medicine and Health	1.5	1.6	2.7	1.6	1.6	1.7	0.2	1.1	2.4	2.7	5.9	6.3	1.7
Artistic	1.0	2.7	1.9	1.5	0.3	2.4	0.5	0.4	0.6	0.8	0.8	1.3	1.1
Clerical	8.8	5.4	10.1	4.5	3.5	5.7	3.9	3.7	3.3	4.7	8.0	11.7	8.3
Sales	11.1	11.9	11.0	7.5	9.4	7.8	6.5	4.8	9.5	7.9	10.0	9.1	10.7
Services	9.6	7.6	11.4	9.2	8.2	9.9	12.6	25.3	10.1	10.3	20.8	10.5	10.2
Farming	8.3	11.9	3.0	5.7	16.1	9.5	1.6	2.9	7.6	9.9	3.3	2.1	7.7
Other Primary	3.4	3.0	0.9	2.0	0.8	3.3	0.8	1.9	2.5	1.4	0.9	0.8	3.0
Processing	5.4	3.3	3.4	5.9	5.3	4.8	8.1	7.3	7.1	6.3	4.8	2.1	5.4
Machining	12.3	8.0	14.0	23.8	15.6	16.4	21.6	24.2	22.6	20.0	13.0	16.9	13.4
Construction	9.9	7.5	7.7	13.2	16.9	13.7	26.1	14.9	14.7	12.9	3.0	4.9	10.5
Transport	7.3	3.0	4.0	3.2	4.0	2.9	4.4	2.0	1.3	3.0	3.0	2.1	6.5
Other	8.2	5.1	7.6	6.4	6.5	5.6	9.7	6.8	6.9	6.5	5.5	7.9	8.0
Total: Per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number ('000)	4,472.4	82.7	285.7	80.8	62.0	88.2	164.8	104.5	63.4	107.6	64.0	61.7	5,637.8

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

TABLE 10.2. Percentage of Female Experienced Labour Force by Major Occupational Divisions and Birthplace, Canada, 1971

Occupation	Foreign-born												Total Canada
	Canada- born	United States	United Kingdom	Germany	Nether- lands	Other Northern and Western Europe	Italy	Other Southern Europe	Poland	Other Eastern Europe	Asia	Other	
Managerial	2.1	4.3	2.5	2.0	2.5	1.3	0.0	0.2	1.1	1.0	0.8	1.0	2.0
Natural Sciences	0.5	2.0	1.0	2.0	1.1	1.5	0.3	0.6	1.9	1.3	0.8	1.2	0.6
Social Sciences	1.3	2.4	1.4	0.8	0.9	1.5	0.1	0.0	0.4	0.6	1.4	0.8	1.2
Religion	0.1	0.6	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.1
Teaching	8.2	16.3	5.5	5.3	2.5	7.3	1.4	1.0	3.0	3.8	6.6	9.9	7.7
Medicine and Health	9.0	5.5	8.5	8.9	8.9	9.4	1.0	2.1	4.9	9.0	18.2	17.1	8.8
Artistic	0.9	2.0	1.1	1.2	1.8	1.9	0.1	0.6	0.0	2.1	0.0	0.6	0.9
Clerical	35.9	28.0	41.3	32.0	26.4	28.1	16.6	12.9	17.6	20.2	26.8	36.4	34.5
Sales	9.5	9.0	12.8	11.2	8.6	11.1	3.9	3.9	10.5	10.1	6.6	5.6	9.4
Services	17.0	16.7	15.4	17.2	19.3	19.5	20.2	31.3	30.0	20.2	16.0	14.9	17.3
Farming	5.3	5.1	2.5	5.9	15.4	5.8	1.9	2.5	7.5	9.7	3.0	1.9	5.1
Other Primary	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.1
Processing	2.3	1.6	1.5	1.8	1.8	2.8	7.5	6.4	4.5	3.6	3.6	1.2	2.4
Machining	4.7	4.3	3.7	7.9	8.2	7.5	38.5	31.3	12.7	13.3	12.2	7.2	6.3
Construction	0.2	0.4	0.1	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.2
Transport	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3
Other	2.7	1.2	2.4	2.6	2.9	2.1	8.1	7.3	5.6	4.6	3.3	2.9	2.9
Total: Per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number ('000)	2,605.3	49.0	184.5	49.3	28.0	46.7	77.6	48.2	26.7	52.5	36.2	51.6	3,255.6

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

10.1 Relative Concentration

Using the more detailed major occupational groups in the 1971 Census, indexes of relative concentration by birthplace and occupation were calculated. These give a more complete picture of the degree of over- and under-representation in particular occupations. The results are summarized in Tables 10.3 to 10.6. Table 10.3 shows the 20 occupations in which Canadian-born males have the heaviest concentrations (index of 105 or more). The table also shows the indexes of relative concentration for the foreign-born and specific birthplaces for the same occupations. Heading the list in which the Canadian-born males were most heavily concentrated are such traditional occupations as Fishing, Hunting and Trapping, Forestry and Logging, Pulp and Paper Processing, and Transportation including Railway, Motor, Water, and Other Transportation occupations. Also among the traditional occupations in which Canadians were over-represented are Farming and Horticulture. The Canadian-born exhibited some concentration in certain Sales and Clerical occupations, Protective Services such as Police, together with Reception, Information and Mail. The only professional occupation in which the Canadian-born were relatively concentrated was Law and Jurisprudence. The latter occupation also had a relative concentration of males born in the United States. American immigrants shared with Canadians some relative concentration in Sport and Recreation, Farming and Other Social Sciences. Immigrants born in the United Kingdom as well as Canada were relatively concentrated in Protective Services, Reception, Information and Mail, Government Officials and Administrators, and Other Clerical. With the exception of some relative concentration by Northern and Western European immigrants in Farming, almost all other nationalities were under-represented in those occupations. Occupations in which Canadian-born males exhibited a marked degree of under-representation are shown in Table 10.4. Heading the list are university teachers among whom the Canadian-born were conspicuous by their relative absence. As in other occupations, the Canadian-born still constituted a majority (52% in university teaching) while being seriously under-represented proportionately. In the case of university teaching, there was very marked over-representation by those born in the United States, Asia, other birthplaces and the United Kingdom. Next in order of importance, as far as the relative under-representation of the Canadian-born is concerned, were Fabricating occupations, including Textiles and Wood, Food and Beverage Preparation and Metal Machining. The list also includes a variety of other skilled manual trades, together with various service occupations. Among the professional occupations in which immigrants were relatively more

TABLE 10.3. Twenty Occupations of Experienced Labour Force for Males With the Highest Index of Relative Concentration of the Canadian-born, Showing Birthplace, Canada, 1971

Occupational division	Total Canada- born	Total foreign- born	United States	United Kingdom	Other Northern Europe	Western Europe	Southern Europe	Eastern Europe	Asia	All other
Fishing, Hunting, Trapping and Related	120	23	52	14	193	13	13	12	24	3
Forestry and Logging	116	37	85	21	176	40	27	38	17	12
Railway Transport Operating	115	42	83	57	52	29	26	55	12	18
Pulp and Papermaking and Related	113	48	61	41	102	50	44	60	29	22
Motor Transport Operating	112	53	70	54	64	57	56	44	30	37
Protective Service	111	57	65	127	67	47	12	35	23	44
Other Sales	111	57	62	75	55	66	54	43	30	32
Law and Jurisprudence	110	61	120	85	45	42	16	75	59	101
Water Transport Operating	110	63	75	118	156	43	22	35	34	67
Reception, Information, Mail and Message Distribution	109	65	78	117	64	42	29	41	72	88
Occupations not stated	109	66	76	56	67	57	73	70	78	73
Other Farming, Horticultural and Animal Husbandry	109	66	97	49	91	99	59	58	55	42
Other Transport and Related Equipment Operating	108	69	64	100	59	59	57	77	16	48
Sport and Recreation	107	71	166	87	80	70	45	46	42	83
Government Officials and Administrators	107	73	96	157	77	54	12	45	57	77
Electronic and Related Communications Equipment Operating	107	74	102	128	111	66	28	47	41	93
Other Clerical and Related	107	74	90	125	71	66	26	47	76	119
Farmers	107	74	195	38	116	133	10	146	13	11
Other Occupations in Social Sciences and Related Fields	106	77	229	112	53	68	11	35	97	155
Stationary Engine and Utilities Equipment Operating	105	79	66	140	107	69	39	75	43	39

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Occupations, Bul. 3.3-7, Table 4.

TABLE 10.4. Twenty Occupations of Experienced Labour Force for Males With the Lowest Index of Relative Concentration of the Canadian-born, Showing Birthplace, Canada, 1971

Occupational division	Total Canada- born	Total foreign- born	United States	United Kingdom	Northern Europe	Western Europe	Southern Europe	Eastern Europe	Asia	All other
University Teaching	65	237	992	245	101	164	30	126	557	426
Fabricating: Textiles, Fur and Leather Products	67	229	48	50	67	116	463	454	166	167
Food and Beverage Preparation and Related Service	77	192	77	63	80	131	339	102	848	162
Metal Machining	78	187	62	179	131	245	207	224	106	140
Fabricating: Wood Products	79	181	66	57	146	231	327	206	81	179
Architects and Engineers	80	178	138	269	156	159	41	184	375	258
Apparel and Furnishings Service	83	165	59	61	38	64	333	233	337	96
Other Machining and Related	84	164	79	173	78	159	197	218	93	92
Fine and Commercial Art, Photography and Related Fields	84	162	143	192	168	223	80	171	134	213
Fabricating: Metal	86	155	59	154	105	162	184	194	109	119
Personal Service	86	155	98	73	75	130	346	114	91	95
Physical Sciences	87	150	217	194	101	152	35	117	395	224
Health, Diagnosing and Treating Occupations	88	148	161	173	137	71	29	154	466	433
Other Crafts and Equipment Operating	88	147	171	160	204	169	54	134	230	290
Other Services	88	146	88	128	119	97	228	165	103	103
Other Construction Trades	89	144	66	76	202	156	276	132	26	60
Metal Processing and Related	89	144	54	99	85	124	238	207	53	82
Metal Shaping and Forming	89	142	56	94	138	149	214	164	83	140
Other Processing	91	137	64	66	103	126	182	299	50	60
Lodging and Other Accommodation	91	137	230	115	136	121	98	204	140	136

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Occupations, Bul. 3.3-7, Table 4.

concentrated than the Canadian-born were Architects and Engineers, Fine and Commercial Arts, Physical Sciences, and Health and Diagnosing (medical and para-medical professions).

Table 10.5 shows the 20 occupations in which Canadian-born females had the highest relative concentration; these are the occupations in which immigrants were under-represented. Heading the list are occupations in Government Administration and in Forestry. They are followed closely by Motor Transport Operating, Pulp and Papermaking, School Teaching and Protective Service occupations. It is notable that, although the foreign-born were substantially under-represented in these occupations, women born in the United States were much closer to the Canadian-born and were relatively concentrated in much the same occupations, with the exception of Protective Service, Railway Transport, together with Fishing, Hunting and Trapping. Canadian-born women were over-represented in religion; this was true, to an even greater extent, of those born in the United States. Women born in the United Kingdom were over-represented in some of the same occupations as the Canadian-born; but, with the exception of Wood Processing (except Pulp and Papermaking), immigrant women from other countries were generally under-represented in the occupations listed in Table 10.5 which clearly reflect a strong traditional emphasis. The only professional fields in which Canadian women were over-represented are School Teaching, Religion and Law.

The 20 occupations in which Canadian-born women were under-represented and, therefore, in which the foreign-born women were relatively concentrated, are shown in Table 10.6 Occupations in Textiles clearly attracted a large proportion of female immigrants, particularly those from Southern and Eastern Europe and from Asia. It is evident that Canada depended very heavily upon foreign-born nurses. Canadian-born women were substantially under-represented in Health, Diagnosing and Treating occupations, while immigrants from the United States, United Kingdom, Northern, Western, and Eastern Europe, together with those from Asia and other countries were heavily concentrated in these occupations. As in the case of males, immigrant women were substantially over-represented among University Teachers. This is particularly true of those born in the United States; there was also relative concentration of almost all other birthplace groups, with the exception of Northern and Southern Europe.

Table 10.5. Twenty Occupations of Experienced Labour Force for Females With the Highest Index of Relative Concentration of the Canadian-born, Showing Birthplace, Canada, 1971

Occupational division	Total Canada-born	Total foreign-born	United States	United Kingdom	Other Northern Europe	Western Europe	Southern Europe	Eastern Europe	Asia	All other
Government Officials and Administrators	112	50	110	91	85	33	9	33	16	24
Forestry and Logging	112	51	189	44	109	58	18	56	0	23
Motor Transport Operating	111	55	120	52	72	101	28	37	36	17
Pulp and Papermaking and Related	111	58	128	69	0	42	64	25	0	83
Elementary and Secondary School Teaching	109	63	128	77	59	69	17	38	73	93
Protective Service	109	63	76	114	87	69	22	35	17	37
Religion	108	68	369	48	62	62	20	48	60	17
Reception, Information, Mail and Message Distribution	108	70	90	121	75	57	28	34	40	71
Railway Transport Operating	107	72	0	102	0	94	0	112	0	185
Sport and Recreation	107	73	120	103	74	103	15	66	21	54
Law and Jurisprudence	106	76	113	121	157	45	17	40	121	88
Other Clerical and Related	105	80	93	121	94	81	29	62	58	92
Occupations not stated	105	80	110	62	83	79	93	93	83	65
Wood Processing, except Pulp and Papermaking	105	81	96	39	167	155	45	128	226	0
Stenography and Typing	104	83	87	126	79	86	34	37	80	126
Other Farming, Horticultural and Animal Husbandry	104	83	120	34	73	162	50	181	50	25
Electronic and Related Communications Equipment Operating	104	85	133	125	0	165	0	39	0	130
Other Occupations in Social Sciences and Related Fields	104	85	401	90	77	66	13	49	90	49
Fishing, Hunting, Trapping and Related	104	86	64	85	147	31	120	75	256	0
Other Managers and Administrators	103	87	157	126	70	84	24	87	56	74

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Occupations, Bul. 3.3-7, Table 4.

TABLE 10.6. Twenty Occupations of Experienced Labour Force for Females With the Lowest Index of Relative Concentration of the Canadian-born, Showing Birthplace, Canada, 1971

Occupational division	Total Canada-born	Total foreign-born	United States	United Kingdom	Other Northern Europe	Western Europe	Southern Europe	Eastern Europe	Asia	All other
Fabricating: Textiles, Fur and Leather Products	68	229	44	37	66	93	718	240	271	127
Health, Diagnosing and Treating Occupations	70	221	195	208	150	149	46	340	841	269
University Teaching	74	204	842	139	98	185	43	188	333	254
Other Architecture and Engineering	74	203	55	176	328	302	70	463	147	159
Metal Machining	78	190	63	124	127	167	425	157	116	130
Architects and Engineers	78	188	150	161	173	309	56	412	67	146
Farm Management	79	186	405	95	0	300	57	447	68	147
Other Services	80	180	85	112	185	152	305	292	150	83
Fabricating: Wood Products	83	167	41	56	239	102	476	159	83	60
Physical Sciences	84	165	116	151	153	192	56	278	400	145
Life Sciences	84	165	286	156	165	180	40	198	317	202
Other Crafts and Equipment Operating	84	164	112	141	184	267	120	235	107	124
Fine and Commercial Art, Photography and Related Fields	85	159	212	150	200	205	77	247	122	126
Other Product Fabricating, Assembling and Repairing	86	158	46	90	116	108	394	135	94	103
Textile Processing	86	157	40	50	27	68	462	207	69	78
Other Machining and Related	86	156	0	93	177	246	260	181	0	149
Metal Shaping and Forming, except Machining	86	155	79	98	114	144	337	166	66	53
Wood Machining	87	153	0	49	0	105	516	90	82	59
Fabricating: Electrical, Electronic and Related Equipment	87	153	53	128	109	172	252	158	82	107
Fabricating: Rubber, Plastic and Related Products	87	153	69	70	95	82	381	146	102	154

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Occupations, Bul. 3.3-7, Table 4.

Immigrant women were relatively concentrated in a number of other professional fields including Architecture and Engineering, Physical and Life Sciences, as well as in Fine and Commercial Art and Photography. There was a relative concentration of women born in the United States and Western and Eastern Europe in Farm Management. The majority of other occupations in which Canadian-born women were under-represented and immigrants relatively concentrated were of the secondary manufacturing type.

10.2. Similarity and Dissimilarity of Occupations

Indexes of dissimilarity were calculated for the labour force when classified into major occupational groups. The indexes for males in Canada by birthplace are shown in Table 10.7. The indexes are conventionally interpreted as the proportion of one group that would have to be redistributed in order to achieve a distribution similar to the comparison group. Heuristically, the index of dissimilarity is a useful indicator, but it should be interpreted with care. The relative concentration of the Canadian-born in primary industries and traditional occupations, such as Hunting, Fishing and Trapping, Farming, and Rail transportation makes it extremely unlikely that immigrant groups would, in fact, be redistributed or dispersed over time toward such occupations. On the contrary, it is more likely that, as traditional Canadian occupations decline in importance, there would be an attrition through death, retirement and slow recruitment. As a consequence, in due course the Canadian-born would converge toward the occupational distribution exhibited by the foreign-born. This process is clearly a reversal of that normally understood by assimilation or structural convergence. The indexes show that immigrants from Northern Europe had the greatest similarity to the Canadian-born while those from Southern Europe exhibited the greatest dissimilarity in 1971. Asian immigrants also showed considerable dissimilarity from the Canadian-born but, because of an entirely different pattern of relative concentration, they were even more dissimilar from Southern Europeans. Greatest similarity appeared in the comparisons between Northern, Western, and Eastern Europe.

Table 10.7 also shows that the overall level of dissimilarity of female occupations by birthplace compared with the Canadian-born was lower than that of males. This was true of all birthplace groups with the exception of Southern Europe. Women born in the United States and the United Kingdom exhibited

TABLE 10.7. Index of Dissimilarity of Labour Force 15 Years and Over, Classified by Detailed Occupation Showing Birthplace by Sex,¹ Canada, 1971

Birthplace	Total Canada-born	Total foreign-born	United States	Total Europe	United Kingdom	Other Northern Europe	Western Europe	Southern Europe	Eastern Europe	Asia	All other
Total Canada-born	0.0	15.2	11.5	17.4	13.3	14.1	12.5	46.9	25.4	25.2	19.8
Total foreign-born	19.8	0.0	18.5	3.8	18.6	11.9	10.1	35.2	14.4	17.1	21.0
United States	19.8	24.7	0.0	20.5	19.0	18.2	16.2	49.0	26.4	28.4	25.0
Total Europe	20.9	4.0	27.5	0.0	21.1	13.2	11.7	32.6	12.7	19.1	24.4
United Kingdom	20.2	18.4	22.8	20.9	0.0	17.9	15.8	51.4	31.2	28.4	17.6
Other Northern Europe	17.1	13.9	23.7	13.1	23.8	0.0	10.8	43.8	21.3	20.6	18.8
Western Europe	20.8	9.8	24.6	9.4	21.1	13.7	0.0	43.5	17.4	22.2	21.5
Southern Europe	40.4	27.3	47.7	24.5	43.3	31.9	31.1	0.0	29.0	38.5	50.3
Eastern Europe	23.5	10.6	27.1	10.0	25.0	17.5	12.6	25.1	0.0	24.2	34.3
Asia	34.6	28.9	32.0	32.4	28.6	35.9	33.3	44.9	34.4	0.0	19.7
All other	28.1	20.3	27.2	22.8	16.9	27.9	23.8	41.9	27.2	22.3	0.0

¹The upper right of the diagonal represents the index of dissimilarity for the female labour force; the lower left of the diagonal represents the index of dissimilarity for the male labour force.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Occupations, Bul. 3.3-7, Table 4.

the greatest similarity to the Canadian-born. Women born in Southern European countries exhibited an even greater degree of dissimilarity to those from the United Kingdom and the United States than the Canadian-born or any other birthplace category. The indexes of dissimilarity must be interpreted in the light of the evidence from previous tables showing the relative concentration of Canadian-born and foreign-born women. It was noted that American-born women were relatively concentrated in some occupations (such as social sciences, religion, forestry and logging, pulp and papermaking, and school teaching) in which Canadian-born women were also over-represented, although to a lesser degree. However, American and United Kingdom-born women were under-represented in those occupations (such as textile fabricating, wood fabricating, textile processing and metal machining) which were typical of those from Southern Europe.

The effect of period of immigration on the distribution of occupations for the male labour force in 1971, as measured by indexes of dissimilarity, and comparisons with the Canadian-born are shown in Table 10.8. Clearly, the greatest dissimilarity was between the occupational distribution of the immigrants who entered Canada in 1961-71, compared with pre-war immigrants and the Canadian-born. If it were not for our knowledge of the actual occupational concentrations it would be tempting to interpret the decrease in the indexes of dissimilarity by length of residence as evidence of a gradual dispersion of immigrants toward the occupations characteristic of the Canadian-born. However, there is no reason to expect that post-war immigrants who were recruited for employment in construction or processing (whether in unskilled, semiskilled, or skilled manual positions) or those recruited later for professional and service occupations will show any tendency to disperse toward hunting and trapping, farming or railway transportation. On the contrary, the limited degree of assimilation that has taken place has been through the gradual convergence of the Canadian-born toward the occupations more typically pursued by immigrants. Exceptions were some of the less skilled manual occupations in construction and service industries, in which Southern European immigrants continued to be relatively concentrated.

Indexes of dissimilarity for the female labour force by period of immigration show no linear trend, although immigrants arriving after 1961 exhibit greater dissimilarity than earlier cohorts (Table 10.8). However, the greatest similarity to Canadian-born women is found in the 1946-50 cohort and not among pre-1946 immigrants as a convergence hypothesis would suggest.

TABLE 10.8. Index of Dissimilarity of Labour Force 15 Years and Over, Classified by Detailed Occupation, Showing Period of Immigration by Sex,¹ Canada, 1971

Period of immigration	Pre-1946	1946-50	1951-60	1961-71 ²	Total Canada-born
Pre-1946	0.0	14.5	17.2	25.8	15.8
1946-50	17.5	0.0	8.3	17.1	11.6
1951-60	22.6	8.6	0.0	12.6	15.5
1961-71 ²	30.4	17.2	12.7	0.0	23.2
Total Canada-born	15.0	17.4	21.9	29.6	0.0

¹The upper right of the diagonal represents the index of dissimilarity for the female labour force; the lower left of the diagonal represents the index of dissimilarity for the male labour force.

²Includes the first five months only of 1971.

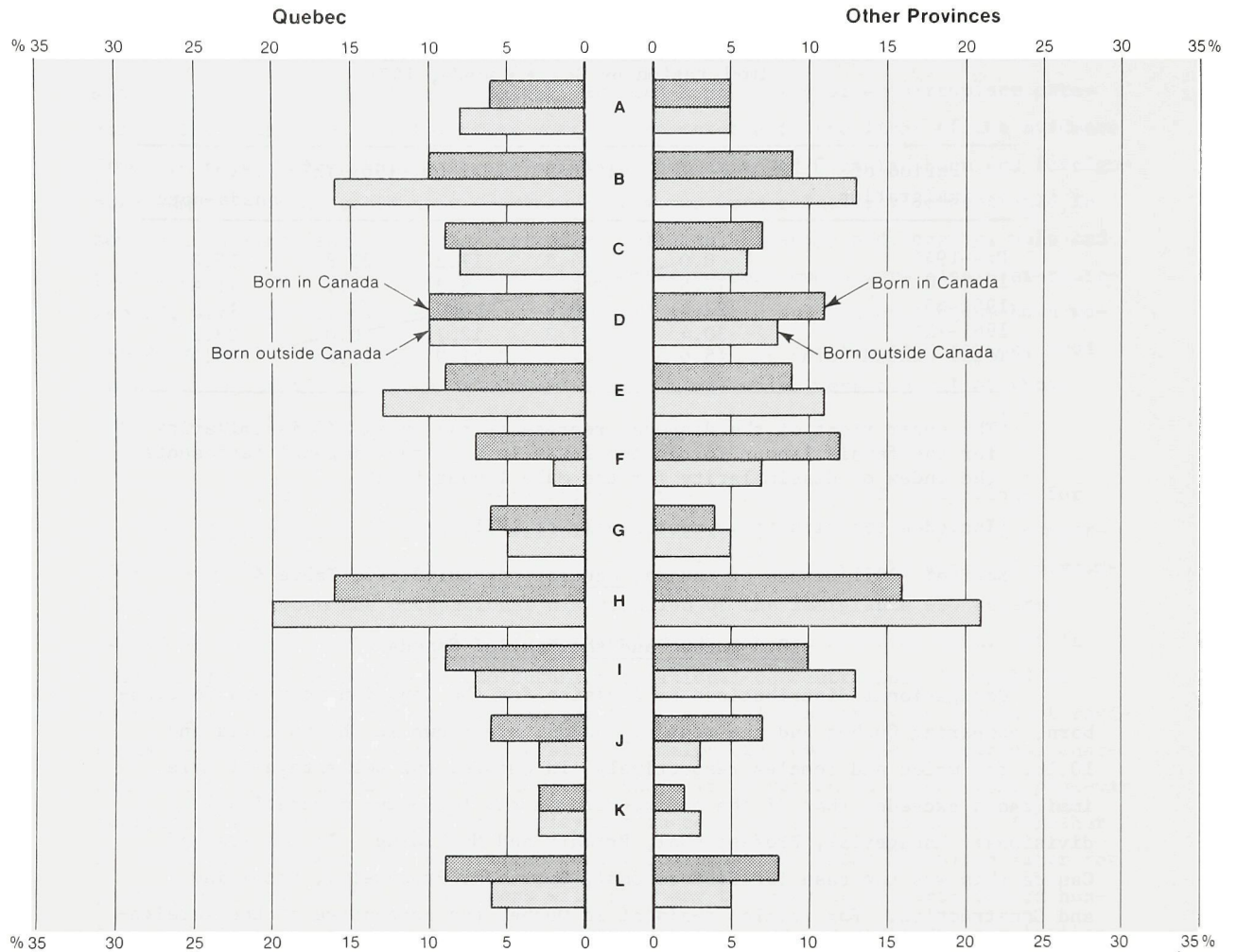
Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Occupations Bul.3.3-7, Table 4

10.3 Quebec and the Rest of Canada

Occupational distributions by division for the Canadian-born and foreign-born, comparing Quebec and the rest of Canada, are shown in Charts 10.1a and 10.1b, for males and females respectively. In Quebec, the percentage of male immigrants exceeded that of the native-born in the following occupational divisions: Managerial, Professional, Primary and Machining. In the rest of Canada this was the case for Professional, Services, Processing, Machining and Construction. For females resident in Quebec the percentage of the foreign-born was higher than that of the Canadian-born in Managerial, Processing, Machining, and Construction but the difference was substantial only in the case of Machining. In other provinces immigrant women had a higher proportion in Services, Processing, Machining, and Construction. Again, only in Machining was the difference of some magnitude, although less than in Quebec.

Comparison between occupational distributions in Quebec and other provinces indicates that, on average, the degree of relative concentration of the Canadian-born was lower, and that of the foreign-born was higher in Quebec

Chart 10.1A
**Percentage of Occupational Divisions by Birthplace for Males,
 Quebec and Other Provinces, 1971**



Legend

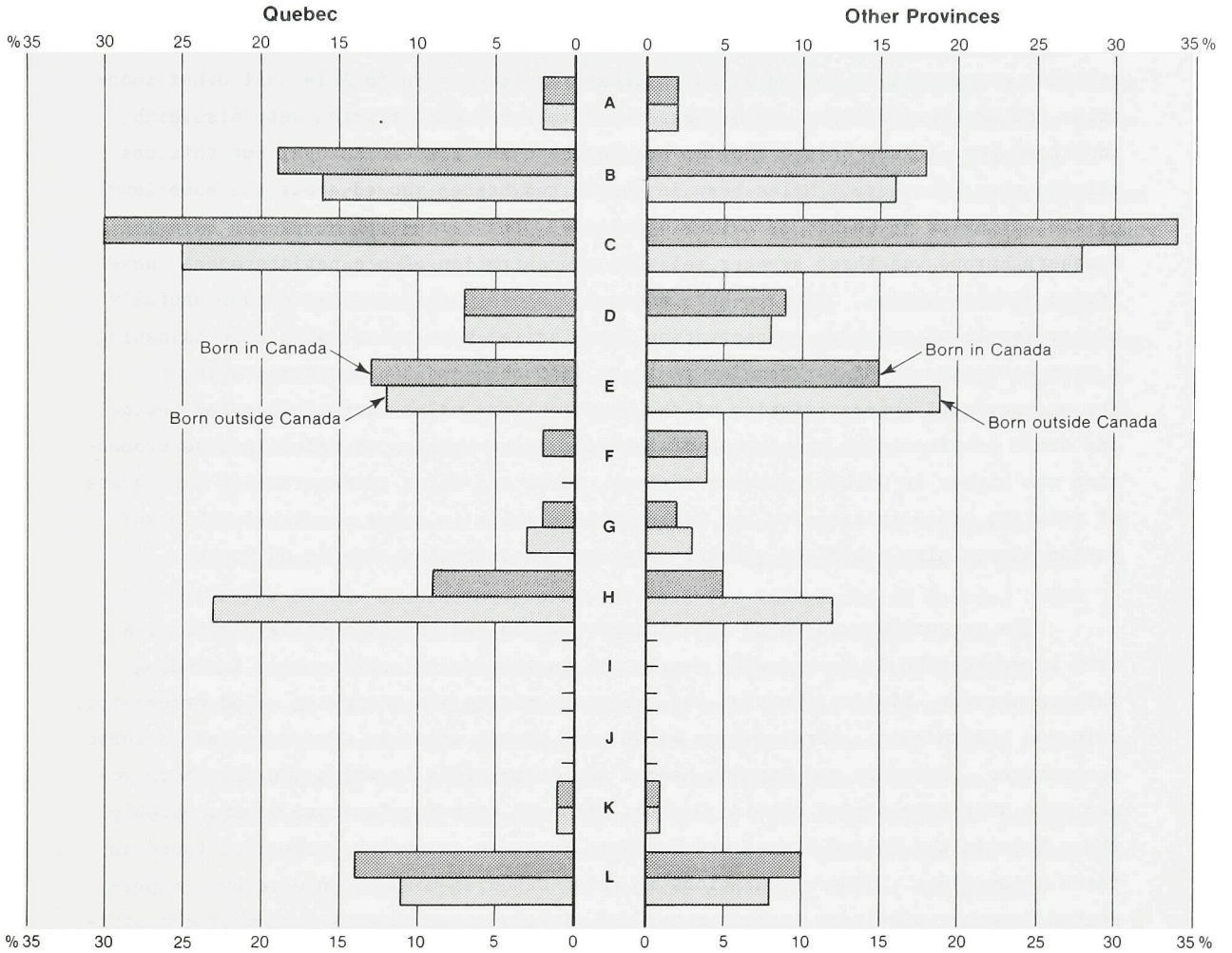
- | | |
|---|---|
| A — Managerial administration and related occupations | G — Processing occupations |
| B — Professional(1) | H — Machining, fabricating, etc.(3) |
| C — Clerical and related occupations | I — Construction trades occupations |
| D — Sales occupations | J — Transport equipment operating occupations |
| E — Service occupations | K — Occupations not elsewhere classified |
| F — Primary occupations(2) | L — Occupations not stated |

(1) Includes occupations in Natural Sciences, Engineering, and Mathematics; Social Sciences and related; Religion; Teaching and related; Medicine and Health; and Artistic, Literary, Recreation, and related.

(2) Includes occupations in Farming, Horticultural, and Animal Husbandry; Fishing, Hunting, Trapping, and related; Forestry and Logging; Mining and Quarrying, including Oil and Gas-Field occupations.

(3) Includes occupations in Machining and related; Product Fabricating Assembling and Repairing; Materials Handling and related; and other Crafts and Equipment Operating.

Chart 10.1B
**Percentage of Occupational Divisions by Birthplaces for Females,
 Quebec and Other Provinces, 1971**



Legend

- | | |
|--|--|
| A — Managerial administration and related occupations | G — Processing occupations |
| B — Professional(1) | H — Machining, fabricating, etc.(3) |
| C — Clerical and related occupations | I — Construction trades occupations |
| D — Sales occupations | J — Transport equipment operating occupations |
| E — Service occupations | K — Occupations not elsewhere classified |
| F — Primary occupations(2) | L — Occupations not stated |

(1) See Chart 10.1A, footnote 1.
 (2) See Chart 10.1A, footnote 2.
 (3) See Chart 10.1A, footnote 3.

than elsewhere. The mean deviation of indexes of relative concentration for foreign-born males was 47 for Quebec and 34 for the rest of Canada. The degree of relative concentration in Canada was highest for those born in Asia, all other countries and Southern Europe. In Quebec, the levels of concentration were also high for those born in the United Kingdom and Northern and Western Europe, but this was not the case elsewhere. Males born in the United States showed about the same level of concentration in Quebec and other provinces. Only among men and women born in Southern Europe was there greater relative concentration of occupations among those living outside Quebec. Foreign-born women living in Quebec exhibited substantially higher levels of relative concentration than foreign-born males, with indexes having a mean deviation of 61 for females resident in Quebec and 36 in other provinces. The occupational characteristics of the Canadian-born males were similar for Quebec and other provinces but the degree of relative concentration of males in wood processing was higher in Quebec, whereas railway, motor and water transportation were areas of relative concentration for the Canadian-born males in other provinces. Law and jurisprudence also exhibited greater relative concentration outside of Quebec.

The occupations in which Canadian-born women had the highest levels of relative concentration in Quebec were nearly all in the traditional sectors including farm management, fishing, hunting and trapping, mining and quarrying, wood processing, pulp and papermaking. Foreign-born women were almost entirely unrepresented in these occupations. Forestry and logging headed the occupations in which Canadian-born women were over-represented outside Quebec, although some foreign-born women, notably those born in the United States and Northern European countries, were also found in these occupations. Other occupations in which Canadian-born women were over-represented in other provinces include motor and air transport operating, government officials, electronic and related communications equipment operating, railway transport and school teaching. Although women born in the United States had somewhat similar areas of occupational concentration (with the exception of air and railway transport operating), immigrants of other origins were under-represented in all these occupations. The occupations in which foreign-born women were over-represented differed between Quebec and other provinces. In Quebec immigrant women were heavily over-represented in air transport operating; this was particularly true of those born in Western Europe, Asia and the United States. This was not the case in other provinces

where Canadian-born women were relatively concentrated in air transport operating, as were immigrants from the United Kingdom, Western Europe and Asia, but other foreign-born women were rarely found. Health, diagnosing and treatment was an area of relative concentration of foreign-born women in Quebec as well as in other provinces. Immigrant women were over-represented in architecture and engineering in Quebec and elsewhere. This was true also of textile fabricating. Other occupations in which female immigrants in Quebec were relatively concentrated included stationary engineering, life sciences, foreign and commercial art. In other provinces, the occupations in which immigrant women were relatively highly concentrated included textiles and other processing, metal machining, farm management and wood fabricating. There were distinctive patterns of occupational concentration in Quebec, with immigrant women tending to fill gaps in a variety of professional and semi-professional occupations in which Canadian-born women were under-represented.

The indexes of dissimilarity for the male labour force by birthplace shown for Quebec and other provinces in Table 10.9 confirm the somewhat greater dissimilarity of the occupational distributions for immigrants in Quebec. Most marked is the difference between those born in the United Kingdom living in Quebec who had an index of dissimilarity of 34.4 compared with the Canadian-born, whereas in other provinces this index was only 19.9. Immigrants from the United Kingdom had about the same degree of dissimilarity from the United States born, whether living in or outside Quebec but United Kingdom-born living in Quebec maintained a greater degree of dissimilarity from other European immigrants. In other words, United Kingdom-born immigrants living in Quebec retained a more distinctive occupational profile. They neither converged toward the Quebec population, nor did the latter become more like the immigrants from the United Kingdom.

Table 10.10 shows the indexes of dissimilarity of the female labour force by birthplace for Quebec and other provinces. Overall, foreign-born women in Quebec exhibited a greater dissimilarity to the Canadian-born than did foreign-born women in other provinces. However, there was considerable variation by birthplace. Differences were comparatively small for women born in the United States, Western and Eastern Europe. Those born in Asia and all other countries actually exhibited a slightly higher index in the other provinces.

TABLE 10.9. Index of Dissimilarity of Male Labour Force 15 Years and Over, Classified by Detailed Occupation Showing Birthplace, Quebec and Other Provinces,¹ 1971

Birthplace	Total Canada-born	Total foreign-born	United States	Total Europe	United Kingdom	Other Northern Europe	Western Europe	Southern Europe	Eastern Europe	Asia	All Other
Total Canada-born	0.0	20.3	19.8	21.5	19.9	17.5	21.4	42.0	24.9	35.3	27.7
Total foreign-born	22.2	0.0	25.2	3.9	18.4	13.3	10.4	27.7	11.0	29.7	19.6
United States	22.4	23.9	0.0	27.9	23.9	24.2	25.8	48.9	28.3	33.1	28.1
Total Europe	23.5	4.8	27.5	0.0	20.6	12.3	9.0	25.2	10.1	32.9	21.7
United Kingdom	34.4	28.9	23.9	31.8	0.0	24.5	22.6	43.3	26.7	29.1	16.5
Other Northern Europe	29.9	23.3	25.1	27.0	17.0	0.0	12.9	31.8	16.9	36.1	27.0
Western Europe	27.9	14.9	23.1	17.9	26.7	23.5	0.0	30.3	11.8	35.1	24.6
Southern Europe	35.7	27.5	45.0	23.1	53.2	48.7	40.2	0.0	24.6	46.3	40.2
Eastern Europe	29.4	15.2	26.7	15.7	30.4	25.1	21.8	33.9	0.0	35.7	26.5
Asia	38.8	25.5	32.3	29.3	30.1	28.7	26.4	44.2	30.5	0.0	23.2
All other	33.6	23.0	26.6	27.3	24.5	24.0	20.1	47.9	27.5	21.6	0.0

¹The upper right of the diagonal represents the index of dissimilarity for other provinces; the lower left of the diagonal represents the index of dissimilarity for Quebec.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Occupations, Bul. 3.3-7, Tables 4 and 5.

TABLE 10.10. Index of Dissimilarity of Female Labour Force 15 Years and Over, Classified by Detailed Occupation Showing Birthplace, for Quebec and Other Provinces,¹ 1971

Birthplace	Total Canada-born	Total foreign-born	United States	Total Europe	United Kingdom	Other Northern Europe	Western Europe	Southern Europe	Eastern Europe	Asia	All other
Total Canada-born	0.0	15.2	12.0	17.1	11.4	14.6	13.2	46.2	27.1	26.7	21.7
Total foreign-born	20.1	0.0	17.9	3.5	17.7	10.8	9.3	34.2	16.2	18.3	21.5
United States	13.3	23.3	0.0	19.6	19.2	17.7	17.6	47.9	27.6	29.2	25.9
Total Europe	24.8	6.0	27.8	0.0	20.0	12.2	9.9	31.9	14.3	20.3	24.6
United Kingdom	22.1	27.5	24.4	32.3	0.0	18.0	17.1	50.1	32.8	29.0	17.6
Other Northern Europe	21.3	27.1	27.0	30.6	20.7	0.0	10.0	40.8	21.7	20.1	19.4
Western Europe	15.3	22.0	15.9	26.4	17.4	21.3	0.0	40.2	17.7	22.4	23.3
Southern Europe	51.3	36.2	54.4	31.0	62.6	58.3	57.3	0.0	26.3	36.6	49.6
Eastern Europe	26.5	17.2	27.9	17.9	29.7	32.1	24.9	41.8	0.0	24.3	36.6
Asia	22.9	20.6	25.0	25.2	32.7	28.9	26.4	46.6	27.1	0.0	21.2
All other	17.7	21.6	23.1	27.0	20.1	15.7	15.9	54.8	28.2	19.6	0.0

¹The upper right of the diagonal represents the index of dissimilarity for other provinces; the lower left of the diagonal represents the index of dissimilarity for Quebec.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Occupations, Bul. 3.3-7, Tables 4 and 5.

However, the index of dissimilarity for women born in the United Kingdom was almost twice as high in Quebec. Other Northern and Southern European immigrants also had substantially higher indexes in Quebec. As was indicated by the analysis of indexes of relative concentration, the actual occupational profiles differed substantially by birthplace. The greatest dissimilarity in Quebec and in other provinces was between the occupational distribution of those born in the United Kingdom and those born in Southern Europe. The difference was greater in Quebec.

When the indexes of dissimilarity for the male labour force in Quebec by period of immigration are compared with those for other provinces, it is evident that the patterns were quite different. Table 10.11 shows that the effect of length of residence was comparatively small in Quebec. Pre-war immigrants had an index of 23.3 compared with 28.9 for those entering between 1961 and 1971 relative to the Canadian-born. In contrast, when the foreign-born in other provinces are compared with the Canadian-born, there is a consistent increase in the degree of dissimilarity by period of immigration. Pre-1946 immigrants had an index of 14.8 compared with those entering between 1961 and 1971 who had an index of 30.8. It would be wrong to interpret this as indicating that, outside of Quebec, there was a gradual convergence of the foreign-born toward the characteristics of the Canadian-born and that this did not occur in Quebec. On the contrary, the more likely explanation is that the Canadian-born population in Quebec, particularly the French, did not move as rapidly toward the more skilled and professional occupations characteristic of an advanced industrial society as the Canadian-born living in other provinces. This interpretation is supported by the fact that the index of dissimilarity between the Canadian-born and Southern European immigrants (who were relatively unskilled) is lower in Quebec than it is in other provinces.

The influence of period of immigration on indexes of dissimilarity for the female labour force in Quebec and other provinces respectively is shown in Table 10.12. For each period of immigration the index of dissimilarity between immigrant women and Canadian-born women was higher in Quebec than in the other provinces. In Quebec, there was a significant difference between those who arrived before 1950 and those who immigrated after that date; the latter exhibited greater dissimilarity. In other provinces those arriving after 1961 exhibited the greatest dissimilarity and those who came in 1946-50 the greatest similarity to the Canadian-born.

TABLE 10.11. Index of Dissimilarity of Male Labour Force 15 Years and Over, Classified by Detailed Occupation, Showing Period of Immigration, Quebec and Other Provinces,¹ 1971

Period of immigration	Pre-1946	1946-50	1951-60	1961-71 ²	Total Canada-born
Before 1946	0.0	18.3	23.2	31.3	14.8
1946-50	13.9	0.0	8.4	17.2	18.0
1951-60	21.7	15.2	0.0	12.3	22.7
1961-71 ²	25.9	20.0	14.1	0.0	30.8
Total Canada-born	23.3	24.5	22.9	28.9	0.0

¹The upper right of the diagonal represents the index of dissimilarity for other provinces; the lower left of the diagonal represents the index of dissimilarity for Quebec.

²Includes the first five months only of 1971.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Occupations, Bul. 3.3-7, Tables 4 and 5.

TABLE 10.12. Index of Dissimilarity of Female Labour Force 15 Years and Over, Classified by Detailed Occupation, Showing Period of Immigration, Quebec and Other Provinces,¹ 1971

Period of immigration	Pre-1946	1946-50	1951-60	1961-71 ²	Total Canada-born
Before 1946	0.0	14.7	16.9	25.5	16.8
1946-50	15.9	0.0	7.3	16.2	11.5
1951-60	20.2	18.3	0.0	12.6	15.3
1961-71 ²	29.8	25.2	12.0	0.0	23.5
Total Canada-born	17.4	17.2	22.1	25.8	0.0

¹The upper right of the diagonal represents the index of dissimilarity for other provinces; the lower left of the diagonal represents the index of dissimilarity for Quebec.

²Includes the first five months only of 1971.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Occupations, Bul. 3.3-7, Tables 4 and 5.

10.4. Generation, Period of Immigration and Ethnic Origin

So far, the analysis of occupational distribution has been in terms of birthplace and of period of immigration as separate influences. However, there was an interaction between birthplace and period of immigration which must be considered. For example, the majority of pre-war and early post-war immigrants were from the United Kingdom and of British ethnic origin, whereas more recent immigrant cohorts have exhibited greater ethnic diversity. A much larger proportion of immigrants who arrived after 1966 came from Asia, the Caribbean, Latin America, and other Third-World countries. Furthermore, the occupations of the Canadian-born by generation and ethnic origin must be considered also.

Although most birthplace categories showed a decline in the degree of dissimilarity with the British "charter group" the longer the group in question had been in Canada, this was not uniformly the case. Exceptions were those born in Germany who had the highest index of dissimilarity, compared with the third-plus generation British, if they entered Canada in 1961-65; Asian immigrants who entered 1946-60 had a higher index than those who arrived earlier or later. The residual "other" category was a heterogeneous one, the composition of which did not remain constant over time. However, in this category pre-1946 immigrants had the highest index of dissimilarity compared with the British charter group.

Table 10.13 shows indexes of dissimilarity by generation, period of immigration, and ethnic group, compared with the British charter group (Canadian-born of two Canadian parents and British ethnic origin). The first important point to note is that, even in the third-plus generation, complete occupational assimilation to the British origin group did not take place. In particular, the Jewish, Asian and Italian ethnic origin groups had comparatively high indexes of dissimilarity even in the case of the Canadian-born with two Canadian-born parents. However, the distinction is greater in the case of males than females. Males of British origin showed a steady increase in the index of dissimilarity with the number of generations and the length of residence in Canada. This is true also of males of French ethnic origin, but it is not a uniform pattern. Although the Canadian-born of German origin were closer to the British charter group than were foreign-born Germans, the latter exhibited little variation by period of immigration. Other origin groups exhibited different patterns according to the specific circumstances of immigration, the degree of selectivity on admission and subsequent patterns of

TABLE 10.13. Index of Dissimilarity of Occupational Divisions Comparing Ethnic Groups by Birthplace of Parents of the Canadian-born and Period of Immigration of the Foreign-born With the Third-Plus Generation British Ethnic Group, by Sex, Canada, 1971

Birthplace of parents/ Period of immigration	British	French	German	Other Northern and Western Europe	Italian	Polish	Other Europe	Jewish	Asian	All other	Total
<u>Males</u>											
Birthplace of parents for Canadian-born											
Both born in Canada	-	8.2	12.6	8.0	20.4	10.3	11.3	39.1	21.8	17.5	6.9 ¹
One born in Canada	5.4	10.2	10.8	8.8	20.9	16.8	9.1	38.1	33.0	11.7	4.2
Both born outside Canada	8.6	15.7	20.4	20.9	17.7	19.5	13.6	51.0	22.6	11.4	9.2
Period of immigration											
Before 1946	12.3	15.2	27.0	30.7	22.6	34.4	26.1	48.6	41.7	21.2	12.2
1946-60	16.8	25.3	26.2	18.6	30.7	27.0	23.3	36.8	50.8	26.8	17.5
1961-65	25.7	30.7	25.9	28.4	45.4	40.0	38.2	41.3	50.0	28.9	26.4
1966-71 ²	25.5	31.9	27.6	25.2	40.5	31.9	31.2	36.8	43.2	28.2	25.7
<u>Females</u>											
Birthplace of parents for Canadian-born											
Both born in Canada	-	10.8	9.0	11.9	17.2	10.5	9.1	20.7	15.8	13.9	8.5 ¹
One born in Canada	6.6	10.9	9.7	12.2	17.3	18.6	11.6	31.0	30.0	17.1	4.8
Both born outside Canada	9.6	28.8	19.4	16.5	20.0	15.8	20.9	26.4	18.7	19.6	9.5
Period of immigration											
Before 1946	11.0	28.3	31.9	33.6	47.4	46.8	42.9	27.5	54.1	44.6	18.1
1946-60	9.7	22.0	17.6	23.1	43.3	22.0	21.7	25.4	37.1	28.3	14.9
1961-65	12.6	25.0	29.0	37.4	56.1	51.0	43.2	36.3	34.1	29.7	22.6
1966-71 ²	8.9	36.9	13.3	19.5	62.9	37.9	34.1	41.7	26.7	32.2	18.3

¹Excludes British.

²Includes the first five months only of 1971.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

adaptation. Thus, among those of Jewish origin, the greatest dissimilarity to the British charter group was exhibited by the Canadian-born with two foreign-born parents, whereas Jewish immigrants who entered Canada in 1966-71 had an occupational profile which, although distinctive, was not as dissimilar. A non-linear trend was also exhibited by immigrants of other Northern and Western European origin. The pre-1946 cohort had greater dissimilarity from the British charter group than did those who arrived in 1946-60.

Generally speaking, immigrant women exhibited a greater similarity to the occupational distributions of the British charter group than did their male counterparts. However, there were some exceptions. Particularly notable were the high indexes of dissimilarity exhibited by immigrant women who arrived before 1946, notably those of Italian, Polish, other European, Asian, and all other origins. With the exception of the French, Italian and Jewish groups, the most recently arrived immigrant women were more like the third-plus generation of British origin than were their pre-war counterparts. Thus, the experience of immigrant women provides even less support for a convergence model of occupational assimilation than does the experience of male immigrants, despite the overall lower level of dissimilarity.

10.4.1. Quebec

The situation in Quebec is of special interest from the point of view of whether immigrants and their Canadian-born children exhibited occupational characteristics that were closer to those of the British charter group or to the French majority. To make this comparison, using the 1% Public Use Sample Tapes, it was necessary to collapse the generational and period-of-immigration categories by ethnic origin to avoid undue sampling error. The indexes of dissimilarity between each of these categories and the third generation British and French respectively are shown for males in Table 10.14. Between the third-plus generation British and French, there is an index of dissimilarity of 17.1. The third-plus generation "other origin" groups have an index of dissimilarity with the British charter group of 11.3 and with the French of 12.4. This suggests an occupational profile which, while closer to the British than that of the French, retained some dissimilarity to both groups. The second generation of British origin (the Canadian-born with one or two foreign-born parents) were occupationally closer to the third-plus generation of British origin than the French, but not as close to the British charter group as the second generation of other origins. Pre-war immigrants of British origin were also

TABLE 10.14. Index of Dissimilarity of Occupational Divisions Comparing the Third-Plus Generation of British and Third-Plus Generation French With Ethnic Groups by Birthplace of Parents of the Canadian-born and Period of Immigration of the Foreign-born, for Males, Quebec, 1971

Birthplace of parents/ Period of immigration/ Ethnic group	Third+ generation	
	British	French
Birthplace of parents for Canadian-born		
Both born in Canada		
British	-	17.1
French	17.1	-
All other	11.3	12.4
One or both born outside Canada		
British	14.7	25.3
All other	9.5	19.3
Period of immigration		
Before 1946		
British	19.6	26.8
All other	12.5	16.2
1946-60		
British	19.3	20.9
Italian	37.4	22.6
All other	24.4	22.6
1961-71 ¹		
British	29.8	28.0
Italian	49.5	34.7
Asian	52.7	54.1
All other	29.5	25.2

¹Includes the first five months only of 1971.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

more distinctive than pre-war immigrants of other origins, but both were closer to the British than the French charter groups.

Male immigrants, who entered Canada between 1946 and 1960 and were resident in Quebec in 1971, exhibited a degree of occupational dissimilarity from the British and French charter groups that was not substantially different from that of pre-war British. However, Italian immigrants in the 1946-60 cohort had an occupational profile in 1971 which was closer to the French-Canadian than the British. Those of other origins in this cohort had a somewhat intermediate position but were a little closer to the French. Indexes of dissimilarity for British immigrants who entered Canada in 1961-71 were higher than those for earlier cohorts and were about equally dissimilar to both British and French. Post-1961 Italian immigrants were occupationally distributed in a way that was markedly dissimilar to either the British or the French, although the index was lower for the latter. Asian immigrants showed very high dissimilarity to both British and French in Quebec, while the remaining other group showed a pattern similar to the 1961-71 British cohort.

In interpreting these indexes of dissimilarity, it must be kept in mind that indexes of approximately the same size can be the consequence of quite different occupational profiles and patterns of relative concentration. Thus, the high indexes for Asian immigrants were a consequence of relative concentration in professional occupations, whereas those for Italian immigrants were due to relative concentration in manufacturing, construction and service occupations.

The indexes of dissimilarity for female occupations in Quebec are shown in Table 10.15. The third-plus generation of other origin were closer to the British and exhibited greater dissimilarity to the French than their male counterparts. In contrast, pre-1946 female immigrants exhibited greater dissimilarity to either British or French charter groups than did pre-1946 males of other origins. Immigrant women of British origin who arrived in 1946-60 had a very low index of dissimilarity to the British female charter group, but they were also closer to the French than males who immigrated in the same period. However, Italian immigrant women who immigrated in this period and those who came later exhibited substantial occupational dissimilarity from either the British or the French origin groups. While the 1961-71 cohort of Asian immigrant women also had a relatively high index of dissimilarity, it was not as large as their male counterparts. While Canadian

TABLE 10.15. Index of Dissimilarity of Occupational Divisions Comparing the Third-Plus Generation British and Third-Plus Generation French With Ethnic Groups by Birthplace of Parents of the Canadian-born and Period of Immigration of the Foreign-born, for Females, Quebec, 1971

Birthplace of parents/ Period of immigration/ Ethnic group	Third+ generation	
	British	French
Birthplace of parents for Canadian-born		
Both born in Canada		
British	-	15.0
French	15.0	-
All other	7.8	14.8
One or both born outside Canada		
British	13.7	25.7
All other	8.1	15.1
Period of immigration		
Before 1946		
British	12.8	18.0
All other	22.5	19.5
1946-60		
British	7.4	13.3
Italian	55.1	47.5
All other	21.1	17.6
1961-71 ¹		
British	19.3	21.2
Italian	67.6	60.2
Asian	30.1	29.7
All other	27.7	22.0

¹Includes the first five months only of 1971.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

and foreign-born women exhibited greater occupational homogeneity than males, it is evident that there were significant differences by ethnic origin which did not altogether disappear with time. In as much as there is any tendency toward convergence in Quebec, it is clearly toward the more prestigious British ethnic group than toward the French, who were the numerical majority.

10.5 Montréal and Toronto

Some differences between the Canadian-born and foreign-born by occupation are explained by the higher proportion of the former in small towns and rural areas, engaged in farming and other primary occupations. In contrast, the majority of immigrants were found in the larger metropolitan areas. Therefore, it is of interest to examine the difference between the Canadian- and foreign-born by generation and period of immigration in the two largest metropolitan areas. If generational and ethnic differences persisted in metropolitan areas, it would be further reason for rejecting the traditional convergence model of immigrant assimilation. Table 10.16 shows the distribution of males in the experienced labour force by occupational divisions, by generation for Canadian-born and by period of immigration for the foreign-born. The total labour force in Montréal shows an occupational profile that does not differ in any substantial degree from that of Toronto. In both metropolitan areas, approximately 46% of the population was engaged in white-collar occupations including Managerial, Professional, Semi-professional, Clerical and Sales. However, in Montréal, 41.3% of immigrants were in white-collar occupations compared with only 35.3% in Toronto. In Montréal, the third-plus generation was slightly under-represented in all four categories constituting the white-collar occupations, whereas the reverse was the case in Toronto. Highly significant is the proportion (65%) of the Canadian-born of foreign parentage in Montréal who were in white-collar employment. However, their over-representation was greatest in Managerial occupations in which 19% of the Canadian-born of two foreign-born parents were to be found. This contrasts with only 7.4% of the third-plus generation. In Toronto, all generations of the Canadian-born were over-represented in white-collar occupations, including Managerial, Professional and Semi-professional; there was little difference between those having Canadian or foreign-born parents. Among the foreign-born in both Montréal and Toronto, there was a curvilinear relationship between period of immigration and proportion in white-collar occupations, with the pre-1946 immigrants and those who arrived in 1966-71 having the highest proportions of white-collar workers. The 1966-71 cohort had the highest proportion, in both

TABLE 10.16. Percentage of Male Experienced Labour Force by Major Occupational Divisions and Birthplace of Parents of the Canadian-born and Period of Immigration of the Foreign-born, Controlling for Sex, Montréal and Toronto CMAs, 1971

Occupational division	Total Canada-born	Birthplace of parents			Total foreign-born	Period of immigration				Total labour force
		Both born in Canada	One born in Canada	Both born outside Canada		Before 1946	1946- 60	1961- 65	1966- 71 ¹	
				<u>Montréal</u>						
Managerial	8.9	7.4	16.8	18.8	8.3	15.3	8.9	4.6	5.6	8.8
Professional and Semi-professional	11.5	11.4	10.8	11.4	14.8	9.7	13.3	16.1	20.5	12.1
Clerical	13.8	13.3	20.9	12.9	8.0	8.5	6.8	11.5	7.8	12.6
Sales	13.1	12.2	14.8	22.0	10.7	14.8	12.7	7.3	6.2	12.6
Services	9.7	10.2	6.4	6.6	11.9	13.1	9.7	13.3	15.3	10.1
Farming and other Primary	1.3	1.3	0.8	1.4	1.2	0.0	1.7	1.4	0.6	1.2
Processing and Machining	17.7	18.4	14.8	13.0	22.2	20.5	20.9	24.3	24.9	18.6
Construction	8.0	8.5	6.4	4.4	7.8	4.5	9.6	9.6	4.4	8.0
Transport	7.6	8.1	4.8	4.1	2.8	4.5	3.5	0.9	1.6	6.6
Other and unspecified	8.6	9.3	3.6	5.4	12.3	9.1	13.0	11.0	13.1	9.3
Total: Per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number ('000)	571.0	490.8	39.2	41.0	143.3	17.6	71.8	21.8	32.1	714.3
				<u>Toronto</u>						
Managerial	10.4	10.2	10.1	11.3	5.1	9.1	5.7	3.7	2.9	8.1
Professional and Semi-professional	14.9	14.1	18.0	14.6	11.9	9.3	11.0	9.0	16.7	13.6
Clerical	13.9	14.6	13.7	12.2	8.5	12.4	7.5	7.3	9.5	11.5
Sales	14.4	13.4	15.4	16.8	9.8	14.0	11.2	6.6	6.5	12.4
Services	7.6	7.6	6.8	8.5	10.8	11.5	11.3	10.5	9.5	9.0
Farming and other Primary	2.0	2.4	1.3	1.4	1.2	1.9	1.4	0.5	1.1	1.7
Processing and Machining	13.8	13.7	14.2	13.8	23.2	18.2	22.5	26.4	25.3	18.0
Construction	6.4	6.5	6.3	6.2	13.5	7.7	13.3	19.5	13.5	9.6
Transport	7.1	7.7	5.4	6.6	3.7	3.3	4.6	2.9	2.4	5.6
Other and unspecified	9.3	9.8	8.8	8.4	12.2	12.6	11.6	13.6	12.7	10.6
Total: Per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number ('000)	423.0	261.6	76.5	84.9	336.9	36.4	175.3	41.0	84.2	759.9

ncludes the first five months only of 1971.

urce: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

metropolitan areas, engaged in Professional and Semi-professional occupations, exceeding the proportion of Canadian-born. With the exception of pre-war immigrants in Montréal, all foreign-born cohorts were under-represented in Managerial occupations and, with the exception of pre-war immigrants in both Montréal and Toronto, also in Clerical and Sales. In both areas, immigrants were more often found in Processing and Machining than were the Canadian-born.

The occupational distribution for women in the experienced labour force is shown in Table 10.17. Again, the occupational profiles for Montréal and Toronto were similar, except for a slightly greater proportion of women in Toronto employed in a Clerical capacity. Women were less likely to be employed in Managerial or Sales occupations than men. However, a higher proportion was in Professional and Semi-professional as well as Clerical occupations. In Montréal and Toronto, immigrant women were under-represented in the Clerical positions compared with the Canadian-born, but were more often found in Processing and Machining. The pattern for Canadian-born women by generation was different from that of men. Canadian-born females of foreign parentage were markedly over-represented in Clerical employment but, compared with the third-plus generation of Canadian-born women, they did not succeed as well in obtaining Professional and Semi-professional employment. It seems that second-generation males found opportunities for upward mobility through Managerial employment but that this avenue was not open to women. However, second-generation women were slightly more often found in Sales occupations than the third-plus generation. In Toronto, women who immigrated before 1946 also had some over-representation in Sales occupations. In Montréal the most recent cohort, 1966-71, of women was over-represented in Professional and Semi-professional occupations but this was not the case in Toronto.

There was some variation in occupational distributions by birthplace of the foreign-born. In Montréal, those born in the United States, United Kingdom, Germany and the Netherlands were over-represented in Managerial occupations but this was not the case in Toronto. All foreign birthplace groups in Montréal had an above-average proportion in Professional and Semi-professional occupations with the exception of those born in Italy, other Southern European countries and Poland. The same was true in Toronto, except that the other Northern and Western European group was also under-represented among Professional and Semi-professional occupations. In both metropolitan areas, the occupational profiles by birthplace

TABLE 10.17. Percentage of Female Experienced Labour Force by Major Occupational Divisions and Birthplace of Parents of the Canadian-born and Period of Immigration of the Foreign-born, Controlling for Sex, Montréal and Toronto CMAs, 1971

Occupational division	Total Canada-born	Birthplace of parents			Total foreign-born	Period of immigration				Total labour force	
		Both born in Canada	One born in Canada	Both born outside Canada		Before 1946	1946- 60	1961- 65	1966- 71 ¹		
			<u>Montréal</u>								
Managerial	2.9	2.6	3.8	5.6	2.4	3.6	2.3	0.7	3.1	2.8	
Professional and Semi-professional	18.3	18.8	16.6	11.2	17.0	9.6	14.7	17.9	24.1	18.0	
Clerical	41.2	39.1	54.0	54.4	26.5	26.2	31.1	18.7	23.7	38.4	
Sales	8.9	8.8	5.3	14.4	6.4	9.5	8.3	6.0	2.1	8.4	
Services	13.1	13.7	10.9	7.8	14.4	16.7	14.0	10.4	17.0	13.4	
Farming and other Primary	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.2	
Processing and Machining	11.5	12.3	7.2	5.0	20.6	17.9	18.0	32.1	18.6	13.2	
Construction	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.2	
Transport	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	
Other and unspecified	3.6	3.9	2.3	1.7	12.4	16.7	11.4	14.1	11.4	5.3	
Total: Per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Number ('000)	328.8	284.3	26.5	18.0	76.3	8.4	35.1	13.4	19.4	405.1	
			<u>Toronto</u>								
Managerial	3.2	3.4	2.6	2.8	1.9	3.9	2.5	0.8	0.7	2.7	
Professional and Semi-professional	18.5	20.8	17.8	11.8	12.7	11.1	13.0	13.0	12.3	16.2	
Clerical	49.6	46.7	53.0	55.6	36.2	39.6	37.2	27.5	37.2	44.3	
Sales	9.4	8.4	10.0	11.7	7.2	14.0	7.7	7.1	4.0	8.5	
Services	9.5	10.3	8.5	7.9	15.1	13.5	14.2	18.0	15.7	11.7	
Farming and other Primary	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.6	1.0	0.4	0.4	0.9	0.5	
Processing and Machining	4.9	5.2	4.2	4.6	13.9	6.3	14.8	17.2	13.6	8.5	
Construction	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.4	0.0	0.0	2.4	0.2	0.2	
Transport	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	
Other and unspecified	4.1	4.2	3.3	4.5	12.3	10.7	10.1	13.7	15.5	7.3	
Total: Per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Number ('000)	300.4	188.5	54.0	57.9	198.0	20.7	93.7	25.5	58.1	498.4	

¹Includes the first five months only of 1971.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

reflected the proportion of immigrants who came to Canada on relatively unselective nominated or sponsored basis compared with the more highly selected independent group. In both Toronto and Montréal, immigrants born in the United States and the United Kingdom had the highest proportion in Managerial, Professional, and Semi-professional employment. All other birthplace groups had an above-average proportion in Processing and Machining. Among males, employment in Service occupations was particularly characteristic of those born in "other Southern European" countries and in Asia.

In Montréal, women born in the United States, Germany, "other Eastern European" countries, Asia and "all other" countries had a high proportion in Professional and Semi-professional occupations. In Toronto, Professional and Semi-professional employment was particularly characteristic of those born in the United States, the Netherlands, Asia and all other countries. Women born in Italy and other Southern European countries were most likely to be found in Processing and Machining, particularly those living in Montréal.

From the point of view of assessing the experience of the second and subsequent generations relative to that of the Canadian-born charter groups the occupational distribution of the Canadian-born in Montréal and Toronto is of special interest. In Montréal, French-Canadians were under-represented in Managerial, Professional, Semi-professional and in Clerical employment. They were more likely than the British to be found in Processing and Machining. Nearly 29% of the Canadian-born males of British origin in Montréal were employed in Managerial, Professional and Semi-professional capacities. This proportion was equalled or exceeded by the Canadian-born of German, Northwest European, other European and Jewish origins. Although the Canadian-born of Italian and Polish origin in Montréal were closer to the French in the proportion in Managerial, Professional and Semi-professional occupations, they were less likely than the latter to be in Processing, Machining and Construction. In other words, all Canadian-born ethnic groups in Montréal tended to have a higher occupational status than the numerically predominant French-Canadian group, with the exception of Canadian-born Italians.

The experience of Canadian-born males in Toronto differed from those resident in Montréal. However, those of French-Canadian origin were still significantly under-represented in Managerial, Professional and Semi-professional

occupations. Those of German and Jewish origin exceeded the proportion of British in Managerial occupations, while those of all origins, except French, exceeded the British in the Professional and Semi-professional proportion. Italian-born males in Toronto had comparatively low occupational status, whereas the Canadian-born of Italian origin achieved substantial upward social mobility. Although under-represented in Managerial and Clerical employment, Canadian-born males of Italian origin in Toronto had an above-average proportion in Professional and Semi-professional occupations and in Sales. Altogether, Canadian-born males of Italian origin in Toronto had 44.3% in white-collar employment, compared with 37.7% of the same group in Montréal.

In Montréal only 57.5% French-Canadian women compared with 77.6% of Canadian-born British were in white-collar employment. Among almost all other Canadian-born ethnic groups, female Clerical employment predominated. In Toronto, Canadian-born women of French origin were less often in Professional, Semi-professional, and Clerical employment and more often in Sales and Services. In contrast, Canadian-born women of all origins except the French, Italian and other European, exceeded the British in the proportion pursuing Professional and Semi-professional employment. In both Montréal and Toronto, Canadian-born women of British origin tended to be under-represented in Services and in Processing and Machining. Canadian-born women of Jewish origin in Toronto were more often found in Professional and Semi-professional employment than in Montréal.

In Montréal, it is notable that the foreign-born of British origin are more likely than the Canadian-born of British origin to be found in Managerial, Professional and Semi-professional employment. The same is true of the foreign-born French, compared with the Canadian-born French. In Toronto, the proportion of foreign-born British in Managerial, Professional, and Semi-professional employment was similar to the Canadian-born of the same ethnic origin. The number of foreign-born French in Toronto was too small to make a reliable comparison. The other Northern and Western European origins were similar to the British in having approximately the same proportion of foreign- and Canadian-born in Managerial, Professional and Semi-professional employment. However, in the case of all other ethnic groups, the proportion of Canadian-born in these high-status occupations was higher than that of the foreign-born of the same origin. As noted earlier, the contrast is particularly marked in the case of the Italian group but the upward

mobility of the second-generation Polish, other European, Jewish, Asian, and all other origin groups is substantial, as measured by this criterion.

Foreign-born women in Montréal were more likely than those in Toronto to be employed in Professional and Managerial occupations and in Processing and Machining, whereas Clerical employment was more typical in Toronto, especially for those of British, German and other Northern or Western European origin. British immigrant women in Montréal were more likely to be in Service occupations and Jewish foreign-born women in Processing and Machining than were these ethnic groups in Toronto.

In general, it would seem that, after controlling for metropolitan area of residence, the high occupational status of the second and subsequent generations of all "non-charter" ethnic groups is confirmed. In some cases, such as the Jewish and some Western European origins, the occupational status of the Canadian-born exceeded that of the British. In all cases, where the entry status of the immigrant group concerned was comparatively low, it is clear that the Canadian-born children of these immigrants experienced substantial upward mobility, relative to the parental generation. Almost invariably, in both Montréal and Toronto, the French-Canadian group had a smaller proportion than the Canadian-born of other ethnic origins in high-status occupations.

Overall, the experience of the two metropolitan areas was clearly different. In Montréal, the numerically dominant French-Canadian group had a comparatively low economic status. There was no evidence that immigrants or their children were converging toward the occupational characteristics of the majority group. Recent immigrants with high occupational status corresponded more closely to the Canadian-born British in Montréal as did the second generation of all ethnic origins. In Toronto, the evidence points to a significant convergence of all Canadian-born generations toward each other, with the Canadian-born of foreign parentage exhibiting an occupational profile very similar to that of the third-plus generation. When specific Canadian-born ethnic groups are considered, several achieved higher occupational status than the British, when the proportion in managerial, professional and semi-professional occupations is used as a criterion. In interpreting differences between Montréal and Toronto, it should be noted that 68.7% of the male labour force in Montréal and 70.2% of the female labour force were

Canadian-born with two Canadian-born parents, the large majority of whom were of French origin. In Toronto, only 34.4% of males and 37.8% of females in the labour force were Canadian-born with two Canadian-born parents, the majority of whom were British. In other words, the foreign-born and their children constituted less than one-third of the labour force of Montréal but almost two-thirds of the labour force of Toronto. Thus, although a process of convergence has taken place in Toronto among the Canadian-born, the minority position of the third-plus generation suggests that the classical model of structural assimilation is not appropriate. Instead, a universal trend toward an occupational distribution characteristic of a post-industrial society is evident.

10.6 Effects of Age and Education on Occupational Status

It has been noted that there was a high negative correlation between age and education. Among both Canadian- and foreign-born, the younger generation was much more likely to have some university education, or technical training, while the older members of the labour force were more likely to have primary education only. Furthermore, there were substantial differences in the age distribution and levels of educational achievement by birthplace, ethnic origin, period of immigration and generation. Consequently, it is reasonable to suppose that some of the variation in occupational distributions could be attributed to these differences in age and education. In order to explore this question, actual occupational distributions were compared with expected distributions, after controlling for age and education. Given the relationship, at a national level, between age and education, on the one hand, and the occupational distribution, on the other, it would be possible to predict the occupational distributions of particular groups using their specific age and educational profiles if age and education were the only determinants of occupation. Differences between actual and expected occupational distributions provide a measure of the extent to which factors, other than age and education, influenced occupational characteristics. Using published data on age, education, and occupation from the 1971 Census (Bulletin 3.3-2), expected distributions of occupations were generated from the 1% Public Use Sample Tapes. Differences between observed and expected distributions were measured by an index of dissimilarity.² At the national level for the total population, the index of

See footnote(s) on page 360.

dissimilarity between observed and expected distributions should have been 0.0. However, because the 1% Public Use Sample excluded Prince Edward Island, the Yukon and Northwest Territories and due to sampling error, the actual index was 1.2 for males and 1.7 for females. The findings are summarized in Table 10.18.

Indexes of dissimilarity between observed and expected, controlling for age and education, were generally greater for the foreign-born than the Canadian-born, although there were exceptions among males in Quebec. For Canadian-born males, differences between actual and expected distributions were comparatively small for the British and French ethnic groups and largest for the Jewish and Asian. In the latter cases there were clearly factors at work, unrelated to age and education, which explained the distinctive occupational distributions of Canadian-born Jews and Asians. One of these was the incidence of self-employment. Among foreign-born males those of Jewish and Asian origin also had the highest indexes of dissimilarity, although there were smaller differences between the ethnic groups than in the case of the Canadian-born. Only immigrants of British origin had a comparatively low index of dissimilarity between observed and expected distributions, after controlling for age and education.

10.6.1. Quebec and the Rest of Canada

When differences between Quebec and other provinces are considered, it is evident that, with the exception of the Jewish group, age and education provided a better basis of predicting occupational distributions outside of Quebec. The indexes of dissimilarity between observed and expected distributions for both Canadian and foreign-born males in Quebec were very much higher than in other provinces. In other words, age and education explained a much greater proportion of a variation in occupational distributions in other provinces, whereas, in Quebec, factors associated with ethnicity appeared to be more influential. Furthermore, the Canadian-born of European and Jewish origin had higher indexes than the foreign-born of the same origin.

When the index of dissimilarity between observed and expected distributions for females are considered, it is evident that they were generally lower than those for males, suggesting that ethnic influences were less important for women. However, in Quebec, although the indexes for females were slightly lower than those for males, it is evident that age and education did not explain the occupational

TABLE 10.18. Index of Dissimilarity Between Actual and Expected Occupational Distributions, by Nativity, Sex, and Ethnic Group, Controlling for Age and Education, Canada, Quebec and Other Provinces, 1971

Ethnic group	Canada				Quebec				Other provinces			
	Males		Females		Males		Females		Males		Females	
	Born in Canada	Foreign-born	Born in Canada	Foreign-born	Born in Canada	Foreign-born	Born in Canada	Foreign-born	Born in Canada	Foreign-born	Born in Canada	Foreign-born
British	4.5	8.5	2.3	4.7	17.2	17.4	15.7	15.1	4.8	13.6	4.0	9.6
French	5.7	14.0	5.1	25.3	7.5	17.0	6.8	30.7	29.7	22.3	29.3	23.7
German	12.1	17.7	10.4	12.7	31.5	16.3	11.8	44.8	13.0	18.5	10.3	13.7
Other Northern and Western European	14.3	16.8	13.5	19.3	84.9	65.6	45.7	70.0	13.0	16.2	11.5	20.0
Italian	15.5	20.2	14.0	27.5	30.3	17.6	28.4	42.0	15.7	32.6	13.5	53.2
Polish	9.5	21.1	14.1	22.2	50.0	44.7	22.2	47.1	8.7	23.7	12.5	27.7
Other European	9.9	16.5	12.0	19.3	60.0	19.9	25.8	55.0	9.9	16.0	13.2	23.1
Jewish	36.6	28.5	18.7	29.0	40.5	34.6	22.7	36.0	52.5	38.0	25.0	23.5
Asian	24.7	39.2	23.8	22.0	50.0	76.7	57.1	50.0	24.4	41.3	15.8	27.3
All other	10.7	20.1	11.4	19.5	21.8	27.6	21.6	35.3	14.3	20.6	11.7	25.7
Total	3.8	12.2	2.6	9.0	8.5	15.9	6.4	21.9	5.4	11.8	4.7	11.2

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Occupations, Bul. 3.3-2; and Public Use Sample Tapes.

profiles of immigrant women, irrespective of ethnicity. Compared with immigrant women in other provinces, those in Quebec had very high indexes of dissimilarity between observed and expected occupational distribution.

10.7. Occupational Status and Social Mobility

A central concern of sociologists studying immigration has been the level of occupational achievement of immigrants and the degree of social mobility of their children. The classical model of immigrant assimilation assumed that the majority of immigrants entered the new country with comparatively low occupational status. Depending upon the extent to which the system of occupational stratification was an open one, immigrants might have hope to improve their occupational status in their lifetime. If there was relative equality of educational opportunity, the second generation might be expected to achieve even greater degrees of upward social mobility and to be dispersed throughout the system of social stratification, unless they experienced ethnic discrimination or other barriers. Already doubts have been cast upon the appropriateness of this model for the Canadian case. It has been shown that, due to the selectivity of immigration policy, specific immigrant groups were able to penetrate the middle and higher levels of occupational status on arrival, although some may have experienced initial status dislocation (Richmond, 1967). It has been argued also that Canada has not provided equality of educational opportunity and that consequently there is substantial ethnic stratification, even among the Canadian-born. This has given rise to the concept of a "vertical mosaic" (Porter, 1965). Therefore, it is important to consider whether immigrants and the Canadian-born, of particular ethnic origins, were over- or under-represented in occupations having high status in Canada.

A reasonably satisfactory examination of this question can be achieved by considering the occupations classified as Managerial, Professional, and Semi-professional. The 31 occupational titles classified as Managerial and Administrative in the 1971 Census had an unweighted average Blishen socio-economic index of 63.18 (Blishen and McRoberts, 1976). The occupational titles ranged from a low for Postmasters of 49.10 to a high of 75.25 for Administrators in Teaching and Related fields. Those classified as Professional and Semi-professional had an unweighted average Blishen socio-economic index of 58.18. These occupations included all those classified under the headings of Natural Sciences, Social Sciences, Religion, Teaching, Medicine and Health, together with Art, Literature, Performing Arts and

Related occupations. They ranged from an unusually low index of 22.23 for occupations in Sport and Recreation not elsewhere classified, to a high of 74.72 for Nuclear Engineers and 74.70 for Dentists. Although there were a limited number of occupations in Sales and Service and some foremen in Transportation, Electrical, and Communications Occupations who achieved Blisshen socio-economic index scores comparable with the average for Professional and Semi-professional occupations, the 99 titles included in the latter covered the majority of occupations that enjoyed high social prestige. Therefore, an examination of the distribution of immigrants and ethnic groups in Managerial occupations and those in Professional and Semi-professional occupations should provide a satisfactory measure of relative occupational status and achievement.

In considering occupational status it is important to allow for the influence of age. Generally speaking, the achievement of managerial status is dependent on experience and is positively correlated with age. A minimum level of education may also be necessary for managerial employment, but it is even more important in the case of most Professional and Semi-professional occupations. In the latter case, age may be less significant as a qualification, although seniority and commensurate levels of remuneration may depend upon age and experience. It should also be kept in mind that there is a negative association between age and education in which higher education and qualifications are more commonly found among younger people in Canada. Therefore, in considering the question of occupational status and social mobility, it is important to take into account the relative effects of age and education on achievement. The following analysis is confined to the male labour force in Canada as a whole.

The relative concentration of males in Managerial and Administrative occupations by birthplace of parents and ethnic origin, for the Canadian-born, and period of immigration and ethnic origin, for the foreign-born, is shown in Table 10.19. The table also shows the actual percentage distribution and the ratio of observed-to-expected numbers in Managerial and Administrative occupations, after controlling for age and education. The table shows that 29% of those in Managerial and Administrative occupations were members of the British charter group. Relative to the expected proportion, given the number of the third-plus generation of British origin in the labour force as a whole, this constituted a slight over-representation, which persisted when age was taken into account. However, when education

TABLE 10.19. Male Experienced Labour Force in Managerial Occupations Classified by Birthplace of Parents of the Canadian-born and Period of Immigration of the Foreign-born by Ethnic Groups, Showing Percentage Distribution, Relative Concentration and Ratio Between Observed and Expected¹ Cases, Controlling for Age, Level of Schooling, and Age and Level of Schooling, Canada, 1971

Birthplace of parents/ Period of immigration/ Ethnic group	Per cent	Relative concentration	Ratio between observed and expected ¹ controlling for:		
			Age	Education	Age and education
Birthplace of parents for Canadian-born					
Both born in Canada					
British	29.0	1.08	1.07	0.95	1.05
French	20.0	0.81	0.76	0.94	1.05
All other	5.0	0.72	0.72	0.61	0.82
One or both born outside Canada					
British	16.3	1.46	1.30	1.32	1.16
All other	9.9	1.03	0.94	0.99	0.98
Period of immigration					
Before 1946					
British	3.6	1.70	1.40	1.89	1.31
All other	1.7	0.83	0.67	1.29	0.90
1946-60					
British	4.7	1.82	1.69	1.22	1.04
Italian	0.5	0.31	0.28	0.53	0.71
All other	5.2	0.88	0.79	0.80	0.73
1961-71 ²					
British	1.9	1.20	1.17	0.71	0.70
Italian	0.2	0.15	0.16	0.29	0.63
Asian	0.1	0.36	0.43	0.20	0.23
All other	1.9	0.58	0.57	0.42	0.43
Total: Per cent	100.0				
Number ('000)	317.4				

¹Expected distributions controlling for age and education calculated from given age and educational characteristics of each occupational group.

²Includes the first five months only of 1971.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

alone was controlled, it seemed that the British charter group was slightly under-represented and when the combined effects of age and education were considered, the ratio of 1.05 is very little different from the ratio of 1.00 which would be expected if age and education were solely responsible for the proportion in managerial and administrative positions.

The third-plus generation French-Canadian was more substantially under-represented in managerial and administrative positions. They constituted 20% of all in this category given a ratio of 0.81. When allowances were made for age the ratio was further reduced to 0.76. Thus, it is evident that French-Canadians were substantially under-represented in managerial occupations. However, this appears to be largely due to lack of education. When education alone is taken into account, the ratio rises to 0.94 and the combined effects of age and education give a ratio of 1.05. The remaining origin groups in the third-plus generation constituted 5% of all those in managerial and administrative positions. The ratio of observed-to-expected is 0.72 and is further reduced when age and education are considered independently. However, there appears to be an interaction effect here because, when the combined effects of age and education are considered, the ratio rises to 0.82. Thus, it is evident that, although both French and other origin groups were under-represented in managerial and administrative positions, this was largely due to low education.

The Canadian-born of British origin having one or two foreign-born parents constituted 16.3% of those in managerial and administrative positions. They were substantially over-represented, even when age and education are taken into account, with a ratio of 1.16. The second generation of other origins was also over-represented, although, when age and education are controlled, the ratio is close to the expected. Pre-1946 immigrants of British origin had a very substantial over-representation in managerial and administrative positions. The degree of relative concentration was reduced when age was taken into account but when education was allowed for both independently and in combination with age, there remained a substantial over-representation of this group; the ratio is 13.1. Pre-war immigrants of other ethnic origins were under-represented in managerial and administrative positions and were even more so after allowing for age. When education alone was taken into account, they were over-represented but the combined effects of age and education left some under-representation. Immigrants of British ethnic origin who

entered Canada in 1946-60 were over-represented in managerial and administrative positions, even after age was controlled. However, this over-representation was substantially reduced when their relatively higher level of education and age were both taken into account. Their situation contrasted with that of Italian and other immigrants who arrived in 1946-60, all of whom were under-represented in managerial and administrative positions, before and after age and education were controlled for.

Immigrants of British ethnic origin who entered Canada in 1961-71 included a significant number from the United States as well as the United Kingdom and elsewhere. This group was substantially over-represented proportionately in managerial and administrative positions, even after controlling for age. However, when education was taken into account, they were actually under-represented in these categories as were all other post-1961 immigrants. However, many post-1961 immigrants achieved high occupational status in professional and semi-professional employment.

The relative concentration of males in professional and semi-professional employment by generation, period of immigration and ethnic origin is shown in Table 10.20. The third-plus generation of British origin constituted 26.8% of all those in professional and semi-professional employment, which was exactly the proportion that this group constituted in the labour force as a whole. After allowing for age, the proportion was still that expected but controlling for education showed there was a slight under-representation. The third-plus generation of French-Canadians constituted 20.6% of all those in professional and semi-professional employment, which indicated a significant under-representation that persisted when age was controlled for. However, the ratio between observed and expected, after controlling for education, showed some over-representation with an index of 1.08. The third-plus generation of other ethnic origins constituted 6% of all those in professional and semi-professional employment, and this meant some under-representation. Under-representation increased after controlling for age but decreased again when education was taken into account, leaving a ratio of 0.90.

The second generation of British ethnic origin was represented in professional and semi-professional employment in almost exactly the expected proportion, although controlling for age showed some over-representation that disappeared after allowing for education. The same generation of other ethnic origins was slightly

TABLE 10.20. Male Experienced Labour Force in Professional and Semi-professional Occupations Classified by Birthplace of Parents of the Canadian-born and Period of Immigration of the Foreign-born by Ethnic Groups, Showing Percentage Distribution, Relative Concentration and Ratio Between Observed and Expected¹ Cases, Controlling for Age, Level of Schooling, and Age and Level of Schooling, Canada, 1971

Birthplace of parents/ Period of immigration/ Ethnic group	Per cent	Relative concentration	Ratio between observed and expected ¹ controlling for:		
			Age	Education	Age and education
Birthplace of parents for Canadian-born					
Both born in Canada					
British	26.8	1.00	1.00	0.94	0.98
French	20.6	0.83	0.80	1.06	1.08
All other	6.0	0.87	0.79	0.82	0.90
One or both born outside Canada					
British	11.2	1.00	1.06	0.96	0.96
All other	9.0	0.94	0.95	0.96	0.95
Period of immigration					
Before 1946					
British	2.0	0.95	1.23	1.17	1.24
All other	1.1	0.56	0.70	0.96	1.00
1946-60					
British	4.6	1.78	1.89	1.20	1.20
Italian	0.6	0.33	0.32	0.65	0.74
All other	6.7	1.11	1.13	1.04	1.04
1961-71 ²					
British	4.6	2.81	2.58	1.60	1.50
Italian	0.4	0.36	0.36	0.86	0.96
Asian	0.8	2.90	2.76	1.24	1.21
All other	5.6	1.78	1.61	1.18	1.09
Total: Per cent					
	100.0				
Number ('000)					
	608.9				

¹Expected distributions controlling for age and education calculated from given age and educational characteristics of each occupational group.

²Includes the first five months only of 1971.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

under-represented, and controlling for age and education did not change this. An apparent under-representation of the pre-war British immigrants became a very significant over-representation when age and educational composition were taken into account. Pre-war immigrants of other ethnic origins were very substantially under-represented in practice, but this was largely due to the age and educational composition of this group. When these were controlled they had the expected proportion.

All immigrants of British ethnic origin who arrived after 1946 were very substantially over-represented in professional and semi-professional employment, even after age and education were taken into account. The residual "others" category was also over-represented, although this tends to obscure considerable variation between those who came as highly selected independent immigrants and those who were sponsored or nominated. Post-war immigrants of Italian ethnic origin were typical of the latter categories and exhibited considerable under-representation in professional and semi-professional employment which was partly attributable to lower education. Highly significant was the very substantial over-representation of post-1961 immigrants in professional and semi-professional employment, even after allowances were made for age and education.

The occupational status and social mobility experience of male immigrants in Canada may be summarized as follows. With the exception of Italian and other Southern European immigrants in the nominated and sponsored categories, the majority of immigrants coming to Canada after 1946, and an even higher proportion of those who came shortly before the 1971 Census, were selected on the basis of their educational and occupational qualifications. Even though some may have experienced occupational dislocation on arrival in Canada, these immigrants were proportionally over-represented in professional and semi-professional employment, which carried with it high social status. However, with the exception of British immigrants who came in 1946-60, they were less likely to be found in managerial or administrative positions. When the second generation of Canadian-born is considered, it is evident that, in the case of the British, there was a larger-than-expected proportion in managerial and administrative positions and close to the expected number in professional and semi-professional employment. In other words, the children of British immigrants either maintained the occupational status of the parents, on average, or improved upon it. The British charter group, the Canadian-born with

two Canadian-born parents of British ethnic origin, had about the expected proportions in these high-status occupations but French-Canadians were substantially under-represented and clearly had lower status than many immigrants and their children born in Canada. The occupational status of French-Canadian males appears to be due to low educational achievement rather than age composition. The low status of the third-plus generation of "other" origins is not fully explained by either age or education but could be related to a relative concentration in primary industries. The second generation of other origins was better represented in high-status occupations than the third-plus.

Among post-war immigrants there were two main streams consisting of those who were independent immigrants, selected because of their high educational and occupational qualifications, together with a less-well-qualified sponsored and nominated stream, mainly from Italy and other Southern European countries. In the years immediately preceding the 1971 Census, the degree of selectivity increased with the introduction of a points system which emphasized educational and occupational qualifications. At the same time, the proportion of immigrants from Asia and other non-European countries increased, the majority of whom were well qualified. As a consequence, the classical model of structural assimilation (which postulates a gradual convergence of the immigrant population toward the characteristics of the native-born) could not be expected to apply. Although, among immigrants outside Quebec, indexes of dissimilarity of occupations between the Canadian-born and the foreign-born decreased with length of residence, this could not be interpreted as a process of convergence of the foreign-born toward the characteristics of the Canadian-born. On the contrary, the persisting relative concentration of the Canadian-born in occupations that were declining in importance in the Canadian economy, suggests the reverse. Those failing to benefit from the expanding economy, since World War II, appear to have been the Native Peoples, those of French-Canadian origin, and all those, irrespective of ethnic origin, who remained in agriculture and other primary employment in rural areas.

FOOTNOTES

¹Percentage distributions by occupation exclude the "not stated" category in all tables.

²In calculating expected distributions of occupations the "not stated" category was included. Therefore, it was also included in the calculation of indexes of dissimilarity.

CHAPTER 11

INCOMES

It has been shown, in earlier chapters, that most immigrants coming to Canada in the decade before the 1971 Census were selected because of their educational and occupational qualifications. On average, post-war immigrants were better educated than the Canadian-born population. British immigrants were generally over-represented in professional and managerial occupations as were the Canadian-born of foreign parentage, although the latter were also to be found more often in farming and other primary occupations. This chapter will consider whether these advantages, in terms of education and occupational status, were translated into higher incomes.

11.1. Total Income

In the 1971 Census, persons 15 years and over were asked to report total income received during the calendar year 1970 from a variety of sources. These included wages and salaries, net income from self-employment and from farm operations, together with other sources of income such as family and youth allowances, government old-age pensions, other government payments, retirement pensions from previous employment, bond and deposit interest and dividends as well as other investment income together with other income sources such as alimony, child support, non-investment income from abroad and scholarships (1971 Census of Canada, 1975, Bulletin 3.6-2). Average and median incomes from all these sources by sex and age group are shown in Table 11.1. The table also compares the Canadian-born and the foreign-born for Canada, Quebec and the rest of Canada.

At the national level, average incomes of the foreign-born in 1970 exceeded those of the Canadian-born. Overall, incomes reported by males born in Canada were 92.7% of the incomes reported by males born outside Canada. Where women reported incomes, differences at the national level were much smaller than in the case of males; the incomes of Canadian-born females were 99.3% of those of immigrant females. However, for both men and women, there were variations according to age group and residence in Quebec or other provinces. Among males in Quebec, 20-34, there was hardly any difference between immigrants and non-immigrants; but over 34, the gap between the Canadian-born and the foreign-born widened with increasing age. The pattern was somewhat similar for women in Quebec, although the discrepancy between incomes reported by Canadian-born compared with foreign-born females was somewhat larger than in other provinces where, overall, the difference was negligible.

TABLE 11.1. Population 15 Years and Over, Canadian-born and Foreign-born, by Age Groups, Showing Average and Median Incomes for all Persons With Income, by Sex, Canada, Quebec and Other Provinces, 1971

Age group	Males						Females					
	Total		Canadian-born		Foreign-born		Total		Canadian-born		Foreign-born	
	Average	Median	Average	Median	Average	Median	Average	Median	Average	Median	Average	Median
\$												
<u>Canada</u>												
Total	6,538	5,824	6,431	5,715	6,941	6,214	2,883	2,045	2,879	2,040	2,898	2,063
15-19	1,297	...	1,276	...	1,533	...	1,110	...	1,087	...	1,362	...
20-24	4,075	3,905	4,052	3,876	4,236	4,116	2,974	2,929	2,969	2,917	3,003	3,006
25-34	7,291	7,088	7,266	7,053	7,396	7,238	3,457	3,183	3,440	3,139	3,523	3,329
35-44	8,783	8,010	8,690	7,930	9,094	8,260	3,316	2,775	3,275	2,650	3,460	3,154
45-54	8,545	7,540	8,375	7,375	9,813	8,077	3,406	2,803	3,367	2,703	3,550	3,147
55-64	7,217	6,152	7,145	6,047	7,461	6,448	3,182	2,251	3,202	2,238	3,107	2,292
65 and over	4,053	2,450	4,069	2,374	4,026	2,562	2,213	1,607	2,284	1,626	2,079	1,573
<u>Quebec</u>												
Total	6,288	5,552	6,190	5,496	7,082	6,008	2,971	2,189	2,941	2,143	3,206	2,517
15-19	1,437	...	1,430	...	1,575	1,035	1,464	...	1,453	...	1,648	1,293
20-24	3,779	3,670	3,778	3,666	3,803	3,724	3,142	3,149	3,145	3,149	3,109	3,149
25-34	6,872	6,527	6,882	6,544	6,786	6,377	3,684	3,489	3,676	3,478	3,737	3,551
35-44	8,284	7,393	8,257	7,394	8,461	7,387	3,471	2,836	3,432	2,739	3,713	3,354
45-54	8,011	6,873	7,866	6,793	9,142	7,667	3,394	2,676	3,327	2,583	3,879	3,335
55-64	6,795	5,692	6,633	5,610	8,042	6,296	3,035	1,978	2,977	1,935	3,514	2,550
65 and over	3,961	2,127	3,770	1,990	4,985	2,957	2,043	1,555	2,012	1,550	2,220	1,583
<u>Other provinces</u>												
Total	6,629	5,491	6,535	5,829	6,903	6,251	2,853	1,996	2,854	1,996	2,850	1,993
15-19	1,256	...	1,229	...	1,526	...	1,000	...	968	...	1,312	...
20-24	4,188	4,011	4,167	3,979	4,311	4,206	2,906	2,821	2,891	2,792	2,983	2,971
25-34	7,464	7,350	7,449	7,333	7,516	7,406	3,371	3,067	3,337	2,988	3,482	3,283
35-44	8,975	8,227	8,888	8,165	9,211	8,380	3,265	2,754	3,216	2,614	3,414	3,116
45-54	8,739	7,770	8,593	7,634	9,189	8,129	3,409	2,843	3,380	2,747	3,500	3,118
55-64	7,362	6,325	7,359	6,259	7,375	6,469	3,228	2,341	3,285	2,371	3,050	2,255
65 and over	4,080	2,533	4,204	2,538	3,924	2,526	2,266	1,626	2,406	1,665	2,062	1,571

... not applicable.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Income of Individuals, Bul. 3.6-2, Table 5 (adapted).

Although non-immigrant males in the rest of Canada reported lower incomes, on average, than those of the foreign-born, the gap was not as wide as in Quebec and there was less variation by age among those 20 and over.

Unfortunately, incomes reported in the 1971 Census were not directly comparable with those reported in 1961. Incomes reported in the earlier census were from a 20% sample of non-farm private dwellings only and excluded the Northwest Territories. In 1961, the total mean income of the foreign-born population was slightly below that of the Canadian-born (Richmond, 1964; Kalbach, 1970, p. 287). Some of the shift, over the decade, was probably due to the inclusion in 1971 of farm incomes, together with the higher level of urbanization and metropolitanization of the immigrant population and a more favourable age distribution. The incomes of the male population tended to peak between the ages of 35 and 54, while those of females were highest in the age group 25-34 years. The importance of urbanization as a factor affecting the relative incomes of the Canadian and foreign-born is shown in Table 11.2, where the average total incomes of the foreign-born, by sex and age, are given for Montréal and Toronto. Among males in Montréal, the average incomes of immigrants were still slightly higher than those of non-immigrants as a whole but the reverse was the case in the age group 30-54 years. For females in Montréal, the Canadian-born had fractionally higher incomes but this was only evident in the age group 55 years and over. In Toronto, Canadian-born males had total incomes exceeding those of the foreign-born, except in the age group 15-29 years. The same was true for women in Toronto. It is reasonable, therefore, to conclude that the higher average incomes of the foreign-born at the national level are, to a considerable extent, related to the tendency for post-war immigrants, particularly those arriving after 1961, to gravitate toward urban and metropolitan areas where job opportunities and incomes were greater than elsewhere in Canada. However, in those areas the Canadian-born appeared to have a competitive advantage.

11.1.1. Multiple Regression Analysis of Total Income

Using the 1% Public Use Sample Tapes, a multiple regression analysis of total income was undertaken with a model using sex, age, education, number of weeks worked in 1970, occupation, industry, urbanization, region, generation, nativity, use of official languages in the home, ethnicity, and religion as predictor variables. The majority of these variables were dichotomized and entered as dummy variables, but level of schooling and number of weeks worked in 1970 were entered

TABLE 11.2. Average Total Income¹ in 1970, by Birthplace and Age, Controlling for Sex, Montréal and Toronto CMAs, 1971

Age group	Males			Females		
	Canadian-born	Foreign-born	Total	Canadian-born	Foreign-born	Total
\$						
<u>Montréal</u>						
Total	7,041	7,269	7,086	3,324	3,262	3,313
15-29	4,721	4,812	4,734	3,200	3,273	3,211
30-54	8,927	8,569	8,846	3,750	3,813	3,763
55 and over	6,587	6,664	6,605	2,931	2,542	2,849
<u>Toronto</u>						
Total	8,242	7,524	7,926	3,595	3,201	3,431
15-29	4,793	5,125	4,908	3,023	3,138	3,062
30-54	11,028	9,110	10,108	4,078	3,740	3,929
55 and over	8,079	6,601	7,648	3,762	2,537	3,181

¹Excludes negative and zero income.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

as continuous variables.¹ The results of the multiple regression are summarized in Table 11.3. The predictor variables were entered in a fixed order starting with sex which had a zero order correlation of 0.34 which explained 11.9% of the variance. A standardized beta coefficient of 0.26 indicated that, even when other variables were controlled, being male had a direct positive effect upon income.

Age was known to have curvilinear relationship with income so that two dummy variables were created for the under-30 and over-55-year age groups respectively. Both were negatively correlated with income and together added another 5.8% to the variance explained. When other variables were controlled, being under 30 years of age had a strong negative effect on income with a standardized beta coefficient of -0.24. Level of schooling had a zero order correlation of 0.23 and added a further 7.4% to the variance explained. When other variables were controlled, education also had a strong direct effect with a standardized beta coefficient of 0.21. The number of weeks worked in 1970 proved to be a very important determinant of income with a zero order correlation of 0.46, adding an additional 10.4% to the variance explained. When other variables were controlled, the number of weeks worked in 1970 proved to have the strongest direct effect with a standardized beta coefficient of 0.37.

The multiple regression analysis of total income was undertaken only for persons over 15 years of age, who had been employed in 1970. Those who reported zero or negative incomes in 1970 were excluded. Thus, retired persons and others whose income was entirely unearned in 1970 were excluded. Not surprisingly, unemployment and under-employment were a major source of income variation for those in the work force in 1970. The multiple regression analysis showed that sex, age, level of schooling, and number of weeks worked in 1970 explained the total of 35.5% of the variance in total income. All the additional variables combined only increased the variance explained by an additional 1.8%. Thus, occupation, industry, regional and urban distribution, nativity, generation, language used in the home, ethnicity and religion all contributed very little to the explanation of income variation after the influence of sex, age, education and number of weeks worked were taken into account. This is confirmed by the low level of the standardized beta coefficients for these variables as shown in Table 11.3. There were very small direct negative effects of living in the Atlantic Provinces, rural residence, and of speaking a language other than English or French in the home. There was also a small positive direct effect of being Jewish (0.05). Due to the large size

See footnote(s) on page 401.

TABLE 11.3. Multiple Regression Analysis of Total 1970 Income of Individuals,¹ Canada, 1971

Independent variable	Multiple R	R Square	RSQ Change ²	Simple R	B	Beta
Male	0.34445	0.11864	0.11864	0.34445	2761.97982	0.25654
Age under 30	0.38780	0.15039	0.03175	-0.18585	-2706.99984	-0.23891
Age over 55	0.42052	0.17684	0.02645	-0.10355	329.24036	0.02695
Level of schooling	0.50120	0.25120	0.07436	0.23184	300.60134	0.20775
Weeks worked during 1970	0.59575	0.35492	0.10372	0.46468	93.98141	0.36992
Managerial, Professional, Sales and Clerical	0.59917	0.35901	0.00408	0.19926	923.33688	0.08308
Primary industry	0.60071	0.36085	0.00185	-0.00239	-1018.30887	-0.04498
Tertiary industry	0.60507	0.36611	0.00526	0.06438	- 897.92181	-0.08462
Rural	0.60733	0.36885	0.00273	-0.09867	- 474.28392	-0.03603
Urban 30,000 and over	0.60779	0.36941	0.00057	0.09885	269.36236	0.02480
Maritime provinces	0.60827	0.37000	0.00058	-0.05980	- 506.38906	-0.02625
Both parents Canadian-born	0.60827	0.37000	0.00000	-0.07489	1.78494	0.00017
Foreign-born	0.60835	0.37010	0.00010	0.02055	- 95.55879	-0.00742
English or French language of the home	0.60846	0.37023	0.00013	0.03591	284.90197	0.01457
French ethnic	0.60851	0.37029	0.00006	-0.03916	- 99.78267	-0.00826
Jewish ethnic	0.61044	0.37264	0.00236	0.06533	2011.30787	0.04930
Catholic religion	0.61045	0.37264	0.00000	-0.03910	22.44260	0.00210
Constant					-1826.92690	

Number of cases in sample 114,272.

Change in R² from preceding value.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

of the sample, all of these effects were statistically significant, although their actual effect on income variation was quite small.

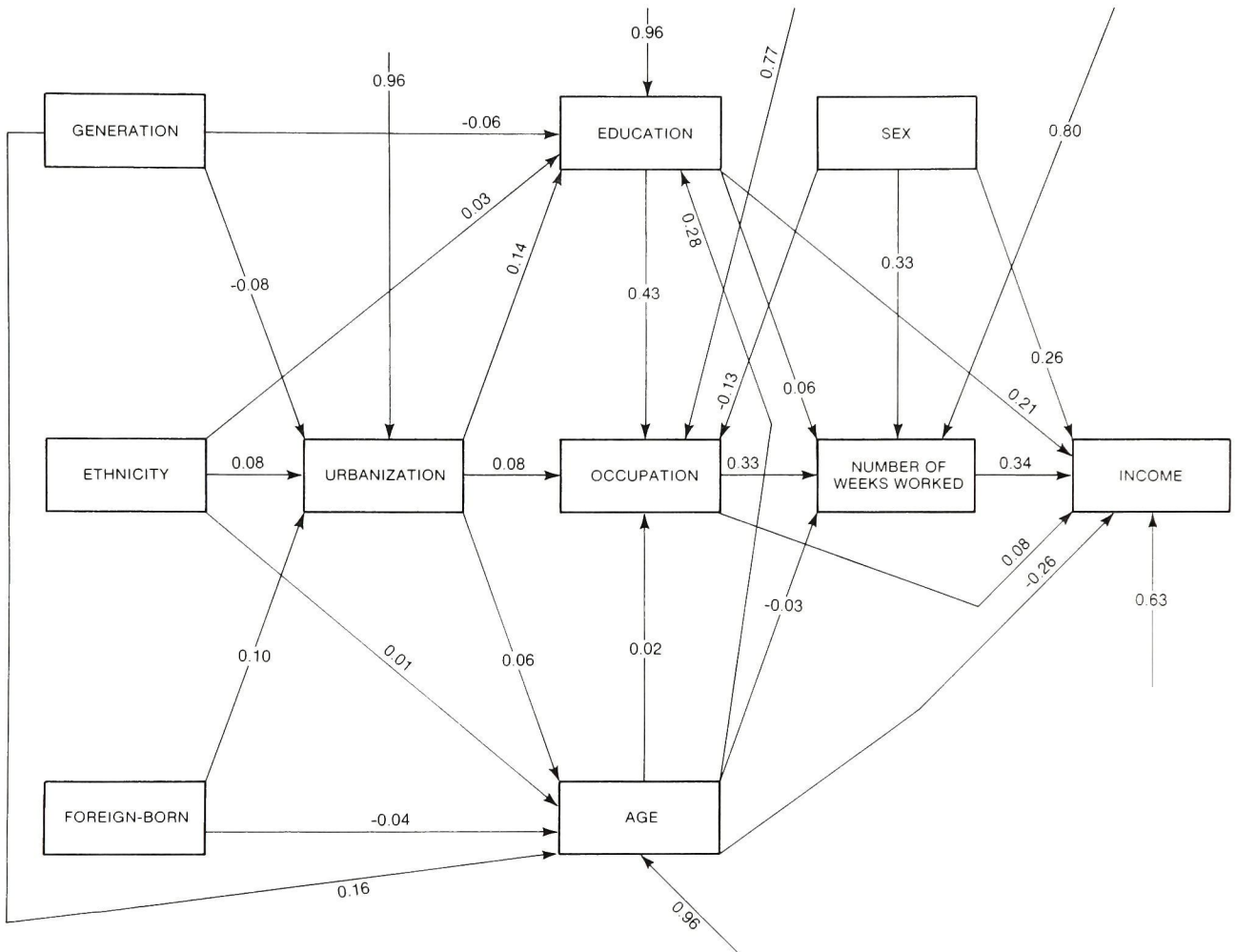
11.1.2. Path Analysis

To trace the direct and indirect effect of the main determinants of total income in 1970 for those over 15 years of age who were employed in 1970, a path analysis was undertaken. The results are shown in Chart 11.1. As indicated by the multiple regression analysis, the main direct causal paths influencing level of income were from number of weeks worked (0.34), being under 30 years of age (-0.26), male (0.26), and through level of education (0.21). There was also a small direct effect from occupation (0.08). Sex, occupation and education all had substantial indirect effects through the number of weeks worked. Males, those with above-average education and those in Professional, Managerial, Clerical and Sales occupations were less likely to be unemployed or under-employed, thus contributing to a high level of income. Urbanization itself had significant indirect effects, particularly through education which was generally higher for those in urban compared with rural areas. The effects of the remaining variables in the path diagram were comparatively small and almost all indirect. The somewhat lower incomes of the Canadian-born with two Canadian-born parents (third-plus generation) were mainly a consequence of a lower age distribution and slightly lower levels of urbanization and education. The very slightly higher levels of income of the foreign-born were almost entirely due to level of urbanization. The substantially higher levels of income of the Jewish population were almost entirely explained by higher levels of urbanization and education. There was a very small direct effect of being Jewish, noted above but not shown on the path diagram, indicated by a standardized beta coefficient of 0.05. Other ethnic income differences were almost entirely caused by variations in age, education, urbanization and occupation.

We may sum up the conclusions from the path analysis by saying that when number of weeks worked, sex, age, education, occupation and level of urbanization are taken into account, the effects of birthplace, ethnicity, and generation are negligible. However, this points to fundamental underlying structural differences between the immigrant and non-immigrant populations, as well as generational differences within the Canadian-born population and ethnic variations in the demographic and social determinants of income. Differences in earnings between the Canadian and foreign-born by period of immigration, generation, and ethnic group will be examined more closely below.

Chart 11.1

Path Analysis of Determinants of Income in Canada, 1971



Measures of Variables: Generation — Both parents Canadian born
 Ethnicity — Jewish
 Foreign born — Persons born outside Canada
 Urbanization — Places 30,000 and over
 Education — Level of schooling
 Occupation — Managerial, professional and semi-professional, sales, and clerical
 Age — Under 30 years
 Sex — Male
 No. of weeks worked — No. of weeks worked in 1970
 Income — Total income from all sources excluding loss and no income in 1970

Education and No. of weeks worked are used as continuous variables. All the remaining independent variables are used as the dummy variables.

11.2. Earnings from Employment

The above analyses dealt with total income from all sources. A slightly different pattern emerges from an examination of employment earnings only. The percentage distribution of earnings in 1970 of those in the current experienced labour force by birthplace for Canada is shown in Table 11.4 for males and 11.5 for females.² These tables show both the unstandardized earnings distributions and the distributions after standardizing against the age composition of the Canadian population, by sex.³ The distribution includes the earnings reported by those who were employers or were working on their own account. This explains the fact that some reported zero earnings or an earnings loss. Those doing so were usually in farming or other small businesses. Those reporting no earnings or earnings loss were only 2.8% of the total current experienced labour force for males. However, 9.5% of the females reported no earnings and a further 0.1% an earnings loss, reflecting the number of women who were in the category of unpaid family workers. Among males, those born in the United States and in Asia were most likely to report zero incomes or an earnings loss. Among women there was an above-average proportion reporting no earnings among those born in the Netherlands, the United States, Asia, other Eastern Europe, and Germany. The majority of these were probably assisting in a family farm.

The unstandardized earnings distribution for males shows that the foreign-born were slightly more often in the \$10,000-and-over category than the Canadian-born. Immigrant women were slightly more often in the under \$1,000 category, particularly those born in the United States. After age-standardization, there was virtually no difference in the distribution of earnings between the Canadian-born and the foreign-born, either for men or women. The index of dissimilarity for males was 2.0 and for females, 5.8. However, it is evident that there was considerable variation within the foreign-born category by birthplace. The age-standardized indexes of dissimilarity for the foreign-born by birthplace compared with the Canadian-born, for males and females respectively, are shown in Table 11.6. Male immigrants from the United States (index 19.5) and the United Kingdom (11.1) had earnings distributions that were skewed toward the higher end of the scale, while those from Italy (14.3) and Southern Europe (14.0) were proportionately more often in the lower and middle ranges. This reflects the high proportion of sponsored and nominated immigrants from these countries. Asian immigrants (13.6) also had earnings distributions that were lower than the Canadian average.

See footnote(s) on page 401.

TABLE 11.4. Percentage Distribution of Earnings in 1970 of Current Male Experienced Labour Force 15 Years and Over, by Birthplace, Canada, 1971

Birthplace	Total	Loss	None	\$1- / 999	\$1,000- 1,999	\$2,000- 2,999	\$3,000- 3,999	\$4,000- 5,999	\$6,000- 9,999	\$10,000- 14,999	\$15,000+
<u>Unstandardized percentage distribution</u>											
Canada total	100.0	0.2	2.6	6.3	5.8	5.5	6.6	17.5	36.5	13.3	5.6
Total Canada-born	100.0	0.2	2.6	7.0	6.2	5.7	6.8	17.5	35.8	12.9	5.4
Total born outside Canada	100.0	0.7	2.6	4.3	4.6	5.3	6.3	17.7	37.9	14.3	6.3
United States	100.0	1.2	5.0	7.0	7.6	5.9	5.2	12.7	25.5	16.8	13.2
United Kingdom and Ireland	100.0	0.5	1.7	3.7	4.0	4.1	4.5	12.6	41.3	19.8	7.8
Germany	100.0	0.7	1.5	3.8	4.3	5.0	5.6	13.8	41.5	18.6	5.2
Netherlands	100.0	1.1	1.4	2.8	3.6	4.2	7.5	17.6	43.3	13.5	4.9
Other Northern and Western Europe	100.0	1.1	2.7	5.2	5.2	6.2	4.4	15.8	38.3	16.0	5.2
Italy	100.0	0.2	1.5	3.6	4.3	4.4	8.3	26.8	40.7	8.1	2.3
Other Southern Europe	100.0	0.3	3.1	3.7	4.5	7.1	8.7	24.2	37.3	8.1	3.2
Poland	100.0	1.0	1.3	4.4	4.1	5.4	5.7	19.7	36.6	12.5	9.3
Other Eastern Europe	100.0	1.7	1.5	3.3	4.5	4.9	6.4	19.4	38.1	13.8	6.3
Asia	100.0	1.1	6.8	6.8	5.9	8.2	8.3	16.0	29.3	10.6	7.1
All other	100.0	0.3	6.3	6.7	4.9	7.0	6.0	17.9	31.8	12.3	6.8
<u>Standardized percentage distribution with age composition of Canadian Population</u>											
Canada total	100.0	0.2	2.6	6.3	5.8	5.5	6.6	17.5	36.5	13.3	5.6
Total Canada-born	100.0	0.2	2.5	6.6	5.9	5.6	6.7	17.4	36.3	13.2	5.6
Total born outside Canada	100.0	0.6	3.2	5.3	5.4	5.8	6.5	17.9	36.5	13.2	5.6
United States	100.0	0.5	6.2	7.8	8.6	6.1	4.5	12.4	24.0	17.3	12.6
United Kingdom and Ireland	100.0	0.3	2.4	5.0	5.1	4.9	4.7	11.5	40.0	19.0	7.1
Germany	100.0	0.8	1.8	4.7	5.3	5.7	6.2	14.6	39.1	17.2	4.7
Netherlands	100.0	1.1	1.5	3.2	3.9	4.6	7.9	18.3	42.4	12.3	4.5
Other Northern and Western Europe	100.0	0.9	3.6	6.2	5.4	6.4	5.0	16.2	36.8	15.0	4.5
Italy	100.0	0.2	1.8	4.0	4.9	4.9	8.9	27.4	38.5	7.4	2.2
Other Southern Europe	100.0	0.2	3.5	4.8	4.9	8.0	9.3	25.2	33.5	6.9	3.3
Poland	100.0	0.4	2.9	6.2	8.3	5.9	3.3	18.2	34.2	12.5	8.2
Other Eastern Europe	100.0	1.1	2.3	3.9	7.3	5.7	7.3	19.3	36.3	12.1	4.9
Asia	100.0	1.4	7.6	7.7	6.3	7.9	8.2	16.1	27.1	10.2	7.6
All other	100.0	0.2	5.9	6.6	4.6	7.1	6.4	18.1	29.5	13.2	8.5

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes and unpublished data.

TABLE 11.5. Percentage Distribution of Earnings in 1970 of Current Female Experienced Labour Force 15 Years and Over, by Birthplace, Canada, 1971

Birthplace	Total	Loss	None	\$1- 999	\$1,000- 1,999	\$2,000- 2,999	\$3,000- 3,999	\$4,000- 5,999	\$6,000- 9,999	\$10,000- 14,999	\$15,000+
<u>Unstandardized percentage distribution</u>											
Canada total	100.0	0.1	9.5	15.2	12.7	12.1	14.5	21.8	12.3	1.6	0.3
Total Canada-born	100.0	0.1	9.5	16.1	12.8	11.8	13.9	21.4	12.5	1.6	0.3
Total born outside Canada	100.0	0.1	11.7	11.4	12.3	12.9	16.2	22.0	11.6	1.4	0.6
United States	100.0	0.5	16.5	16.1	7.9	11.3	10.2	16.7	15.6	3.6	1.6
United Kingdom and Ireland	100.0	0.0	9.1	10.9	12.0	11.6	14.7	25.7	14.2	1.5	0.4
Germany	100.0	0.0	14.2	14.5	9.3	11.5	12.9	22.4	13.1	1.6	0.7
Netherlands	100.0	0.0	19.1	12.8	17.9	10.8	12.8	20.3	5.6	0.4	0.4
Other Northern and Western Europe	100.0	0.3	10.9	13.9	12.7	10.6	17.0	22.3	10.9	0.8	0.8
Italy	100.0	0.1	9.2	8.3	12.5	20.0	24.9	20.2	4.8	0.0	0.0
Other Southern Europe	100.0	0.0	12.5	9.9	14.2	20.1	19.0	18.8	5.0	0.0	0.4
Poland	100.0	0.0	10.9	9.3	15.2	12.1	22.2	20.2	7.8	2.3	0.0
Other Eastern Europe	100.0	0.0	15.1	8.7	11.8	11.3	16.3	21.0	12.2	1.9	1.9
Asia	100.0	0.6	13.0	11.3	13.0	10.2	17.0	17.2	15.3	2.0	0.6
All other	100.0	0.0	9.2	13.5	13.3	9.8	10.9	25.2	16.2	1.5	0.4
<u>Standardized percentage distribution with age composition of Canadian population</u>											
Canada total	100.0	0.1	9.5	15.2	12.7	12.1	14.5	21.8	12.3	1.6	0.3
Total Canada-born	100.0	0.1	9.5	15.6	12.7	11.8	13.9	21.5	12.8	1.7	0.3
Total born outside Canada	100.0	0.1	11.5	12.5	12.8	12.9	16.0	21.9	10.7	1.2	0.5
United States	100.0	0.1	16.1	18.1	8.8	11.5	9.0	16.9	14.8	3.7	1.1
United Kingdom and Ireland	100.0	0.0	9.8	12.2	12.4	11.9	13.8	25.3	13.2	1.1	0.2
Germany	100.0	0.0	13.8	15.0	9.8	11.5	12.9	22.1	12.7	1.4	0.8
Netherlands	100.0	0.0	18.3	12.6	17.8	10.5	13.1	21.2	5.6	0.3	0.3
Other Northern and Western Europe	100.0	0.2	10.3	14.8	13.2	9.9	17.4	22.5	10.4	0.8	0.5
Italy	100.0	0.2	10.6	7.9	13.5	20.6	23.2	19.2	4.8	0.0	0.0
Other Southern Europe	100.0	0.0	11.9	9.5	15.9	20.8	17.8	18.7	5.0	0.0	0.3
Poland	100.0	0.0	7.8	9.1	14.7	8.2	24.7	27.6	5.5	2.3	0.0
Other Eastern Europe	100.0	0.0	12.8	7.9	14.6	14.2	17.0	19.3	11.8	1.7	0.9
Asia	100.0	0.8	13.5	12.1	14.7	10.1	16.6	15.9	13.7	2.1	0.5
All other	100.0	0.0	9.9	15.9	13.0	9.0	10.4	25.1	14.3	1.7	0.8

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes and unpublished data.

TABLE 11.6. Indexes of Dissimilarity of Earnings Distributions, by Birthplace, for Males and Females,¹ Canada, 1971

Birthplace	Total Canada- born	Total Foreign- born	United States	United Kingdom & Ireland	Germany	Nether- lands	Other Northern and Western Europe	Italy	Other Southern Europe	Poland	Other Eastern Europe	Asia	All other
Total Canada-born	0.0	5.8	13.8	4.6	5.4	14.0	6.1	20.1	18.5	19.5	11.2	10.9	6.5
Total foreign-born	2.0	0.0	17.4	6.0	7.6	12.1	4.9	15.8	13.3	17.5	7.4	9.2	11.2
United States	19.5	20.1	0.0	17.3	10.2	19.8	18.6	30.5	27.1	32.4	18.9	14.3	13.8
United Kingdom and Ireland	11.1	10.8	17.9	0.0	7.7	14.5	8.0	20.2	18.6	16.7	11.9	11.4	6.6
Germany	7.5	6.8	19.3	6.1	0.0	12.9	8.5	23.3	20.4	23.2	11.9	11.1	9.0
Netherlands	9.3	8.4	28.5	13.4	9.2	0.0	13.4	20.3	14.9	19.9	15.6	14.3	17.6
Other Northern and Western Europe	4.9	4.3	17.8	9.8	5.9	11.0	0.0	17.1	15.7	15.5	10.8	10.1	8.8
Italy	14.3	13.8	33.8	20.0	15.5	12.3	16.7	0.0	6.1	15.4	12.9	20.4	25.9
Other Southern Europe	14.0	12.8	29.2	22.7	18.1	16.4	15.1	7.4	0.0	18.6	10.5	16.0	24.2
Poland	6.7	6.8	16.0	13.8	12.9	13.8	8.6	19.1	16.0	0.0	18.1	20.1	19.2
Other Eastern Europe	4.8	4.5	22.5	14.1	8.8	7.2	7.8	12.0	12.6	7.9	0.0	8.2	16.4
Asia	13.6	14.3	14.6	21.8	19.0	19.8	14.7	23.4	17.0	14.1	15.3	0.0	13.9
All other	8.5	8.4	14.1	17.0	14.9	15.7	10.7	21.1	15.5	8.7	12.5	8.3	0.0

¹The upper right of the diagonal represents the index of dissimilarity for females; the lower left of the diagonal represents the index of dissimilarity for males.

Source: Tables 11.4 and 11.5.

Females immigrants from the United States (index 13.8) had earnings distributions that were dissimilar to those of Canadian-born women, the former being more often found in both the lower and the upper ends of the scale and under-represented in the middle ranges. Women born in the Netherlands (14.0), Italy (20.1), and other Southern Europe (18.5) all had income distributions skewed toward the lower end, with a substantial proportion reporting no earnings despite labour force participation in 1970. The majority of these were presumably unpaid family workers. Immigrant women from Poland (19.5) and other Eastern European countries (11.5) tended to concentrate in the middle ranges of the earnings distribution. With an index of 10.9, women born in Asia, unlike men, were more often found at both the lower and the upper ends of the earnings distribution compared with Canadian-born women.

In the case of both men and women, the largest indexes of dissimilarity were found between those born in the United States and in Italy and other Southern European countries. Immigrants from the United Kingdom and from Germany tended to have earnings distributions that were very similar, as did those from Italy and other Southern Europe and those from other European countries to each other. There were some differences between Quebec and the rest of Canada. In the case of males, differences between the Canadian-born and the foreign-born were greater in Quebec for all birthplace groups, excepting the United States. Among Quebec males, the biggest difference was in the case of those born in other Southern European countries whose incomes were in the \$2,000-\$5,999 range. Outside of Quebec, immigrants from the United Kingdom, Germany, and other Northern and Western European countries had earnings distributions much closer to those of the Canadian-born. This reflected the comparatively low level of earnings of the French-Canadian population. In the case of women, there was a slightly higher index of dissimilarity between the Canadian-born and the foreign-born among those resident outside of Quebec; this was due to the numerical preponderance of women from the United Kingdom. When the individual birthplaces are considered, the indexes were higher for women in Quebec in all cases except those from the United Kingdom. Among Quebec women, differences were largest in the case of those born in the Netherlands, although the small numbers in the sample mean that this index must be treated with caution.

We may sum up the comparison of earnings distributions by emphasizing the overall similarity between the Canadian-born and foreign-born, particularly when the influence of age is taken into account. However, within the foreign-born

group, there was a great deal of variation largely reflecting the effects of period of immigration combined with the occupational selectivity that characterized the independent streams of immigrants from the United States, the United Kingdom, and Northwestern Europe. Immigrants from Italy and Southern European countries were mainly nominated or sponsored by close relatives and were not as educationally or occupationally well qualified. Among immigrants from Eastern and Central Europe, there was a great deal of variation; many originally came as refugees and earnings distributions, particularly for women, tended to be lower than for the Canadian-born. Asian immigrants also had income distributions that differed substantially from those of the Canadian-born. This reflected the low education and older age distribution of pre-war Asian immigrants together with the comparatively recent arrival of other Asians at the time of the 1971 Census; the latter were also well educated and highly qualified. Therefore, it might be expected that their earnings distributions would improve after an initial adjustment period.

11.2.1. Average Earnings by Sex, Age and Occupation

It was noted in a previous chapter that the occupational distribution of the foreign-born was rather different from that of the Canadian-born. In particular, the Canadian-born were more likely to be found in farming and other primary occupations, whereas immigrants were often in professional and semi-professional occupations together with occupations such as processing, machining and construction associated with secondary industries. Therefore, it is important to consider whether the small overall advantage of the foreign-born with regard to level of earnings was a consequence of these differences in occupational profiles. Table 11.7 shows the average earnings of the Canadian-born and the foreign-born by sex and occupation in 1970. The occupational categories are the major groups available from the Public Use Sample Tapes of the 1971 Census. As these categories are fairly heterogeneous, there are probably differences within them between the precise occupational characteristics of immigrants and non-immigrants. However, they permit a limited degree of control for occupational characteristics. At a national level, the average earnings by occupation are higher for foreign-born males in all occupational categories except social sciences and services. They are higher for foreign-born females in all occupations except religion, machining, and the not stated category. However, in the case of those occupations where the Canadian-born earn more on average than the foreign-born, the differences are comparatively small except for males in the social sciences. In those occupations where foreign-born males have the

TABLE 11.7. Average Earnings in 1970, by Birthplace and Occupation, Controlling for Sex, Canada, 1971

Occupation	Males		Females	
	Canadian-born	Foreign-born	Canadian-born	Foreign-born
			\$	
Managerial, Administrative and Related	13,067	14,441	6,300	7,051
Natural Sciences, Engineering and Mathematics	9,238	9,975	5,293	6,427
Social Science and Related	11,982	9,280	4,971	5,860
Religion	4,402	4,902	3,034	2,632
Teaching and Related	8,865	10,513	5,848	6,094
Medicine and Health	15,221	16,521	4,314	4,781
Artistic, Literary, Recreational and Related	6,633	7,193	3,923	4,272
Clerical and Related	6,000	6,081	3,662	3,971
Sales	7,329	7,929	2,476	2,984
Services	5,741	5,294	2,120	2,545
Farming, Horticultural and Animal Husbandry	3,885	4,733	1,777	2,498
Other Primary	5,425	7,734	1,884	2,900
Processing	5,962	6,983	3,099	3,372
Machining and Product Fabricating, Assembling and Repairing	6,462	7,077	3,154	3,118
Construction Trades	6,329	7,215	3,448	5,732
Transport Equipment Operating	6,313	6,643	2,814	2,140
Other	5,707	6,281	2,945	3,341
Not stated	5,729	6,535	3,102	2,922

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

advantage, the differences are greatest in other primary occupations, teaching, management, medicine and processing. Among immigrant women, the differential advantage is most evident in construction occupations, natural sciences and other primary occupations.

It has been shown that age is another important determinant of earnings. Table 11.8 shows average earnings by birthplace and occupation, controlling for sex and age. Due to the problem of sampling error, it was necessary to further collapse the number of occupational categories in order to make this comparison. The use of age as an additional control variable reduces the average differences between Canadian-born and foreign-born for particular occupational categories and increases the number of cases where the Canadian-born have a slight advantage, such as males of all ages in services and women over 30 in machining.

11.2.2. Average Earnings of Family Heads

So far the analysis of earnings has been for all persons in the current experienced labour force, by sex. In this section, the average earnings of family heads will be considered. This will be followed by a consideration of total family earnings. Both are important bases of comparison for purposes of ascertaining the levels of consumption and living standards for the immigrant and non-immigrant population, by period of immigration, generation and ethnic group. Table 11.9 shows average earnings of family heads by ethnic group, birthplace of parents for the Canadian-born and period of immigration for the foreign-born. The table also shows a comparison between the regions of Canada instead of the broad comparison, between Quebec and other provinces, which has been used so far. Among other things, the regional comparison throws light on the situation of the British charter group (the Canadian-born with two Canadian-born parents of British origin) in the Atlantic Provinces where they tend to have relatively low incomes, compared with the foreign-born British and the second generation of all ethnic origins.

At the national level, the highest average earnings (\$9,952) were achieved by British immigrants who arrived in 1946-60. They earned 24% more than the average for Canada as a whole (\$8,042). In contrast, the third-plus generation of British origin earned 99.5% of the national average and the third-plus generation of French origin only 90.1%. When all ethnic origins are combined and the comparison made on the basis of period of immigration and generation, the highest

TABLE 11.8. Average Earnings in 1970, by Birthplace and Occupation, Controlling for Sex and Age, Canada, 1971

Occupation	Males						Females					
	Under 30		30-55		56 and over		Under 30		30-55		56 and over	
	Canadian-born	Foreign-born	Canadian-born	Foreign-born	Canadian-born	Foreign-born	Canadian-born	Foreign-born	Canadian-born	Foreign-born	Canadian-born	Foreign-born
Managerial	7,386	8,687	14,398	15,277	14,452	15,127	\$ 4,300	5,198	7,125	6,078	7,470	12,290
Professional and Semi-professional	4,868	5,531	10,102	10,781	8,521	8,706	3,434	3,700	4,317	4,487	4,733	5,061
Services	4,117	3,977	7,190	6,248	5,140	4,630	1,537	2,160	2,542	2,658	2,630	2,645
Farming and Primary	2,917	4,358	5,662	7,121	3,644	3,741	984	2,867	2,331	2,360	1,754	2,557
Processing	4,526	4,817	7,098	7,473	6,562	7,551	2,546	2,895	3,609	3,484	3,118	3,418
Machining	5,132	5,627	7,371	7,761	6,576	6,465	2,618	2,783	3,472	3,262	3,766	3,130
Construction	4,638	5,329	7,475	8,029	5,846	6,137	2,039	-	4,882	-	2,464	-
Transport	4,639	5,128	7,223	7,394	6,204	6,257	2,862	-	2,412	-	4,530	-
Other	3,772	3,915	7,318	7,139	6,326	6,833	2,323	2,762	3,363	3,621	4,085	3,423
Not stated	4,367	4,705	7,047	8,022	5,951	5,717	2,715	2,711	3,493	3,155	3,379	2,831

"-" = Less than 10 cases in sample

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

TABLE 11.9. Family Heads in the Current Experienced Labour Force, by Birthplace of Parents of the Canadian-born and Period of Immigration of the Foreign-born, Showing Average Total Earnings of the Head in 1970, Canada and Regions, 1971

Birthplace of parents/ Period of immigration	Ethnic origin								
	British	French	Other	Total	British	French	Other	Total	
	Canada				\$	Atlantic			
All family heads	8,500	7,303	7,962	8,042	6,364	5,724	7,125	6,330	
Birthplace of parents for Canadian-born	8,376	7,282	8,277	8,009	6,263	5,710	6,582	6,196	
Both born in Canada	8,001	7,248	7,338	7,610	6,165	5,678	6,132	6,079	
One born in Canada	8,971	7,950	8,528	8,762	7,121	6,552	7,238	7,089	
Both born outside Canada	9,359	7,848	9,183	9,247	7,863	6,736	9,336	8,260	
Period of immigration	9,151	8,122	7,651	8,153	8,703	6,871	9,236	8,821	
Before 1946	8,341	7,722	8,033	8,187	7,170	6,464	7,114	7,116	
1946-60	9,952	8,652	7,970	8,489	9,971	7,976	9,406	9,695	
1961-65	9,764	8,317	7,319	7,976	11,062	7,232	12,977	11,939	
1966-71 ¹	8,517	7,648	6,426	7,166	9,230	6,915	8,628	8,868	
	Quebec				Ontario				
All family heads	9,523	7,306	8,104	7,689	8,959	7,872	8,281	8,637	
Birthplace of parents for Canadian-born	9,344	7,290	9,719	7,659	8,893	7,832	9,118	8,799	
Both born in Canada	8,931	7,269	7,644	7,425	8,630	7,790	8,028	8,408	
One born in Canada	10,047	7,975	10,338	9,140	9,281	8,367	9,223	9,225	
Both born outside Canada	10,426	7,601	11,567	10,843	9,710	8,387	10,479	10,012	
Period of immigration	10,369	7,994	7,276	7,892	9,254	9,288	7,777	8,287	
Before 1946	9,678	7,891	9,330	9,145	8,685	8,854	8,827	8,742	
1946-60	11,414	8,532	7,528	8,157	9,914	9,550	8,084	8,583	
1961-65	10,481	8,004	6,765	7,303	9,506	10,055	7,239	7,868	
1966-71 ¹	9,121	7,172	5,787	6,522	8,450	9,122	6,444	7,161	

See footnote(s) at end of table.

average was achieved by the Canadian-born with two foreign-born parents who earned \$9,247 or 15% more than the national averages.

The table shows the considerable variation by region of Canada. Reflecting the high wages that must be paid to attract people to work in the more remote areas of Canada, the highest average earnings of family heads (\$9,234) were found in the Yukon. In contrast, the lowest average earnings (\$6,330) were found in the Atlantic Provinces; this was only 78.7% per cent of the national average. The third-plus generation British in the Atlantic provinces earned 97.4% of the Atlantic Provinces' norm but only 76.7% of the national average. After the Yukon Territory, the highest average earnings of family heads were found in Ontario, followed by British Columbia, the Prairies and Quebec.

The average earnings of family heads by ethnic origin, generation and period of immigration for metropolitan areas are shown in Table 11.10. Average earnings were highest in Toronto, followed by Vancouver, Montréal and Winnipeg, in that order. By period of immigration and generation, in all four metropolitan areas, the Canadian-born with two Canadian-born parents had the highest average. When a further control for ethnic origin was introduced, the highest average earnings across all four metropolitan areas were those achieved by the Canadian-born with two Canadian-born parents of other ethnic origins, resident in Toronto, who averaged \$12,008. They were followed closely by the same category in Montréal who averaged \$11,651. In Vancouver, it was the Canadian-born with two Canadian-born parents of British ethnic origin who achieved the highest average, \$9,863. In Winnipeg, the highest average earnings of family heads were those of British immigrants who arrived in Canada in 1946-60. In all four metropolitan areas, the lowest average earnings were those of family heads who immigrated in 1966-71 and who were of other ethnic origins. Those in this category resident in Montréal had the overall lowest average earnings, \$5,661.

Given the importance of age as a determinant of earnings, age-specific (35-44) average earnings of family heads by period of immigration and generation, for Canada and the four metropolitan areas, are shown in Table 11.11. The comparison is confined to the age group 35-44 which was the category that generally achieved the highest average earnings. On a national level and in Toronto, Winnipeg, and Vancouver, the highest average was achieved by immigrant family heads who entered

TABLE 11.10. Family Heads in the Current Experienced Labour Force, by Birthplace of Parents of the Canadian-born and Period of Immigration of the Foreign-born, Showing Average Total Earnings of the Head in 1970, Montréal, Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver CMAs, 1971

Birthplace of parents/ Period of immigration	Ethnic origin								
	British	French	Other	Total	British	French	Other	Total	
	Montréal				\$	Toronto			
All family heads	10,226	7,856	8,197	8,343	9,863	8,324	8,474	9,235	
Birthplace of parents for Canadian-born	10,158	7,845	10,451	8,482	10,003	8,269	10,740	10,038	
Both born in Canada	9,910	7,818	8,487	8,106	9,788	8,225	9,076	9,564	
One born in Canada	10,526	8,561	10,733	9,889	10,374	8,809	10,573	10,364	
Both born outside Canada	10,577	8,148	11,651	11,063	10,332	8,031	12,008	10,968	
Period of immigration	10,478	8,148	7,226	7,856	9,471	9,117	7,737	8,291	
Before 1946	9,920	8,639	9,495	9,545	9,280	9,829	9,491	9,368	
1946-60	11,470	8,606	7,483	8,109	10,199	9,631	8,189	8,736	
1961-65	10,510	8,026	6,655	7,186	9,151	8,833	7,072	7,564	
1966-71 ¹	9,068	7,004	5,661	6,357	8,176	8,042	6,252	6,870	
	Winnipeg					Vancouver			
All family heads	8,549	6,936	7,707	7,999	9,268	7,971	8,125	8,778	
Birthplace of parents for Canadian-born	8,536	6,946	8,079	8,181	9,330	7,979	8,574	9,043	
Both born in Canada	8,261	6,836	7,150	7,661	8,897	7,768	7,906	8,590	
One born in Canada	8,667	7,373	8,288	8,434	9,517	8,582	8,701	9,271	
Both born outside Canada	8,972	7,549	8,697	8,778	9,863	8,633	8,965	9,478	
Period of immigration	8,619	6,644	7,029	7,445	9,065	7,878	7,679	8,243	
Before 1946	8,116	6,716	7,455	7,706	8,710	7,129	7,835	8,365	
1946-60	9,757	7,027	7,149	7,604	9,681	8,247	8,104	8,617	
1961-65	9,056	6,211	6,832	7,277	9,421	7,740	7,444	8,219	
1966-71	7,727	6,075	5,981	6,555	8,039	8,176	6,247	6,946	

¹Includes the first five months only of 1971.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

TABLE 11.11. Average Earnings in 1970, of Family Heads Aged 35-44 with Rank Order by Birthplace of Parents of the Canadian-born and Period of Immigration of the Foreign-born, Canada, and Montréal, Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver CMAs, 1971

Birthplace of parents/ Period of immigration	Canada		Montréal		Toronto		Winnipeg		Vancouver	
	\$	Rank	\$	Rank	\$	Rank	\$	Rank	\$	Rank
All family heads	8,983	-	9,146	-	10,151	-	9,009	-	9,846	-
Birthplace of parents for Canadian-born	8,993	-	9,455	-	11,334	-	9,161	-	10,101	-
Both born in Canada	8,539	6	9,040	4	10,897	4	8,768	5	10,062	4
One born in Canada	9,705	3	10,750	3	11,622	3	9,190	3	10,068	3
Both born outside Canada	10,120	2	12,160	1	11,939	2	9,607	2	10,162	2
Period of immigration	8,955	-	8,187	-	8,958	-	8,531	-	8,899	-
Before 1946	10,258	1	11,668	2	11,984	1	10,142	1	10,450	1
1946-60	9,074	4	7,415	6	9,320	5	8,498	6	9,071	5
1961-65	8,684	5	7,743	5	7,911	6	8,927	4	8,595	6
1966-71 ¹	8,104	7	7,056	7	7,728	7	7,707	7	7,779	7

¹Includes the first five months only of 1971.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

the country before 1946. In Montréal, the highest average was achieved by the Canadian-born with two Canadian-born parents; this category ranked second on a national level and in the other three metropolitan areas. Immigrants 35-44 years who entered the country before 1946 must have done so as children. Therefore, it follows that arriving in Canada as a child, together with being born in Canada of two immigrant parents, appears to have a significant influence in generating substantially above-average levels of earnings. On a national level and in the four metropolitan areas, the most recent immigrant cohort had the lowest average earnings followed by immigrants who arrived in 1961-65, except in Winnipeg where the immediate post-war immigrant cohort had the second lowest average. The Canadian-born with two Canadian-born parents ranked sixth on a national average, fifth in Winnipeg, and fourth in Montréal, Vancouver and Toronto.

A more detailed analysis of age-specific average earnings of family heads by ethnic origin is shown in Table 11.12. On a national level and in all four metropolitan areas, the Canadian and foreign-born Jewish populations ranked highest, except in Montréal where the foreign-born Jewish population ranked second after the foreign-born of Scandinavian origin. Among the Canadian-born on a national level, after the Jewish population, the highest ranked groups were the Asian, Italian, other Eastern European and other Southern European. The Canadian-born British ranked sixth. These data would suggest that the low entrance status of earlier waves of immigration to Canada from Asia, Eastern and Southern Europe did not inhibit the earning capacity of the Canadian-born descendants of these immigrants. On the contrary, the high ranking of these groups suggests that there may even have been a concerted effort to overcome whatever handicaps or adjustment problems the parental generation may have experienced with resulting over-achievement on the part of these ethnic groups. The lowest average earnings of Canadian-born family heads, aged 35-44 years, were found among the Native Indian and Inuit with an average of \$5,070. The second lowest rank was held by French-Canadians with an average of \$8,154. Also having very low status were the Canadian-born family heads of Belgian and other Northwest European origins.

Among immigrants at the national level, highest average earnings were achieved by the Jewish, British, Scandinavian, other Central European, and German origin groups respectively, in that order. The lowest averages were achieved by other Eastern European, Italian and other Southern European immigrants, and by the

TABLE 11.12. Average Earnings in 1970, of Family Heads Aged 35-44, by Birthplace and Ethnic Group, With Rank Order by Ethnic Group, Canada, and Montréal, Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver CMAs, 1971

Ethnic group	Canada				Montréal				Toronto				Winnipeg				Vancouver			
	Canada-born		Born outside		Canada-born		Born outside		Canada-born		Born outside		Canada-born		Born outside		Canada-born		Born outside	
	\$	Rank	\$	Rank	\$	Rank	\$	Rank	\$	Rank	\$	Rank	\$	Rank	\$	Rank	\$	Rank	\$	Rank
Jewish	17,099	1	13,101	1	15,845	1	12,106	2	19,098	1	13,148	1	17,307	1	14,176	1	15,413	1	13,277	1
Asian	10,129	2	8,305	13	12,174	2	7,824	15	10,447	12	7,733	14	11,826	3	9,734	3	8,556	17	6,957	15
Italian	10,075	3	7,293	16	8,791	17	6,059	17	11,131	7	7,549	16	9,337	6	6,981	13	10,317	4	7,926	12
Other Eastern European	9,696	4	8,170	15	10,796	8	8,059	13	11,283	5	8,441	13	9,214	7	6,271	16	9,581	8	7,996	11
Other Southern European	9,451	5	6,711	17	9,067	15	6,021	18	9,791	15	6,722	17	16,051	2	5,959	17	10,784	2	6,942	16
British	9,390	6	10,625	2	10,997	7	11,446	3	11,176	6	10,615	4	9,585	4	10,627	2	10,429	3	10,148	2
Other Central European	9,333	7	9,401	4	10,350	11	10,232	6	10,990	8	9,697	9	8,791	9	7,168	12	9,213	12	8,752	8
Scandinavian	9,234	8	9,913	3	11,176	3	12,540	1	10,926	9	11,242	2	9,518	5	8,374	6	10,042	5	9,462	4
Polish	9,178	9	8,615	11	11,164	6	8,154	12	10,715	11	9,062	10	8,235	13	7,509	9	9,171	13	8,662	9
Ukrainian	9,071	10	8,184	14	10,728	9	8,000	14	10,793	10	8,566	12	7,987	14	7,281	10	9,439	9	7,363	14
German	8,977	11	9,333	5	11,175	4	10,003	8	11,730	4	10,110	7	8,999	8	8,494	5	9,285	10	9,245	5
Hungarian	8,960	12	8,384	12	9,564	14	8,729	10	12,196	2	8,726	11	7,794	15	6,916	14	8,831	16	8,069	10
Netherlands	8,844	13	9,253	6	11,174	5	11,212	4	10,331	13	10,407	6	8,238	12	8,632	4	9,988	6	9,025	6
All other	8,763	14	8,632	10	9,942	12	8,176	11	9,466	16	7,607	15	8,388	11	6,643	15	9,924	7	9,726	3
Russian	8,659	15	9,136	8	10,657	10	10,525	5	11,865	3	10,466	5	7,403	17	7,217	11	8,942	15	6,430	17
Belgian and Other Northern and Western European	8,427	16	8,792	9	9,640	13	10,070	7	9,811	14	10,025	8	8,619	10	7,772	8	9,271	11	7,834	13
French	8,154	17	9,205	7	8,825	16	8,895	9	9,176	17	11,229	3	7,634	16	8,329	7	9,150	14	9,007	7
Native Indian and Inuit	5,070	18	6,539	18	8,050	18	7,226	16	7,350	18	5,417	18	4,997	18	3,850	18	7,008	18	4,115	18
Total	8,993		8,955		9,455		8,187		11,334		8,958		9,161		8,531		10,101		8,899	

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

foreign-born of Native Indian origin. The foreign-born British, with an average of \$10,625, earned more than the Canadian-born British (\$9,390). The foreign-born of other Central European, Scandinavian, German, Netherlands, Russian, other Northern and Western European, French, and Native Indian origin also did better than their Canadian-born counterparts. However, the overall average earnings for family heads, aged 35-44, were higher for the Canadian-born (\$8,993) than for the foreign-born (\$8,955).

The overall advantage of the Canadian-born family heads in the age group 35-44 years was maintained when Montréal, Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver were compared. However, specific rank orderings varied considerably, except that the Jewish group retained a primary position and those of Native Indian-Inuit origin consistently ranked lowest. The Canadian-born of Asian, Italian, other Southern European and other Eastern European origin did not rank as high in the metropolitan areas as they did on a national average. This would suggest that the upward mobility achieved by the second and subsequent generations was partly a consequence of the relatively high urbanization of these Canadian-born groups compared with the charter groups and those of other ethnic origins. Nevertheless, even in the metropolitan areas, these ethnic origins all exhibited an improvement in their rank ordering when the Canadian-born were compared with the foreign-born of the same origin. The only exception was that of the Canadian-born of Asian origin in Vancouver who fell from fifteenth position among the foreign-born to seventeenth among the Canadian-born.

The age-specific comparisons at the metropolitan level provide a more useful insight into the dynamics of intergenerational economic advancement than the overall comparisons of ethnic groups at the national level and without controls for age. Nevertheless, an overall comparison of the rank ordering of earnings of family heads by ethnic group for the population as a whole and separately for the Canadian-born and the foreign-born is provided in Table 11.13 and Chart 11.2. Even without a control for age group, those of Jewish origin retained a primary position among both Canadian and foreign-born. The overall second position was achieved by those of British origin, but the Canadian-born British ranked sixth after those of other Southern European origin. The Canadian-born Asian ranked second, and the foreign-born Asian ranked fourteenth, giving the Asian origin group an overall ninth position. Nationally, the other Central Europeans, Scandinavians, and those of Netherlands origin ranked third, fourth, and fifth respectively. However, the Canadian-born of these origins all ranked lower than their foreign-born counterparts. At the

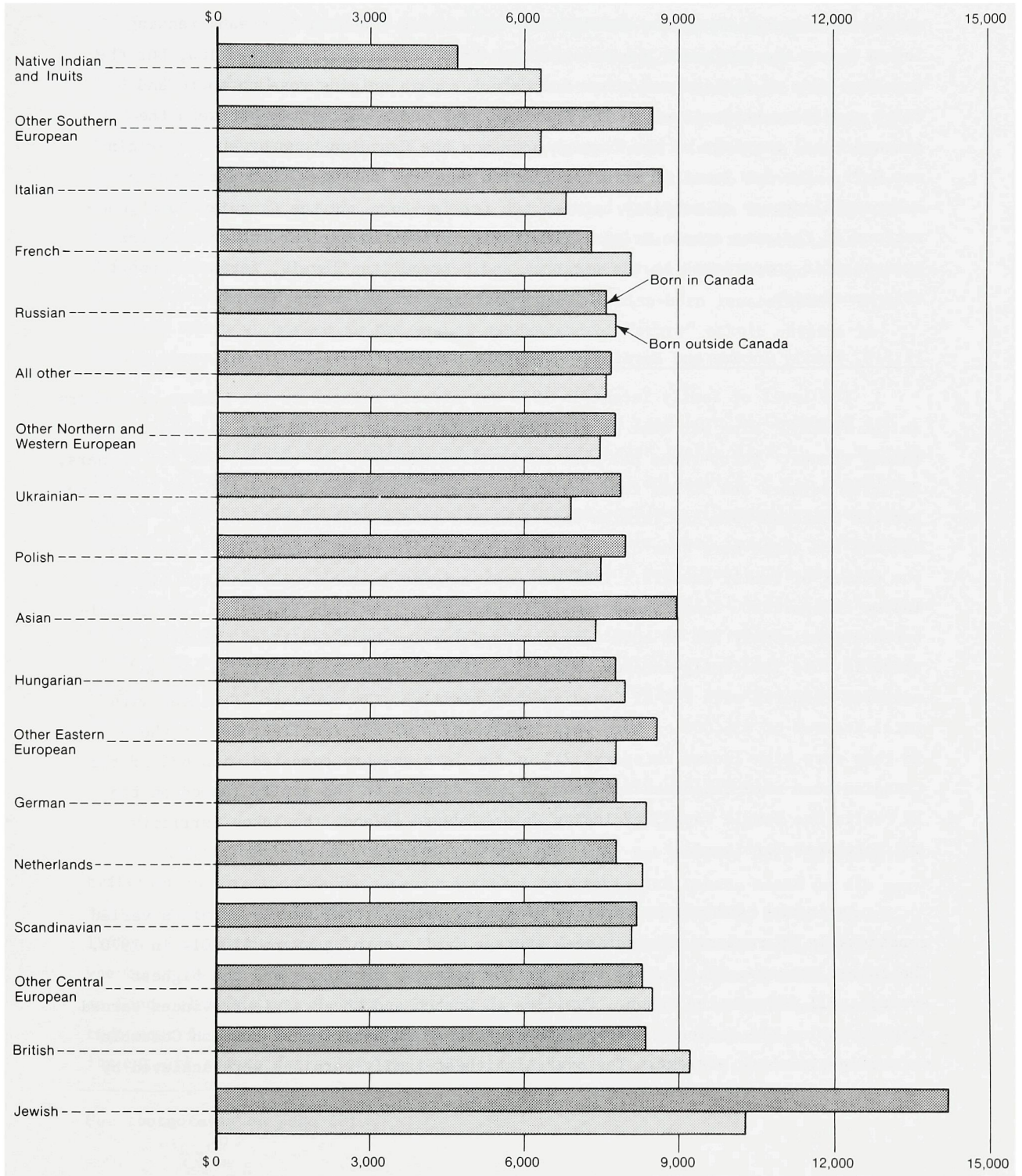
TABLE 11.13. Average Total Earnings in 1970, of Family Heads, All Ages, by Birthplace and Ethnic Group, With Rank Order by Ethnic Group, Canada, 1971

Ethnic group	Canada total		Canada-born		Born outside Canada	
	\$	Rank	\$	Rank	\$	Rank
Jewish	12,368	1	14,196	1	10,339	1
British	8,500	2	8,376	6	9,151	2
Other Central European	8,401	3	8,255	7	8,501	3
Scandinavian	8,153	4	8,171	8	8,103	7
Netherlands	8,081	5	7,787	14	8,275	5
German	8,047	6	7,848	11	8,398	4
Other Eastern European	8,017	7	8,557	4	7,790	10
Hungarian	7,949	8	7,842	12	7,994	8
Asian	7,857	9	9,035	2	7,441	14
Polish	7,754	10	8,002	9	7,470	13
Ukrainian	7,713	11	7,936	10	6,893	15
Other Northern and Western European	7,684	12	7,788	13	7,519	12
All other	7,662	13	7,704	15	7,597	11
Russian	7,617	14	7,557	16	7,811	9
French	7,307	15	7,282	17	8,122	6
Italian	7,212	16	8,712	3	6,817	16
Other Southern European	6,508	17	8,491	5	6,266	18
Native Indian and Inuit	4,745	18	4,686	18	6,297	17
Total	8,042		8,009		8,153	

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

Chart 11.2

Average Earnings of Family Heads, by Ethnic Group and Birthplace, for Canada, 1970



Source: 1971 Census of Canada, unpublished data

bottom of the scale were the Canadian-born Native Indian and Inuit, but this group ranked seventeenth among the foreign-born with other Southern Europeans ranking lowest among the immigrant groups. Foreign-born Italians also ranked low, but the Canadian-born of Italian and other Southern European origins rose to third and fifth positions respectively. The Spearman rank order correlation between the average total earnings of the foreign-born and the Canadian-born by ethnic origin was 0.29. The low level of this correlation supports the view that there was a substantial degree of mobility between the foreign-born and the Canadian-born generations of the same ethnic origin. The tables presented earlier, which show the age-specific comparisons at the national and metropolitan levels, further support this conclusion.

11.2.3. Family Income and Earnings

The level of family income in 1970 was closely related to the number of earners in the family. Nine per cent of all families in Canada in 1970 were without a wage or salary earner. Forty-three per cent of families had only one earner, 38% two earners, 8% three earners and 3% had four earners or more. There was no significant difference between Canadian-born and foreign-born families in the distribution of total family income, but there were some differences in the way in which income was related to the number of family earners. This was most evident in the lowest and the highest income categories. Those whose family incomes were less than \$5,000 in 1970 constituted approximately 23% of both Canadian- and foreign-born families. However, of those in this low-family-incomes category, 41% of foreign-born families had no earners, compared with 29% of Canadian-born families. In contrast, families with total incomes of \$36,000 or more were less than 1% of all families; but of those in this very high income category, 71% of the foreign-born compared with 63% of the Canadian-born were dependent upon two or more earners in the family (based on the 1% Public Use Sample Tapes, excluding Prince Edward Island, the Yukon Territory and Northwest Territories).

As in the case of the earnings of family heads, total family earnings varied considerably by region. The national average family earnings were \$10,014 in 1970. The lowest average, \$7,764, was found in the Atlantic Provinces and the highest average, \$11,477, in the Yukon. Families in Quebec and the Prairie Provinces earned slightly below the national average, whereas those in Ontario and British Columbia were slightly above average. The overall highest family earnings were achieved by

immigrants who had entered Canada in 1961-65, who were of other (that is, neither British nor French) ethnic origin and who were resident in the Atlantic Provinces. With average family earnings of \$14,600, this numerically small group earned 46% above the national average and 88% above the average for the Atlantic Provinces. In contrast, families living in the Atlantic Provinces who were Canadian-born of two Canadian-born parents earned 96% of the average family incomes in the Atlantic Provinces and only 75% of the national average. In the Atlantic Provinces, Quebec, the Prairie Provinces and the Yukon Territory, foreign-born families earned more than Canadian-born families; but the reverse was the case in Ontario and in British Columbia. In all provinces, the Canadian-born with two foreign-born parents consistently earned above the average for other Canadian-born generations. This tendency was most marked in the second generation of "other" ethnic origins in Quebec whose family earnings averaged \$14,005.

The relative advantage of families whose heads were born in Canada of two foreign-born parents persisted in the metropolitan areas (Table 11.14). In Montréal, Toronto, Winnipeg, and Vancouver when the generational categories of the Canadian-born and the periods of immigration of the foreign-born were compared, the second generation average is the highest in each case. However, when further controls are introduced for ethnicity, it appears that, in Montréal and Toronto, it was the Canadian-born with two foreign parents who were of neither British nor French ethnic origin who achieved the highest average family earnings; in Vancouver, the second generation of British origin averaged the highest. This is true also in Winnipeg, except that British immigrants who entered Canada in 1946-60 achieved the overall highest average family earnings in that CMA.

11.3. Economic Families⁴ and Unattached Individuals:

The Distribution of Low Income

Canada does not have an official poverty line, but pioneer work on the distribution of low incomes has been undertaken by Statistics Canada based on its periodic Survey of Family Expenditures and upon the 1961 Census (DBS, 1963; Podoluk, 1968). For the purpose of these studies, low-income families were defined as those where, on average, most of the income received must be spent upon essentials such as food, clothing and shelter. The family-expenditure survey of 1959 had shown that most families spent about half of their income on such essentials. In defining cut-off points for a low-income line relative to family size, it was assumed

See footnote(s) on page 401.

TABLE 11.14. Family Heads in the Current Experienced Labour Force by Birthplace of Parents, and Foreign-born Family Heads in the Current Experienced Labour Force by Period of Immigration, by Average Total Family Earnings, Montréal, Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver CMAs, 1971

Birthplace of parents/ Period of immigration	Ethnic origin								
	British	French	Other	Total	British	French	Other	Total	
					\$				
	<u>Montréal</u>					<u>Toronto</u>			
All family heads	12,397	9,857	10,516	10,447	12,439	10,712	10,918	11,749	
Birthplace of parents for Canadian-born	12,347	9,828	12,663	10,521	12,523	10,644	13,226	12,543	
Both born in Canada	12,046	9,797	10,418	10,103	12,252	10,576	11,321	11,993	
One born in Canada	12,652	10,681	12,724	11,984	12,883	11,498	13,011	12,866	
Both born outside Canada	12,989	10,043	14,113	13,481	13,047	10,221	14,677	13,663	
Period of immigration	12,579	10,582	9,598	10,189	12,205	11,677	10,169	10,818	
Before 1946	12,204	11,216	12,021	11,990	12,054	12,184	12,405	12,195	
1946-60	13,569	11,054	9,859	10,454	13,008	12,404	10,672	11,307	
1961-65	12,514	10,330	9,128	9,596	11,896	11,225	9,379	9,972	
1966-71 ¹	10,908	9,392	7,864	8,525	10,696	10,539	8,473	9,184	
	<u>Winnipeg</u>					<u>Vancouver</u>			
All family heads	10,688	8,895	9,739	10,070	11,408	9,802	10,058	10,826	
Birthplace of parents for Canadian-born	10,688	8,907	10,084	10,250	11,464	9,797	10,522	11,107	
Both born in Canada	10,382	8,709	8,978	9,645	10,930	9,561	9,578	10,526	
One born in Canada	10,780	9,709	10,157	10,466	11,566	10,389	10,648	11,285	
Both born outside Canada	11,225	9,871	10,890	10,995	12,232	10,686	11,102	11,747	
Period of immigration	10,689	8,587	9,117	9,526	11,226	9,853	9,601	10,261	
Before 1946	10,299	8,780	9,627	9,881	10,962	9,020	10,239	10,670	
1946-60	11,894	8,887	9,252	9,710	11,853	10,113	9,932	10,556	
1961-65	10,752	7,745	8,971	9,322	11,392	10,178	9,409	10,191	
1966-71 ¹	9,545	8,072	7,868	8,416	10,077	10,150	8,068	8,849	

¹Includes first five months of 1971 only.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

that where families or unattached individuals spent 70% or more on average, on essentials, they might be in straightened circumstances (Podoluk, 1968, p. 185). Such people would have little discretionary income left after paying for essentials. Therefore, in analyzing 1961 Census data, it was suggested that a single person with an income below \$1,500, a family of two with less than \$2,500, and families of three, four, five, or more with incomes less than \$3,000, \$3,500, or \$4,000 respectively fell below a "low-income line." In this study, no allowance was made for differences in family-expenditure patterns between urban and rural areas or between urban areas of different size.

Using the above criteria, it was determined that in 1961 25.3% of families and a further 43.5% of unattached individuals were living below the low-income line. (These figures include the Yukon but not the Northwest Territories.) Subsequent studies carried out by Statistics Canada on the basis of its periodic Survey of Family Expenditures and using the same criteria showed that there was a significant decline in the incidence of low-income families and of unattached individuals falling below the low-income line between 1961 and 1971. The proportion of all families falling below the low-income line was estimated as 18.4% in 1967 and 15.9% in 1971. The proportion of unattached individuals fell to 39% in 1967 and 37.6% in 1971. There was comparatively little change over this period in the factors associated with the distribution of low income. Throughout the decade, the proportion of families and individuals below the low-income line was higher in rural areas and small towns, compared with large cities; the proportion of families and individuals below the low-income line was particularly high in the Atlantic Provinces; it was lowest in Ontario and British Columbia, although in the latter province the proportion of unattached individuals having low income was slightly above-average (Perspective Canada 1974, pp. 152-64). Individual attributes associated with low income were rather consistent. The elderly, particularly those living alone, female family heads, the unemployed and those with low education were more likely to have low incomes.

Previous studies of family-income expenditure and the distribution of low income in Canada have not addressed themselves to questions concerning ethnic variations or the comparison of immigrants with the Canadian-born population. A few special studies have drawn attention to the absolute and relative deprivation of specific minorities. The chronic poverty and dependence upon social assistance of many Native Peoples are well known (Elliott, 1971; Hawthorn, 1966-67; Dosman, 1972).

Various studies have drawn attention to the economic problems of the native Canadian Black population (Henry, 1973; Clairmont and Magill, 1974). Kalbach (1970) noted the lower total earnings of post-war immigrants and the fact that the first five years were the most critical, when the gap in total earnings was greatest. However, he did not examine the distribution of family incomes or the incidence of low income per se. A longitudinal study carried out by the Department of Manpower and Immigration with a sample of immigrants arriving in 1969 did measure the distribution of low income shortly after arrival in Canada and at periodic intervals up to three years later (CIPS 4, 1974, p. 58). This study found that six months after arrival in Canada 22% of the immigrants in the sample had individual or family incomes that placed them below the low-income line. However, for this particular cohort, earning capacity increased rapidly so that by the end of the second year in Canada only 5% were below the low-income line; and by the end of the third year the proportion had fallen to 4%. The study also showed that during the first year in Canada low wages were the major explanation for the proportion falling below the low-income line; in the later years when the proportion was reduced, unemployment was the major cause (CIPS 4, 1974, p. 57).

The original cut-off points for the low-income line were based upon the evidence that, in 1959, there was an overall expenditure-income ratio for essentials of 50%. Ten years later it was found that there was a decline of eight percentage points in the expenditure-income ratio to 42%. In order to maintain the original 20-percentage-point difference between the overall expenditure-income ratio and the criterion for low income, the latter was lowered from 70% to 62%. In revising the low-income cut-offs, attention was also given to variation by size of place of residence which was not taken into account in the original scale. Furthermore, the family-size criterion was extended to differentiate families of six and those of seven or more. Each year since 1961, the cut-offs have also been updated by the Consumer Price Index. The low-income cut-offs for 1970 used in the present analysis of 1971 Census data range from a minimum of \$1,953 for an unattached person in a rural area to a maximum of \$7,953 for a family of seven or more in an urban area of 500,000 or more.⁵ (The special tabulations prepared by Statistics Canada for this analysis exclude families and unattached individuals in the Northwest Territories and the Yukon.) On the basis of these revised criteria, it was found that 19.2% of all economic families in Canada in 1970 and 44.4% of persons not living in economic families had incomes that were below the revised low-income line.

See footnote(s) on page 401.

Altogether, 977,000 families and an additional 740,000 unattached individuals reported incomes falling below the cut-off points. Given the average size of families in each category, approximately four million people were defined as living below the revised low-income line.

In Canada as a whole, 17.9% of families whose head was foreign-born compared with 19.6% of families with a Canadian-born head were below the low-income line in 1970. Among unattached individuals not living in families, 47.7% of the foreign-born compared with 43.4% of the Canadian-born were below the low-income line. Pre-war immigrants were particularly vulnerable; this is probably due to the high proportion of elderly people in this category. Among pre-war immigrants, 23.9% of those in families and 61.2% of those living alone were below the low-income line. The problem was most acute among pre-war immigrants from Asia who were not in families, of whom 70.8% had low incomes. Least likely to have low incomes were immigrant families from the United Kingdom who arrived in 1946-65. Recently arrived immigrant families, other than those from the United Kingdom and Germany, tended to have an above-average proportion with low incomes. Although immigrants who arrived in 1966-71 who were not in families were more likely to have low incomes than those who were in families, the proportion was not exceptionally high compared with other unattached individuals, except those from Southern Europe, the United States and all other countries. The United States group probably includes a significant proportion of draft evaders, while the all other category includes immigrants from the Caribbean and other parts of Central and South America.

Tables 11.15 and 11.16 provide a comparison between immigrants in Quebec and other provinces with regard to the incidence of low income. In Quebec, 22.1% of families with Canadian-born heads were below the low-income line, compared with 20% of the foreign-born. Of those not in families, 47.9% of the Canadian-born and 46.8% of the foreign-born fell into this category. This compared with families in the rest of Canada where 18.4% of those with Canadian-born heads and 17.6% with foreign-born heads had low incomes; of the unattached individuals living outside Quebec, 31.4% of the Canadian-born and 48.2% of the foreign-born were below the line. Thus, the proportion of Canadian-born living below the low-income line exceeded that of the foreign-born in all cases except that of unattached individuals living outside Quebec. This would appear to be due to the large number of pre-war immigrants living in other provinces who were not members of economic families, of whom 61.5%

TABLE 11.15. Percentage of Economic Families and Population Not Members of Economic Families Below Low-income Line in 1970, by Birthplace, Controlling for Period of Immigration of the Foreign-born, Quebec, 1971

Period of immigration	United States	United Kingdom	Germany	Other Northern and Western Europe	Poland	Other Central and Eastern Europe	Italy	Other Southern Europe	Asia	All other	Total birthplaces
<u>Economic families¹</u>											
All foreign-born	21.7	13.0	12.3	15.0	17.8	18.0	22.6	33.6	24.3	20.0	19.9
Before 1946	22.7	17.4	15.0	20.8	20.9	22.0	27.6	32.0	25.5	19.7	21.0
1946-60	14.7	8.1	10.9	13.2	14.8	14.9	20.5	30.5	27.6	14.2	16.8
1961-65	15.5	6.0	13.5	12.8	21.4	14.1	24.3	29.1	15.3	13.9	19.1
1966-71 ²	24.2	12.3	21.1	17.5	33.8	26.3	28.8	41.7	25.9	27.7	26.7
<u>Population not members of economic families³</u>											
All foreign-born	55.4	44.9	31.2	35.2	47.5	44.8	45.7	44.7	40.6	46.8	44.3
Before 1946	60.3	58.4	52.9	60.8	58.3	58.4	69.3	53.6	62.5	50.9	59.0
1946-60	36.1	24.7	28.8	30.1	38.0	36.4	40.1	32.1	37.8	33.9	32.4
1961-65	35.6	17.7	18.6	22.2	45.8	36.8	34.6	35.8	30.6	31.3	29.0
1966-71 ²	48.4	25.0	27.3	31.7	35.3	32.6	42.2	52.2	39.4	54.2	41.6

¹Controlling for period of immigration of the foreign-born family heads.

²Includes the first five months of 1971 only.

³Controlling for period of immigration of the foreign-born population.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

TABLE 11.16. Percentage of Economic Families and Population Not Members of Economic Families Below Low-income Line in 1970, by Birthplace, Controlling for Period of Immigration of the Foreign-born, Other Provinces, 1971

Period of immigration	United States	United Kingdom	Germany	Other Northern and Western Europe	Poland	Other Central and Eastern Europe	Italy	Other Southern Europe	Asia	All other	Total birthplaces
<u>Economic families¹</u>											
All foreign-born	23.8	14.0	13.5	18.8	20.1	20.6	15.0	20.8	23.6	20.3	17.6
Before 1946	25.0	19.6	28.0	30.9	28.7	30.9	21.5	21.3	26.2	22.7	24.2
1946-60	15.3	7.9	11.1	13.8	12.3	12.6	12.9	16.7	22.5	12.4	12.0
1961-65	16.1	7.3	11.8	13.5	14.5	15.2	15.5	17.4	12.4	13.2	13.0
1966-71 ²	26.7	12.3	14.8	19.9	25.0	22.1	20.5	29.3	26.8	27.2	21.4
<u>Population not members of economic families³</u>											
All foreign-born	53.8	48.9	34.9	48.1	53.7	51.1	38.3	38.2	46.2	44.3	48.2
Before 1946	57.2	59.7	61.2	65.9	65.1	67.8	61.6	55.4	71.5	53.8	61.5
1946-60	41.6	29.1	28.7	29.2	33.7	34.3	32.8	29.6	39.1	27.4	31.2
1961-65	34.8	19.0	19.6	17.1	39.8	37.1	27.8	21.5	24.3	24.2	24.1
1966-71 ²	48.1	27.8	28.8	34.9	44.0	32.8	28.0	44.1	42.2	49.7	38.9

¹Controlling for period of immigration of the foreign-born family heads.

²Includes the first five months of 1971 only.

³Controlling for period of immigration of the foreign-born population.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

were living below the low-income line. Pre-1946 immigrants from Northern and Western European countries, Eastern and Central European countries, including Poland, and those from Asia appeared to be particularly at risk if they lacked family support. Among economic families pre-war immigrants from Italy and other Southern European countries living in Quebec, together with those living in other provinces from Northern, Western, Central, and Eastern Europe, had an above-average proportion below the low-income line.

11.3.1. Ethnic and Generational Variation in Low Income ⁵

It has been noted that, of economic families with Canadian-born heads, 19.6% were below the low-income line. However, there were significant generational differences. The proportion was 21% for those with two Canadian-born parents and only 15% for the second generation. Among those not in economic families, the proportions were 45% for the third-plus generation and 38% for the second generation. Because of the predominance of the Canadian-born in the population as a whole, they constituted 79% of economic families with low incomes but only 74% of unattached individuals, reflecting the special problems of the foreign-born who entered Canada before 1946 who were elderly and not living in families.

Those most likely to have low incomes were the third-plus of other ethnic origins of whom 47.7% were in the low-income group; it should be noted that a large proportion of this category were Native Peoples and Canadians of Negro and West Indian origin. Immigrants of British ethnic origin who came to Canada in 1946-65 were the least likely to fall below the low-income line. This was true of unattached individuals as well as families. Pre-war Asian immigrants (75.8%) and the third-plus generation "other" origins (61.8%) were the most likely to have low incomes.

Although it has been shown that family heads of the French-Canadian charter group in Quebec had comparatively low average earnings, the evidence suggests that they were not over-represented proportionally among economic families who fell below the low-income line, although they constituted the largest single group. However, those of Jewish, British, and those of other Northern and Western European origin, together with Canadian-born Asians, had the smallest proportion with low incomes. One other striking difference between Quebec and the rest of Canada is the difference between the two geographic areas in the proportion of all those

See footnote(s) on page 401.

economic families below the low-income line who were foreign-born and consequent differences in the generational distributions. While only 10.6% of those living in Quebec who were below the low-income line were foreign-born, the proportion in other provinces was 25.8%. (See Chart 11.3.) This appears to be due to the much higher proportion and absolute number of pre-1946 immigrants living outside Quebec. The latter constitutes almost half of all the foreign-born below the low-income line in other provinces. Also noticeable are the differences in the case of the Canadian-born with one or two foreign-born parents, who constituted a larger proportion of those living below the low-income line in other provinces than in Quebec. The net result was that, of all those living below the low-income line in Quebec, 84.4% were of the third-plus generation compared with only 52.5% in other provinces.

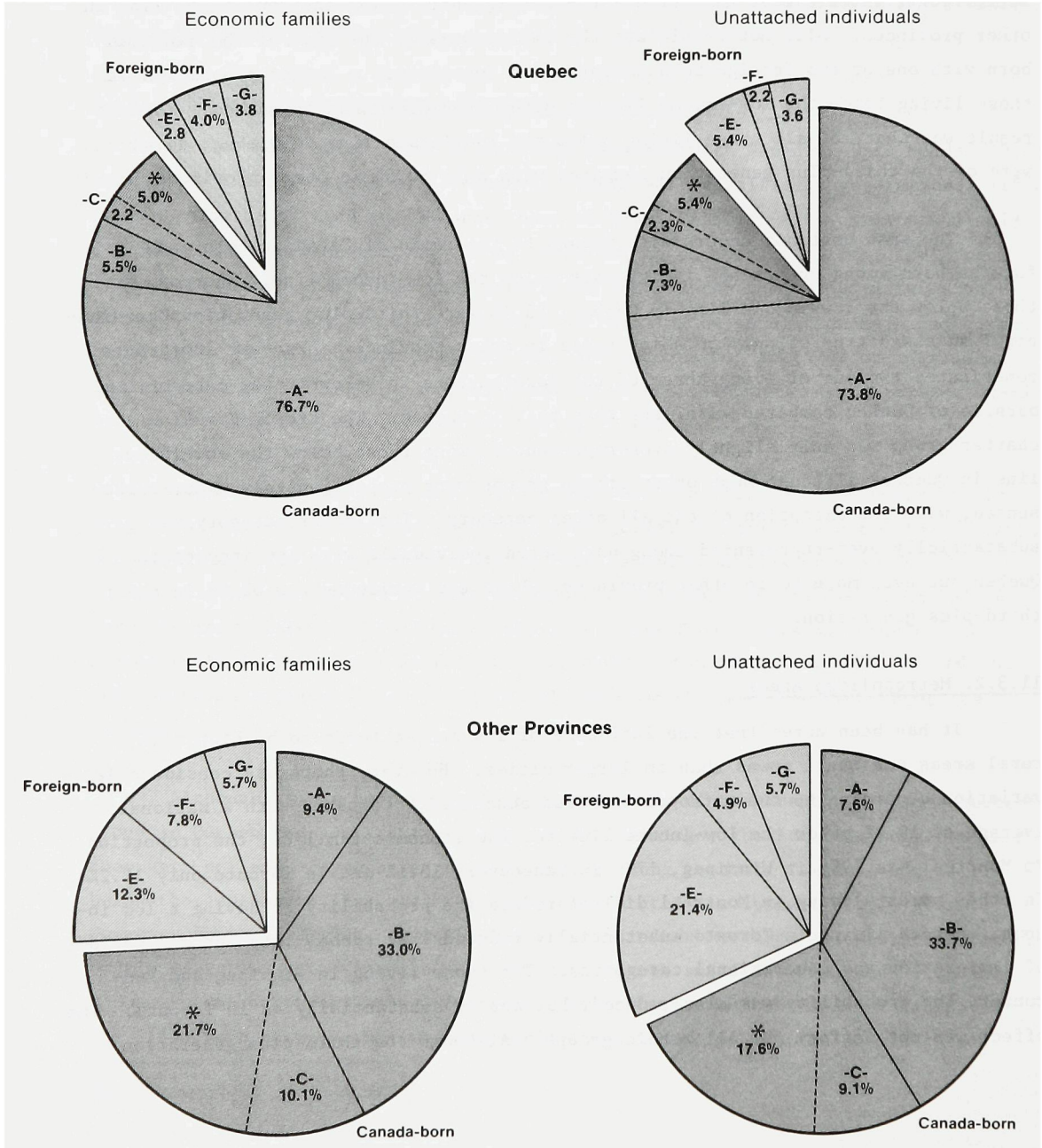
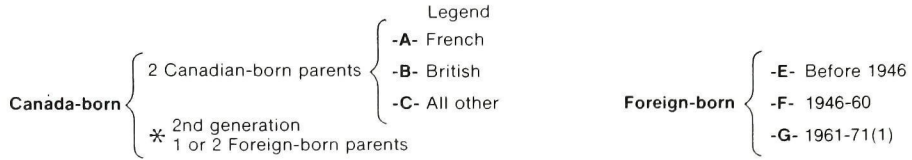
The same contrast occurs with regard to the ratio of Canadian-born and foreign-born among unattached individuals below the low-income line. Whereas, of those below the low-income line in Quebec, 83.4% were third-plus generation Canadian-born, this was true of only 50.4% of those in other provinces. Pre-war immigrants constituted two out of every three of the foreign-born in below-income category outside of Quebec compared with less than half in Quebec. The French-Canadian charter group was only slightly over-represented among those below the low-income line in Quebec, although most other ethnic groups were proportionately under-represented, with the exception of the all other category. The latter category was substantially over-represented among unattached individuals with low incomes in Quebec but even more so in other provinces, where the incidence was 62.4% in the third-plus generation.

11.3.2. Metropolitan Areas

It has been noted that the incidence of low income tends to be higher in rural areas and small towns than in larger cities. However, there was considerable variation according to the metropolitan area concerned. Compared with a national average of 19.2% below the low-income line for the economic families, the proportion in Montréal was 19%; in Winnipeg, 17%; in Vancouver, 16.1% and in Toronto only 12.2%. In other words, living in Montréal did not reduce the probability of having a low income, whereas living in Toronto substantially reduced that probability for all periods of immigration and generational categories. For those living in Winnipeg and Vancouver, the probability was also reduced, but not as substantially as in Toronto. The effect was not uniform for all ethnic groups. Although the third-plus generation

Chart 11.3

Distribution of Economic Families and Unattached Individuals Below the Low Income Line by Birthplace of Parents and Ethnic Group for the Canadian-born and Period of Immigration for the Foreign-born, for Quebec and Other Provinces, 1970



(1) Includes the first five months only of 1971

of other origins in Montréal had the highest proportion below the low-income line, this was still substantially below the national average for that group. In contrast, Canadian-born of Southern European origin in Quebec were more likely than those elsewhere to have low incomes. The same was true of immigrants of Southern European origin in Montréal. Of the third-plus generation French-Canadians living in Winnipeg, a quarter were below the low-income line compared with 20.4% in Montréal, 19.7% in Vancouver and 15.6% in Toronto. In contrast, only 5.9% of the residual all other immigrant group who entered Canada 1946-60 and were living in Winnipeg were in the low-income category. They were followed by British immigrants in Toronto who arrived in 1946-60 as the least likely to have low incomes. Generally, the Canadian-born with two foreign-born parents were substantially below average in the proportion with low incomes, although this was most marked in Toronto.

The effect of urbanization on the situation of those who were not members of economic families living in the four metropolitan areas was only evident in Toronto where the proportion was 35.4%, compared with a national average of 44.4%. The other metropolitan areas had an average or above-average proportion of unattached individuals with low incomes: Montréal, 43.7%; Vancouver, 45% and Winnipeg, 47.1%. The proportions among the third-plus generation of French origin were 46.5% in Montréal, compared with 35.4% in Toronto, 48% in Vancouver and 51% in Winnipeg. Of the British charter group who were not in families, 32.6% in Toronto, 36.1% in Montréal, 41.8% in Vancouver and 42% in Winnipeg were below the low-income line. Among immigrants who were not in families, the proportions were 39.9% in Toronto, 43.4% in Montréal, 51.9% in Vancouver and 57.4% in Winnipeg. Pre-war immigrants in all four metropolitan areas were particularly susceptible, but the situation was most serious among pre-1946 Asian immigrants in Vancouver and Winnipeg where 86.7% and 89.3% respectively were below the low-income line. This is clearly related to the special problems of early Chinese immigrants who came without families and have remained culturally and socially isolated as well as economically deprived in their old age.

In summary, the incidence of poverty was probably highest among very recent immigrants, pre-war immigrants and third-plus generation Canadians who belong to visible racial minorities such as the Native Indian, Black and Asian groups. Second-generation Canadians, together with post-war immigrants of British origin as well as all those of Jewish origin were among those least likely to fall below

the low-income line. However, in absolute numbers, families and individuals with low incomes were predominantly Canadian-born and of British and French origins because these were, in any case, the largest groups in the population. Although various studies have shown that the incidence of low income is more frequent in small towns and rural areas, only Metropolitan Toronto had a substantially below-average proportion of its population with low income in 1970.

FOOTNOTES

¹In the multiple regression and path analyses of total income, the population was all persons over 15 years of age who were employed in 1970 and who reported income (excluding zero or negative income). The variables were defined as follows:

Sex: male
A1: under 30 years of age
A2: 55 years and over
P1020: Level of schooling was recoded: 0-5, 2.5; 5-8, 6.5; 9-10, 9.5; 11, 11; 12, 12; 13, 13; 1 or 2 years of university, 14.5; 3-4 years of university with no degree, 15.5; 3-4 years of university with degree, 16; over 5 years no degree, 17; over 5 years with degree, 18
P1030: Number of weeks worked was recoded: did not work during 1970, 0; 1-13 weeks, 6.5; 14-26 weeks, 20.0; 27-39 weeks, 33.0; 40-48 weeks, 44.0; 49-52 weeks, 50.5
Occupation: Managerial, Professional, Semi-professional, Clerical, and Sales
INDP: primary industries
INDT: tertiary industries
RL: rural areas, farm and non-farm
UN: urban areas
PRV: Atlantic Provinces, excluding Prince Edward Island
BP2: generation: born in Canada, both parents born in Canada
FB: born outside Canada
LH: English or French language of home
FCH: ethnic group, French
JSH: ethnic group, Jewish
R: Catholic religion

²The term "current experienced labour force" is defined as those included in the labour force during the week prior to enumeration, excluding those looking for work who had last worked prior to January 1970 or who had never worked.

³United Kingdom in this section and in the tables includes the Republic of Ireland.

⁴Economic families are defined by Statistics Canada for census purposes as "a group of two or more persons living together and related to each other by blood, marriage, or adoption".

⁵The revised low-income cut-offs used by Statistics Canada in the calculation of a revised low-income line for 1970, used in this analysis, allowed for differences in family size (from one to seven or more in the family) and for variable living costs by size of rural or urban area, distinguishing rural, small urban, urban 30,000-99,999, urban 100,000-499,999 and urban 500,000 or more persons. For details, see Richmond and Verma (1978).

CHAPTER 12

HOUSING AND AMENITIES

Home-ownership is the aspiration of many Canadian and immigrant householders, although it is one that was increasingly difficult to achieve in the 1960s as the cost of building and the price of homes rose through the combined effects of growing demand and inflation. Furthermore, many of the new housing units built in the decade prior to the 1971 Census, particularly in the large metropolitan areas where many immigrants settled, were of the high-rise apartment type generally only available on a rental basis. Nevertheless, in 1971, 60% of all householders in Canada owned their own homes. Table 12.1 shows the percentage of home-owners by birthplace, controlling for household income. Home-ownership was clearly a function of income level, ranging from 53.7% of those whose household income was less than \$5,000 to 83.5% of those in the \$36,000-and-more category. At all levels of income below \$20,000, the foreign-born were slightly more likely to be home-owners than the Canadian-born. In the highest income, there was no difference between the Canadian-born and the foreign-born overall, although at all income levels those born in Poland and Italy showed an above-average propensity to become home-owners. Those born in the United States had an above-average propensity to homeownership in the lower income groups and a less-than-average propensity in the higher income groups. Those least likely to be home-owners were immigrants from Southern Europe, excluding Italy, together with those born in Asia and all other countries. This was particularly true in the lowest income categories and was probably related to a comparatively short period of residence in Canada for many from those countries.

12.1 Quebec and the Rest of Canada

There were significant differences in the patterns of home-ownership between Quebec and the rest of Canada. Only 47.4% of all householders in Quebec owned their own homes, compared with 64.9% in other provinces. Furthermore, in Quebec, the Canadian-born were more likely to be home-owners, whereas in the rest of Canada the proportion of immigrant home-owners was higher than for the Canadian-born. However, even in Quebec, immigrants born in Poland and in Italy showed an above-average propensity to home-ownership. This was true at all income levels. In the most affluent group, those with household incomes of \$36,000 or more, those born in Germany and living in Quebec had the highest proportion of home-owners (94.7%); this contrasted with the all other birthplace category with the lowest household

TABLE 12.1. Percentage of Homeowners, by Birthplace, Controlling for Income, Canada, 1971

Birthplace	Household income						Total
	Less than \$5,000 ¹	\$5,000- 9,999	\$10,000- 14,999	\$15,000- 19,999	\$20,000- 35,999	\$36,000+	
Canada total	53.7	55.3	65.5	73.7	79.2	83.5	60.3
Total Canada-born	52.9	54.1	64.6	73.4	79.2	83.7	59.3
Total born outside Canada	56.1	59.8	68.5	74.8	79.3	82.9	63.5
United States	60.2	61.3	65.1	69.6	72.9	79.0	63.2
United Kingdom	52.9	55.2	64.8	72.5	77.8	80.4	59.9
Germany	55.6	61.4	70.5	73.9	83.0	86.3	65.3
Other Northern and Western Europe	62.9	61.7	69.0	74.3	77.3	85.6	65.6
Poland	73.1	77.9	83.9	85.2	86.6	87.5	79.1
Other Central and Eastern Europe	68.7	69.5	76.6	81.4	82.8	84.1	72.8
Italy	59.0	73.5	82.7	89.4	92.1	94.3	76.9
Other Southern Europe	27.9	47.1	64.2	75.8	80.8	81.9	52.1
Asia	30.3	40.9	50.2	59.7	71.4	81.5	45.4
All other	25.3	29.9	44.1	56.0	64.5	78.4	37.4

¹Includes loss and zero income.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

incomes, of whom only 10.1% were home-owners. Outside of Quebec, home-ownership was greater among the foreign-born at all income levels except those over \$36,000. More than 90% of householders born in Italy with incomes of more than \$15,000 were homeowners; this contrasted with only 31.4% of the all other birthplace category where household incomes were less than \$5,000.

The effect of period of immigration and generation on home-ownership for Canada as a whole is known in Table 12.2. At all income levels the most recently arrived immigrants were the least likely to own their own homes. In 1971, an average of 27.4% of those who had immigrated after 1965 were home-owners. In contrast, the greatest propensity to home-ownership was found among pre-war immigrants and the Canadian-born with two foreign-born parents. At all levels of income, the Canadian-born of Canadian parentage had a slightly below-average probability of home-ownership. Differences between Quebec and other provinces were again quite marked. Among the most recently arrived immigrants, only 10.8% in Quebec compared with 31.2% in other provinces were home-owners. Among pre-war immigrants and the Canadian-born of foreign parentage, only half of those living in Quebec compared with nearly three-quarters of those in other provinces owned their own homes. In the third-plus generation, only 48.3% in Quebec compared with 61.4% in other provinces were home-owners.

12.2 Metropolitan Areas

On average, home-ownership was lower in the metropolitan areas than in Canada as a whole. This is related to the higher incidence of apartments and other rented dwellings in large cities. Montréal had a particularly high proportion of rented dwellings. As a consequence, only 35.3% of all householders in Montréal, compared with 54.9% in Toronto and 59% in Winnipeg and Vancouver were home-owners. Table 12.3a shows the distribution of home-owners by birthplace controlling for income in Montréal. In Quebec as a whole, home-ownership was more characteristic of the Canadian-born, Montréal is more typical of the rest of the country in that the proportion of foreign-born home-owners exceeded that of the Canadian-born. However, the difference was most marked among households whose incomes were under \$15,000. Immigrants from Italy, Poland, other Central and Eastern European countries, and from Germany, in that order, had the highest propensity to home-ownership. The post-war immigrant cohort, those arriving in 1946-60, were most likely to be home-owners followed by the Canadian-born of foreign parentage. Immigrants arriving in 1961 or later,

TABLE 12.2. Percentage of Homeowners, by Income, Controlling for Birthplace of Parents of the Canadian-born and Period of Immigration of the Foreign-born, Canada, 1971

Birthplace of parents/ Period of immigration	Household income						Total
	Less than \$5,000 ¹	\$5,000- 9,999	\$10,000- 14,999	\$15,000- 19,999	\$20,000- 35,999	\$36,000+	
Canada total	53.7	55.3	65.5	73.7	79.2	83.5	60.3
Birthplace of parents for Canadian-born	53.0	54.1	64.6	73.4	79.2	83.7	59.3
Both born in Canada	51.5	51.7	61.1	70.5	77.0	82.1	56.4
One born in Canada	50.0	54.4	66.9	75.0	80.5	86.0	60.7
Both born outside Canada	64.9	67.8	77.1	81.8	85.3	87.0	72.6
Period of immigration	56.1	59.8	68.5	74.8	79.3	83.0	63.5
Before 1946	66.8	73.2	79.1	82.3	83.0	83.3	72.2
1946-60	51.3	65.8	75.2	79.7	84.1	87.5	69.6
1961-65	28.8	45.2	57.0	65.8	71.5	75.9	50.9
1966-71 ²	12.8	23.6	34.8	45.3	53.9	62.4	27.4

¹Includes loss and zero income.

²Includes the first five months only of 1971.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

TABLE 12.3a. Percentage of Homeowners, by Birthplace, Controlling for Income, Montréal CMA, 1971

Birthplace	Household income						Total
	Less than \$5,000 ¹	\$5,000-9,999	\$10,000-14,999	\$15,000-19,999	\$20,000-35,999	\$36,000+	
Montréal total	18.4	28.8	44.0	57.3	66.6	73.1	35.3
Total Canada-born	17.4	27.5	43.0	57.1	67.2	73.0	34.2
Total born outside Canada	22.2	34.0	47.8	58.1	64.7	73.5	39.1
United States	17.9	29.2	38.8	53.2	61.8	71.0	35.1
United Kingdom	21.3	29.0	48.2	61.8	67.6	72.3	39.5
Germany	23.0	35.7	53.0	59.8	75.0	87.5	44.2
Other Northern and Western Europe	20.6	27.6	43.7	55.8	58.4	75.0	35.7
Poland	37.8	50.3	62.1	69.6	76.5	83.3	54.3
Other Central and Eastern Europe	32.0	41.9	52.7	61.4	61.5	71.3	45.4
Italy	36.4	51.3	65.1	76.1	80.4	87.0	55.4
Other Southern Europe	9.4	17.6	33.1	40.0	50.6	75.0	20.5
Asia	12.1	17.3	27.4	37.1	56.9	65.0	23.2
All other	8.8	14.5	28.3	36.6	51.6	68.0	21.0

¹Includes loss and zero income.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

TABLE 12.3b. Percentage of Homeowners, by Birthplace, Controlling for Income, Toronto CMA, 1971

Birthplace	Household income						Total
	Less than \$5,000 ¹	\$5,000-9,999	\$10,000-14,999	\$15,000-19,999	\$20,000-35,999	\$36,000+	
Toronto total	33.9	44.8	60.5	71.0	78.4	83.5	54.9
Total Canada-born	29.7	37.9	57.2	68.9	77.1	84.7	51.5
Total born outside Canada	38.6	52.7	64.6	73.7	80.3	81.2	59.2
United States	23.1	32.4	49.7	59.5	64.9	75.6	45.0
United Kingdom	38.7	43.5	57.1	67.0	75.3	76.7	52.4
Germany	32.3	46.4	61.9	68.0	81.6	75.6	56.5
Other Northern and Western Europe	37.8	48.1	60.3	68.8	77.3	82.0	55.8
Poland	55.0	72.0	81.2	86.1	86.9	85.7	75.4
Other Central and Eastern Europe	45.6	59.8	72.4	81.0	84.6	82.9	66.6
Italy	64.6	79.0	87.1	92.8	94.6	97.6	83.3
Other Southern Europe	41.4	58.4	73.3	84.3	86.4	87.2	65.2
Asia	23.1	29.5	39.9	56.7	70.1	84.2	38.3
All other	10.7	18.8	38.0	55.5	65.5	76.4	29.3

¹Includes loss and zero income.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

together with the third-plus generation, had a below-average proportion of home-owners. These differences persisted even after controlling for income.

Table 12.3b shows the pattern of home-ownership in Metropolitan Toronto. Again, the foreign-born were more likely to be home-owners except in the most affluent group, those whose household incomes were \$36,000 or more. Italian immigrants had a very high propensity to home-ownership even in the lowest income category where 65% were home-owners, compared with only 23% of those born in the United States or Asia and only 11% of those from all other countries. In the highest income group, 97.6% of Italian householders owned their own homes. Also above average were those born in Poland, other Central and Eastern European countries, and elsewhere in Southern Europe. The effect of period of immigration was similar to that in Montréal, with the 1946-60 cohort having the highest proportion of home-owners followed by the Canadian-born with two foreign-born parents. Pre-war immigrants were also among those with an above-average tendency to home-ownership but as in other metropolitan areas, they did not reach the national average for this immigrant cohort, reflecting the fact that many pre-war immigrants were in rural areas where home-ownership was more frequent than in the cities.

Home-ownership was higher in Winnipeg than in either Montréal or Toronto. Among the most affluent immigrants from Germany, other Northern and Western European countries, Poland and Asia, homeownership was virtually universal. The effects of period of immigration and generation for Winnipeg were similar to those in other metropolitan areas with the 1946-60 immigrant cohort and the Canadian-born with two foreign-born parents having the highest propensity to homeownership.

In Metropolitan Vancouver, among households with incomes of less than \$20,000, the proportion of home-owners was higher among the foreign-born, although the differential was somewhat smaller than in the other metropolitan areas. The most recently arrived immigrants and those from Asia and all other countries had a greater probability of being home-owners if resident in Vancouver compared with other metropolitan areas. At the lower levels of household income, the pre-1946 immigrant cohort had the highest proportion of home-owners; but in the middle and higher income categories and overall, the Canadian-born with two Canadian-born parents were more likely to be homeowners.

12.3 Mortgages

When first purchasing a home the majority of people are obliged to take out a mortgage. The probability of reporting a mortgage at the time of the 1971 Census was related to factors such as age and length of occupancy of the dwelling. Therefore, it was not surprising that there was a close relationship between reporting a mortgage and period of immigration. Of all householders who were owner-occupiers of single detached non-farm dwellings, 47.5% reported a mortgage. There was a substantial difference between those living in urban and rural areas. Of the latter, only 22.7% reported a mortgage compared with 56.8% of urban dwellers. In rural areas, there was a comparatively small difference between non-immigrant owner-occupiers of non-farm dwellings who reported a mortgage (23.1%) compared with immigrants (20.4%). In urban areas, Canadian-born home-owners were more likely to report a mortgage (61.2%) than immigrant householders (53.0%). Within the immigrant population, there was a close relationship to period of immigration, although immigrant owner-occupiers who arrived in 1971 were less likely to report a mortgage than those who arrived in the preceding decade. In urban areas, 92.7% of immigrants who arrived in 1966-70 compared with 64.1% in 1946-55 and 26.8% before 1946 (1971 Census of Canada, Housing, Bul. 2.4-8, Table 54).

The situation in Quebec differed somewhat from the rest of Canada. In both urban and rural areas, owner-occupiers of non-farm dwellings were more likely to report a mortgage than the average for other provinces and Canada as a whole. In urban areas, 65.2% of non-immigrants reported a mortgage. The difference between Quebec and the rest of Canada was even greater for the immigrant population, 70.2% of whom reported a mortgage if they lived in Quebec. The rate of decline in the incidence of mortgages by period of immigration was less than that of other provinces; of those immigrant owner-occupiers living in urban areas of Quebec who arrived in Canada before 1946, 43.9% still reported mortgages. Owner-occupiers in Montréal were more likely than those in other metropolitan areas to report a mortgage while those in Winnipeg were least likely to do so. The difference between immigrant and non-immigrant households was greatest in Winnipeg, partly reflecting the higher proportion of pre-war immigrants. However, even among post-war immigrants, those resident in Winnipeg were less likely to report a mortgage than the residents of Montréal, Toronto, or Vancouver. This could be related to the generally lower cost of housing in Winnipeg. Of the total post-1946 population of immigrants who were owner-occupiers, 84.2% in Montréal 76.2% in Toronto, 75.4% in Vancouver and 65.1%

in Winnipeg reported a mortgage. (1971 Census of Canada, Housing, Bul. 2.4-8, Table 55.)

12.4 Type of Dwelling

In 1971, 59.5% of all households were occupying detached dwellings, 21.5% were living in apartments, and the rest occupied various other dwelling types such as row housing, semi-detached houses, duplexes and mobile homes. The distribution of dwelling types by birthplace of the householder for Canada is shown in Table 12.4, which also distinguishes between home-owners and renters. Home owners were more likely to be in detached dwellings; only 14.6% occupied other types of housing. In contrast, 51.1% of renters were living in apartments, 20.2% in detached dwellings, 10.5% in duplex-type houses, 9.4% in row housing and 8.5% in semi-detached houses. Only 0.3% of renters and 1.6% of home-owners occupied mobile homes. Among home-owners, the Canadian-born were slightly more likely than the foreign-born to be living in detached dwellings. Particularly notable is the propensity of those born in Italy and other Southern European countries, whether owners or renters, to be occupying row, semi-detached, and duplex-type houses. Such dwellings were characteristic of only 18.2% of the Canadian-born and 17.4% of the foreign-born as a whole. Row, semi-detached and duplex housing was characteristic of 38% of all Italian and other Southern European households. This reflects the availability of such houses at relatively low prices in the older central city areas where many Southern European immigrants first settled. Such dwellings lent themselves readily to providing accommodation for sponsored relatives and to subletting for income purposes. That many of the immigrants concerned were employed in the construction industry facilitated the repair and renovation of older property in areas that might otherwise have required urban renewal (Neumann, Mezoff and Richmond, 1973).

Only 40% of households in Quebec were living in detached dwellings compared with two-thirds of those in other provinces. Even when home-owners only were compared, there was a substantial difference between 73.4% in Quebec compared with 88.6% in the rest of Canada. Row, semi-detached and duplex dwellings were more common in Quebec than in other provinces, as were apartments. Row and duplex housing was particularly characteristic of Italian and other Southern European immigrants in Quebec, while semi-detached housing was more characteristic of these nationalities living in other provinces. Apartment living was more common in Quebec than elsewhere and an unusually high proportion of immigrants living in

TABLE 12.4. Percentage Distribution of Dwelling Type, by Birthplace of Household Head, Canada, 1971

Birthplace	Detached	Row	Semi- detached	Duplex	Apartment	Mobile	Total	
							Per cent	Number
<u>Owners</u>								
Canada total	85.4	2.4	4.8	4.0	1.9	1.6	100.0	3,634,595
Total Canada-born	86.7	2.2	3.8	3.8	1.7	1.8	100.0	2,743,335
Total born outside Canada	81.4	3.0	7.8	4.5	2.6	0.8	100.0	891,225
United States	89.5	1.6	2.4	3.0	1.7	1.8	100.0	78,705
United Kingdom	88.9	1.6	5.7	1.6	1.2	1.0	100.0	264,835
Germany	86.0	2.2	5.7	3.0	2.0	1.0	100.0	53,250
Other Northern and Western Europe	88.9	1.9	3.7	2.8	1.7	1.1	100.0	105,170
Poland	79.1	3.0	6.8	7.2	3.7	0.2	100.0	65,990
Other Central and Eastern Europe	81.3	2.7	6.4	5.7	3.5	0.3	100.0	129,815
Italy	59.4	6.4	19.2	10.1	4.7	0.1	100.0	109,290
Other Southern Europe	52.9	9.4	23.7	8.2	5.6	0.2	100.0	29,040
Asia	72.0	6.9	9.6	6.4	4.7	0.4	100.0	26,500
All other	79.8	3.4	8.7	4.6	2.7	0.7	100.0	28,660
<u>Renters</u>								
Canada total	20.2	9.4	8.5	10.5	51.1	0.3	100.0	2,396,210
Total Canada-born	21.1	9.8	9.2	11.3	48.2	0.3	100.0	1,884,695
Total born outside Canada	16.6	7.6	6.0	7.5	62.1	0.2	100.0	511,515
United States	24.8	8.2	5.8	7.6	53.3	0.4	100.0	45,790
United Kingdom	16.5	7.2	4.9	5.3	65.9	0.2	100.0	176,970
Germany	19.8	5.8	4.8	7.4	61.9	0.4	100.0	28,285
Other Northern and Western Europe	24.4	6.3	5.5	7.6	55.9	0.3	100.0	55,095
Poland	15.6	5.9	5.3	7.8	65.3	0.1	100.0	17,400
Other Central and Eastern Europe	15.6	5.7	4.8	7.8	66.1	0.2	100.0	48,535
Italy	12.9	12.3	14.1	17.3	43.3	0.1	100.0	32,905
Other Southern Europe	10.4	15.3	10.7	9.3	54.2	0.1	100.0	26,740
Asia	11.3	7.6	5.2	7.2	68.4	0.2	100.0	31,925
All other	9.4	6.3	5.0	7.7	71.5	0.2	100.0	47,875
<u>All households</u>								
Canada total	59.5	5.2	6.3	6.6	21.5	1.1	100.0	6,030,810
Total Canada-born	60.0	5.3	6.0	6.9	20.6	1.2	100.0	4,628,030
Total born outside Canada	57.8	4.7	7.1	5.6	24.3	0.6	100.0	1,402,775
United States	65.7	4.0	3.6	4.7	20.7	1.3	100.0	124,495
United Kingdom	59.9	3.8	5.4	3.1	27.1	0.7	100.0	441,805
Germany	63.0	3.5	5.4	4.5	22.8	0.8	100.0	81,535
Other Northern and Western Europe	66.7	3.4	4.3	4.4	20.4	0.8	100.0	160,265
Poland	65.9	3.6	6.4	7.3	16.6	0.2	100.0	83,390
Other Central and Eastern Europe	63.4	3.5	6.0	6.3	20.6	0.3	100.0	178,350
Italy	48.7	7.8	18.1	11.8	13.6	0.1	100.0	142,200
Other Southern Europe	32.5	12.2	17.5	8.7	28.9	0.2	100.0	55,785
Asia	38.8	7.3	7.2	6.9	39.5	0.3	100.0	58,425
All other	35.7	5.2	6.4	6.6	45.7	0.4	100.0	76,530

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

Quebec who were born in Poland, other Central and Eastern European countries, Italy, elsewhere in Southern Europe and in Asia actually owned the apartments they occupied. The proportion ranged from 10% of the other Central and Eastern European group to 19% of the other Southern European group in Quebec. In other provinces, renting apartments was a more usual arrangement.

In Montréal, living in a detached dwelling was characteristic of less than a quarter of all households, a substantially lower proportion than in other metropolitan areas. It was slightly more characteristic of the Canadian-born than immigrant households who were more likely to be found in apartments; apartment ownership was particularly characteristic of immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe and from Asia. Of those renting accommodation, a little under half of the Canadian-born compared with two-thirds of the foreign-born were living in apartments. Among home-owners, there was a marked contrast between those from the United Kingdom, 78.1% of whom lived in detached dwellings and those born in Italy, of whom only 17% were in detached dwellings. Of Italian-born home-owners, 35% occupied a duplex. This was also characteristic of 23.8% of Italian-born renters, suggesting that many Italian immigrants in Montréal purchased duplex houses, occupied part of the dwelling themselves and sublet the rest for income purposes. A somewhat similar pattern prevailed in Toronto except that semi-detached houses were more likely to be owned and/or rented by Italian and other Southern European immigrants than duplexes. Both owning and renting a detached house was more characteristic of Toronto than Montréal. Although only a slightly smaller proportion of all householders were living in apartments in Toronto, compared with Montréal, renting apartments was much more common. Of all those renting, 73.6% in Toronto were in apartments. The proportion ranged from 82.4% of all Polish-born renters to 36.9% of Italian-born renters.

The patterns in Winnipeg and Vancouver metropolitan areas were very similar and differed significantly from Montréal and Toronto. In both Winnipeg and Vancouver, approximately 63% of all households occupied detached dwellings; this was characteristic of 93% of home-owners and about 20% of renters. In Winnipeg, a slightly higher proportion of the foreign-born than the Canadian-born were living in detached houses and slightly more of the Canadian-born in apartments. In Vancouver, there was little difference in the distribution of dwelling types between the Canadian and the foreign-born. However, among renters, in both Winnipeg

and Vancouver, a slightly higher proportion of the foreign-born occupied apartments. In Winnipeg, 4.6% of all dwellings were of the duplex type; 14% of other Southern European households occupied such dwellings. In Vancouver, the figures were 3.6% and 11.2% respectively.

Apartment dwelling is a characteristic form of adaptation to urban life which is likely to be most characteristic of those who cannot afford to purchase a home or whose recent arrival in the city or anticipation of further geographic mobility, makes apartment living more convenient. It is also likely to be characteristic of young people and households with no children or only small families. Therefore, it is interesting to look at the distribution of households living in apartments by birthplace, after controlling for income. In Canada, 21.5% of all households were occupying apartments; this ranged from 25.9% of the lowest income category to 10.4% of those in the highest income group. A decline in the proportion living in apartments, as income level increased, was characteristic of all places of birth of household head. However, when income was controlled, there was significant variation by birthplace. At all income levels, immigrants from Asia and all other countries were most likely to be living in apartments (39.5% and 45.7% respectively) and those from Italy (13.6%) and Poland (16.6%) were least likely to do so.

Overall, apartment dwellings were more characteristic of Quebec than the rest of Canada. However, the differences between Canadian-born and foreign-born in this respect were much greater in Quebec than in other provinces. In Quebec, 23.9% of the Canadian-born and 41.2% of the foreign-born lived in apartments, a difference of 17.3 percentage points. In the other provinces, 19.2% of the Canadian-born and 21.6% of the foreign-born were apartment dwellers, a difference of only 2.4 percentage points. This comparatively small difference was true at all income levels in the other provinces whereas, in Quebec, the difference between Canadian and foreign-born was greatest among households with incomes of less than \$5,000 (27.7% of Canadian-born compared with 51.8% of foreign-born); the difference declined to 14.0% of the Canadian-born and 19.8% of the foreign-born in the highest income category. The probability of living in an apartment was much greater in Quebec for almost all birthplace and income groups. For example, 30.1% of all Italian immigrants in Quebec were living in apartments compared with only 8.4% in other provinces.

Montréal and Toronto are compared in Tables 12.5a and 12.5b. Living in an apartment was characteristic of 35.6% of households in Montréal and 34% in Toronto. Whereas in Montréal the foreign-born were more likely to be apartment dwellers, in the other three metropolitan areas a slightly higher proportion of the Canadian-born lived in apartments. In Toronto, Winnipeg, and Vancouver, the higher proportion of Canadian-born in apartments was most characteristic of those with incomes of less than \$10,000. However, in Montréal, the reverse situation, where apartment dwelling was more characteristic of the foreign-born, applied at all levels of income. As previously noted, Italian immigrants were exceptional in that, irrespective of income, a below-average proportion were apartment dwellers. In contrast, German immigrants in Montréal had an above-average probability of living in an apartment if they had a household income of less than \$20,000 and a lower-than-average probability if their incomes were more than that amount.

In Metropolitan Toronto, Italian immigrant households were the least likely to be living in apartments at all levels of income. After controlling for income, immigrants from the United States, Asia, and all other countries had an above-average propensity to apartment living, exceeding that of the Canadian-born. In Winnipeg and Vancouver, Italian immigrants showed the same low probability of living in an apartment and, after controlling for income, those from the United States, and United Kingdom, Asia and all other countries were more inclined to choose apartments.

12.5 Household Facilities and Conveniences

Differences between the immigrant and non-immigrant population in 1971 with regard to the availability of various household facilities and conveniences were closely related to the fact that the immigrant population was less likely to be resident in rural areas and was able to take advantage of the high standard of amenity characteristic of most householders living in urban and, particularly, metropolitan areas of Canada. Table 12.6 shows the distribution of various household facilities and conveniences, about which questions were asked in the 1971 Census, comparing the Canadian-born with the foreign-born population by period of immigration. The table also shows the differences between urban and rural households.

Running water, the exclusive use of bath or shower and of a flush toilet are almost universally available amenities in urban areas. This was not the case

TABLE 12.5a. Percentage of Households Living in Apartments, by Birthplace, Controlling for Income, Montréal CMA, 1971

Birthplace	Household income						Total
	Less than \$5,000 ¹	\$5,000-9,999	\$10,000-14,999	\$15,000-19,999	\$20,000-35,999	\$36,000+	
Montréal total	47.9	38.1	29.2	23.2	19.5	18.3	35.6
Total Canada-born	45.3	35.6	27.2	21.2	17.5	17.6	33.4
Total born outside Canada	57.4	47.7	36.8	29.8	26.2	20.9	44.1
United States	49.5	42.8	38.1	27.1	23.2	20.3	39.3
United Kingdom	53.3	48.8	30.6	22.5	22.3	23.1	39.7
Germany	64.4	47.7	33.0	33.1	18.5	6.3	42.4
Other Northern and Western Europe	60.5	49.5	38.4	31.7	26.5	15.0	45.3
Poland	51.9	40.2	32.5	25.6	21.0	20.8	38.2
Other Central and Eastern Europe	58.1	47.0	35.8	30.4	29.1	21.8	44.1
Italy	36.7	31.7	26.4	23.1	25.2	17.4	30.3
Other Southern Europe	63.4	56.6	44.9	42.0	38.6	25.0	55.0
Asia	72.0	68.6	56.5	44.7	34.9	25.0	61.8
All other	77.6	70.1	53.8	41.4	32.4	24.0	62.9

¹Includes loss and zero income.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

TABLE 12.5b. Percentage of Households Living in Apartments, by Birthplace, Controlling for Income, Toronto CMA, 1971

Birthplace	Household income						Total
	Less than \$5,000 ¹	\$5,000-9,999	\$10,000-14,999	\$15,000-19,999	\$20,000-35,999	\$36,000+	
Toronto total	50.9	41.6	30.2	21.4	14.7	12.4	34.0
Total Canada-born	53.1	46.9	32.3	22.2	15.4	11.7	36.3
Total born outside Canada	48.3	35.3	27.5	20.2	13.7	13.7	31.2
United States	62.2	53.1	38.9	27.0	22.6	16.5	41.8
United Kingdom	53.6	45.6	33.6	24.6	16.7	14.7	38.4
Germany	54.7	42.6	31.4	27.3	12.3	13.3	35.1
Other Northern and Western Europe	50.1	39.1	30.9	23.4	14.9	18.0	33.9
Poland	41.5	27.1	17.2	12.4	13.1	14.3	23.1
Other Central and Eastern Europe	45.2	34.2	24.0	17.2	13.0	15.1	28.5
Italy	14.8	8.5	6.8	4.3	3.5	3.6	7.6
Other Southern Europe	26.4	18.9	15.4	9.3	4.9	10.6	16.8
Asia	57.3	56.9	49.9	38.1	21.5	13.2	49.4
All other	65.6	63.8	49.7	34.9	23.9	16.4	54.5

¹Includes loss and zero income.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

TABLE 12.6. Percentage of Households by Period of Immigration of Head, Showing Specified Household Facilities and Conveniences, Canada, Urban and Rural, 1971

Period of immigration	Dwellings with:									
	Running water	Bath or shower ¹	Flush toilet ¹	Furnace ² heating	Refrigerator	Home freezer	Automatic clothes dryer	Television	Auto-mobile	Owned vacation home
					<u>Total</u>					
All household heads	96.1	90.8	93.1	81.1	98.1	33.5	40.3	95.3	77.7	6.6
Non-immigrants	95.7	89.9	92.6	78.6	97.9	34.8	43.4	95.7	79.3	7.1
Immigrants	97.3	93.7	94.9	89.3	98.7	29.2	30.1	94.2	72.7	4.9
Before 1946	94.7	90.3	91.7	84.8	98.0	32.6	30.4	94.5	61.5	6.1
1946-71 ³	98.9	95.9	96.9	92.1	99.1	27.0	29.9	94.0	79.7	4.1
1946-55	98.8	96.3	97.1	92.5	99.3	35.3	35.8	95.5	84.1	6.1
1956-60	99.1	96.4	97.4	92.0	99.3	29.4	31.2	95.9	82.7	4.1
1961-65	99.0	95.8	97.0	90.7	99.1	19.7	23.7	94.7	76.2	2.1
1966-70	99.0	94.6	95.9	92.2	98.6	12.3	20.4	89.3	70.5	1.2
1971 ³	97.1	91.3	92.6	90.8	96.5	8.2	19.2	69.1	51.5	1.3
					<u>Urban</u>					
All household heads	99.3	95.6	97.5	86.4	99.1	27.9	40.7	96.4	76.7	7.3
Non-immigrants	99.2	95.3	97.4	84.3	99.1	29.0	44.5	96.9	78.4	8.0
Immigrants	99.4	96.2	97.5	92.5	99.2	24.7	29.9	95.0	71.5	5.2
Before 1946	99.1	95.4	97.0	90.4	98.9	26.1	31.0	95.9	58.8	7.0
1946-71 ³	99.6	96.7	97.8	93.6	99.3	23.9	29.2	94.5	78.5	4.2
1946-55	99.7	97.5	98.4	94.4	99.5	31.2	35.3	96.1	82.9	6.6
1956-60	99.6	97.1	98.1	93.2	99.4	26.9	30.6	96.4	81.8	4.2
1961-65	99.4	96.2	97.5	91.7	99.2	17.8	23.1	95.2	75.3	2.0
1966-70	99.5	95.2	96.5	93.4	98.9	10.8	19.9	90.0	69.4	1.1
1971 ³	99.1	93.4	94.9	94.2	97.5	6.6	18.2	69.6	48.5	1.2
					<u>Rural</u>					
All household heads	84.4	73.5	77.3	61.9	94.2	54.2	38.7	91.4	81.7	3.8
Non-immigrants	84.5	72.8	77.1	60.7	94.0	53.4	39.9	91.8	82.0	4.0
Immigrants	83.7	77.3	77.9	68.7	95.4	58.5	31.6	88.8	80.2	2.7
Before 1946	77.5	70.0	70.8	62.7	94.3	58.4	27.7	89.0	71.7	2.7
1946-71 ³	92.5	87.5	87.8	77.1	97.0	58.6	37.0	88.5	92.0	2.7
1946-55	92.7	87.8	88.2	78.5	97.7	65.2	39.3	90.7	92.3	2.8
1956-60	94.1	89.1	89.6	78.3	97.6	57.9	36.9	91.0	93.6	2.9
1961-65	92.5	88.2	88.2	75.1	96.8	50.6	34.2	86.2	91.1	2.9
1966-70	89.7	84.1	84.5	71.5	93.6	36.8	29.3	77.3	89.1	1.9
1971 ³	75.0	67.7	66.7	54.2	84.4	26.0	29.2	63.5	82.3	3.1

¹Exclusive use.

²Includes installed electric heating system.

³Includes the first five months only of 1971.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Housing, Bull. 2.4-8, Table 52.

in rural areas where 25.6% of all households lacked running water, 26.5% lacked exclusive use of bath or shower and 22.7% did not have exclusive use of a flush toilet. Differences between the immigrant and non-immigrant population were minimal in the urban areas, and there was little difference with regard to the availability of running water in the rural areas. However, immigrants were slightly more likely to have exclusive use of bath or shower and/or flush toilet than were non-immigrants in the rural areas. In urban areas, period of immigration made very little difference to whether the foreign-born possessed these amenities, although there was a slight tendency for the most recently arrived immigrants to be sharing bath or toilet facilities. However, in the rural areas, differences by period of immigration were more substantial and showed curvilinear pattern. Pre-war immigrants and those who arrived in 1971 were the least likely to have running water, or exclusive use of bath, shower or flush toilet. Immigrants who arrived in Canada in 1956-60 were the most likely to have these facilities, although the incidence still fell somewhat short of the urban standard.

Differences between urban and rural areas in the availability of furnace heating (including installed electrical heating systems) were even greater than with regard to plumbing. In both urban and rural areas, immigrants were most likely to have furnace heating than the Canadian-born; altogether, furnace heating was enjoyed by 78.6% non-immigrants and 89.3% of immigrants.

Refrigerators were another facility that was almost universal in urban areas (99.1% of all households), and there was virtually no difference between the Canadian and the foreign-born in this respect. However, in rural areas refrigerators were characteristic of 94% of non-immigrants and 95.4% of immigrants, with those who had arrived in the first five months of 1971 being least likely to have one (84.4%). The only convenience that was more commonly found in rural than in urban areas was a home freezer; these were of more use to farmers and others in rural areas who grow their own produce and store it. Home freezers were characteristic of 27.9% of urban dwellers and 54.2% of rural dwellers. In both cases, the Canadian-born were more likely than the foreign-born to have a home freezer. Automatic clothes dryers were characteristic of 40.7% of households in urban areas and 38.7% in rural areas; the Canadian-born were substantially more likely than the foreign-born to have this facility. The difference was greatest in urban areas where 44.5% of non-immigrants and 29.9% of immigrants had an automatic clothes dryer.

Televisions were almost as common as running water in Canada in 1971, 96.4% in urban dwellings and 91.4% in rural dwellings. They were slightly more common in the households of the Canadian-born; only among immigrants who arrived in the first five months of 1971 was there a substantial proportion (30.9%) without television. Automobiles are often regarded as essential to the North American way of life. This is even more true in rural than in urban areas. Consequently, 81.7% of rural householders compared with 76.7% of those in urban areas had at least one automobile. Immigrants were slightly less likely than the Canadian-born to have the use of an automobile; and there was a curvilinear relationship with period of immigration, so that pre-war immigrants and those who had arrived in 1966 or later were less likely to have an automobile than earlier post-war immigrants. Immigrants who arrived after 1946 and before 1966 exceeded the Canadian-born in the proportion having an automobile.

Ownership of a vacation home may be regarded as a luxury not yet enjoyed by the majority of the population. Altogether, only 6.6% of all householders reported having a vacation home; this was characteristic of 8% of the Canadian-born in urban areas and 4% in rural areas compared with 5.2% of immigrants in urban areas and 2.7% in rural areas. The foreign-born who had arrived in Canada before 1956 were more likely to report a vacation home, although this average still fell below that of the Canadian-born.

Overall, access to plumbing amenities was higher in Quebec than in other provinces; this advantage was mainly evident in rural areas. Furnace heating was less common in Quebec than elsewhere, as were home freezers and automatic clothes dryers. Differences with regard to refrigerators, television sets, and automobiles were comparatively small, after controlling for urban-rural differences. However, in both urban and rural areas in Quebec, home freezers were less common than in the rest of Canada. A slightly higher proportion of householders in Quebec owned a vacation home. Differences between immigrants and non-immigrants in Quebec generally followed the national pattern.

Table 12.7 shows the distribution of the specified household facilities and conveniences in the metropolitan areas of Montréal and Toronto and the very high level of material standards enjoyed by immigrants and non-immigrants in metropolitan areas. Running water and the exclusive use of bath or shower and/or flush toilet were almost universal, although about 5% of the most recently arrived immigrants

TABLE 12.7. Percentage of Households by Period of Immigration of Head, Showing Specified Household Facilities and Conveniences, Montréal and Toronto CMAs, 1971

Period of immigration	Dwellings with:									
	Running water	Bath or shower ¹	Flush toilet ¹	Furnace ² heating	Refrigerator	Home freezer	Automatic clothes dryer	Television	Auto-mobile	Owned vacation home
<u>Montréal</u>										
All household heads	99.7	96.5	98.4	71.1	99.5	15.0	30.5	96.8	67.3	8.5
Non-immigrants	99.7	96.3	98.5	68.2	99.5	16.0	33.7	97.4	69.2	9.0
Immigrants	99.7	97.1	98.2	82.2	99.3	11.3	18.2	94.6	60.2	6.4
Before 1946	99.7	97.1	98.7	80.3	99.4	11.1	19.1	96.8	49.1	10.9
1946-71 ³	99.6	97.1	98.0	82.8	99.3	11.3	17.9	93.9	63.8	4.9
1946-55	99.8	97.9	98.7	86.3	99.5	14.9	22.0	96.3	71.2	8.8
1956-60	99.5	97.2	98.2	81.3	99.5	13.2	18.2	96.6	67.5	4.9
1961-65	99.5	96.9	97.9	78.2	99.3	8.7	15.4	95.1	62.3	2.3
1966-70	99.6	96.1	97.1	82.4	99.0	6.6	13.7	88.1	52.0	1.3
1971 ³	99.5	94.8	95.3	85.9	97.2	5.6	14.6	62.4	33.3	1.9
<u>Toronto</u>										
All household heads	99.6	97.1	97.9	98.0	99.6	22.1	36.1	96.6	77.0	9.1
Non-immigrants	99.7	97.6	98.2	98.2	99.7	24.3	43.1	97.1	80.2	10.9
Immigrants	99.6	96.5	97.7	97.8	99.5	19.3	27.4	95.9	73.0	6.8
Before 1946	99.7	97.6	98.4	98.3	99.6	16.1	31.6	97.1	59.9	11.1
1946-71 ³	99.6	96.1	97.5	97.6	99.5	20.3	26.1	95.5	77.1	5.5
1946-55	99.7	97.4	98.4	98.0	99.7	26.7	33.5	97.1	83.3	9.5
1956-60	99.6	96.7	98.0	97.4	99.7	24.3	28.3	97.1	81.6	5.3
1961-65	99.3	95.0	97.0	97.0	99.4	16.0	19.3	96.4	73.5	2.1
1966-70	99.4	94.3	95.8	97.6	99.2	8.9	16.1	91.6	65.3	1.1
1971 ³	99.7	92.7	94.2	98.5	98.3	3.5	13.7	72.0	42.6	0.6

¹Exclusive use.

²Includes installed electric heating system.

³Includes the first five months only of 1971.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Housing, Bul. 2.4-8, Table 53.

in Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver were sharing these facilities; the proportion was slightly higher in Winnipeg.

Furnace heating was not available to 31.8% of the Canadian-born and 27.8% of immigrants living in Montréal. This reflects the generally older age of many of the dwellings in Montréal compared with other metropolitan areas. Refrigerators were practically commonplace among metropolitan dwellers, as were television sets, except among the most recently arrived immigrants. Television use by immigrants did not reach the average for the Canadian-born until after 10 years of residence in Canada.

Period of immigration was also important in determining whether an immigrant household had a home freezer, automatic clothes dryer, automobile, or owned a vacation home. Even after 25 years of residence in Canada, the foreign-born still fell below the average for the Canadian-born in possession of all these amenities. This may partly reflect income differences which, as has been shown, generally favoured the Canadian-born in the metropolitan areas, although not on a national average. There may also have been cultural preferences influencing the decision to acquire such facilities and conveniences, together with the influence of age. For example, pre-war immigrants were much less likely than the Canadian-born in all metropolitan areas to have an automobile but in Montréal, Toronto and Winnipeg, these older and long-term resident foreign-born householders were more likely than the Canadian-born to report ownership of a vacation home. In Vancouver, pre-war immigrants were also less likely to have an automobile and vacation homes were much less characteristic of both Canadian and foreign-born. Vancouver's proximity to the sea and other scenic advantages rendered a vacation home less attractive than it was to the residents of other metropolitan areas, although everywhere it was an amenity enjoyed by less than 10% of the population.

12.6 Selected Household Characteristics by Period of Immigration

Table 12.8 shows selected household characteristics for the Canadian-born and for the foreign-born by period of immigration in Canada in 1971. The selected characteristics are the average number of rooms per dwelling, the average number of bedrooms per dwelling, the average number of persons per household, the median value of single detached, owner-occupied non-farm dwellings and the average monthly cash rent of tenant-occupied non-farm dwellings. On average, the number of persons per

TABLE 12.8. Households by Period of Immigration of Head, Showing Specified Household Characteristics, Canada, Urban and Rural, 1971

Period of immigration	Average number of rooms per dwelling	Average number of bedrooms per dwelling	Average number of persons per household	Median value ¹	Average monthly cash rent ²
		<u>Total</u>			\$
All household heads	5.4	2.7	3.5	19,020	110
Non-immigrants	5.5	2.7	3.6	17,980	107
Immigrants	5.3	2.5	3.2	22,148	123
Before 1946	5.2	2.4	2.4	17,793	107
1946-71 ³	5.5	2.6	3.7	25,237	129
1946-55	5.8	2.8	3.7	25,219	126
1956-60	5.6	2.7	3.8	25,450	127
1961-65	5.3	2.5	3.8	25,367	127
1966-70	4.6	2.1	3.4	24,696	132
1971 ³	4.1	1.8	2.9	27,172	140
		<u>Urban</u>			
All household heads	5.4	2.6	3.4	21,214	113
Non-immigrants	5.4	2.6	3.4	20,518	110
Immigrants	5.3	2.5	3.2	23,197	125
Before 1946	5.2	2.4	2.4	19,458	110
1946-71 ³	5.4	2.5	3.6	25,586	131
1946-55	5.8	2.8	3.7	25,630	129
1956-60	5.6	2.7	3.8	25,700	129
1961-65	5.2	2.5	3.8	25,622	128
1966-70	4.6	2.1	3.3	25,057	133
1971 ³	4.1	1.7	2.9	30,833	141
		<u>Rural</u>			
All household heads	5.7	3.0	3.9	10,310	71
Non-immigrants	5.8	3.1	4.0	9,883	70
Immigrants	5.5	2.7	3.1	13,635	79
Before 1946	5.2	2.6	2.5	10,026	63
1946-71 ³	5.9	3.0	4.0	20,876	87
1946-55	6.1	3.1	4.1	20,604	84
1956-60	5.9	3.0	4.0	22,126	85
1961-65	5.7	2.8	3.8	20,995	90
1966-70	5.3	2.6	3.6	19,764	90
1971 ³	4.8	2.3	3.2	15,833	96

¹Applies to single detached, owner-occupied non-farm dwellings only.

²Applies to tenant-occupied non-farm dwellings only.

³Includes the first five months only of 1971.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Housing, Bul. 2.4-8, Tables 52 and 54.

household was slightly higher among the Canadian-born; this was particularly true in rural areas. Commensurate with this, the average number of rooms and of bedrooms per dwelling was slightly higher among non-immigrants; however, the differences were comparatively small. Larger differences were evident, among the foreign-born, by period of immigration. Immigrants who had entered Canada in 1946-60 and who were living in rural areas averaged about the same household size as the Canadian-born and about the same average number of rooms. In urban areas, the average number of persons per household and rooms per dwelling for the 1946-60 cohort exceeded that of the Canadian-born. In both rural and urban areas, there was a curvilinear relationship with period of immigration; pre-war immigrants and those arriving in 1966 or later had smaller households and dwellings than other post-war immigrants.

The median value of single detached, owner-occupied non-farm dwellings and the rents paid by tenants in non-farm dwellings were higher for the foreign-born than the Canadian-born. However, the trend differed from that exhibited by household and dwelling size. The most recently arrived immigrants were paying the most for their accommodations and pre-war immigrants the least. The median value of property owned by post-war immigrants who arrived in 1946-70 was relatively homogeneous, averaging a little under \$25,586 in urban areas and \$20,876 in rural areas. The most marked contrast was with non-immigrants in rural areas where the average median value of single detached, owner-occupied non-farm dwellings was less than half this value. In urban areas, the median value of such property owned by the Canadian-born was about 80% of the value of that owned by post-war immigrants. Rents paid by post-war immigrants also exceeded that of the Canadian-born in both urban and rural areas but not to the same degree. In urban areas, the Canadian-born paid approximately 84% of the average monthly cash rent of post-war immigrants and in rural areas, the proportion was about 80%. In urban areas, pre-war immigrants paid the same on average as the Canadian-born and in rural areas about 10% less.

In Quebec, the average size of non-immigrant households was slightly higher than in the rest of Canada; this was true also of foreign-born households, but only in rural areas. In urban areas, the number of rooms per dwelling was slightly lower in Quebec, although the number of bedrooms averaged the same. In rural areas, the number of rooms and bedrooms per dwelling was slightly higher than the average for other provinces. This was true for both the immigrant and

non-immigrant populations. The biggest contrast between Quebec and the rest of Canada was in the median value of single detached, owner-occupied non-farm dwellings and the average monthly cash rent for tenant-occupied non-farm dwellings which were generally much lower than the national average. Overall, the median value of such property in Quebec was only 77% of the national average; rents were about 83.6% of the national average. However, as in other provinces, the median value of property owned by immigrants and the average monthly cash rent was higher than for the Canadian-born. Other trends by period of immigration were similar to those reported for Canada as a whole.

Table 12.9 shows the specified household characteristics for the metropolitan areas of Montréal and Toronto. The average number of persons per household in metropolitan areas was lower than the national average in metropolitan areas and lowest (3.0) in Vancouver. Toronto exhibited the reverse of the national picture in that the average number of persons in immigrant households (3.5) exceeded that of the Canadian-born (3.2). In the other metropolitan areas, non-immigrant households were slightly larger than immigrant households, although there was practically no difference in dwelling size, measured by number of rooms or number of bedrooms. In all metropolitan areas, there was a curvilinear relationship between household size and period of immigration, with the 1946-65 cohort averaging a larger number of persons per household than earlier or later immigrants as well as more than the average for the Canadian-born. Clearly, this reflected the differential age distribution and family-life-cycle stage of these immigrants.

It has been noted that property values and rents paid were lower in Quebec than the rest of Canada. However, it is evident that there was considerable variation within the other provinces. The lowest median value of single detached, owner-occupied non-farm dwellings was \$17,780 in Winnipeg, followed by Montréal (\$18,603). The highest median value was in Toronto (\$32,408); Vancouver had an intermediate position with an average median value of \$26,702. Rents were also highest in Toronto, averaging \$150 per month. Everywhere, the most recently arrived immigrants were paying the highest rents and also reported the highest median values for property owned. This reflected the inflationary pressures on property that began to manifest themselves in the 1960s. Contrary to the national average, the median value of property owned and the average monthly cash rents paid by the Canadian-born exceeded that of the foreign-born in Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver.

TABLE 12.9. Households by Period of Immigration of Head, Showing Specified Household Characteristics, Montréal and Toronto CMAs, 1971

Period of immigration	Average number of rooms per dwelling	Average number of bedrooms per dwelling	Average number of persons per household	Median value ¹	Average monthly cash rent ²	
		<u>Montréal</u>			\$	
All household heads	4.9	2.4	3.3	18,603	99	
Non-immigrants	4.9	2.4	3.3	18,266	96	
Immigrants	4.9	2.3	3.2	20,064	113	
Before 1946	5.0	2.3	2.5	19,102	112	
1946-71 ³	4.8	2.3	3.5	20,365	114	
1946-55	5.4	2.6	3.6	20,211	118	
1956-60	5.1	2.5	3.7	20,078	111	
1961-65	4.6	2.2	3.6	20,927	111	
1966-70	4.0	1.8	3.1	21,313	114	
1971 ³	3.5	1.4	2.6	35,833	125	
		<u>Toronto</u>				
All household heads	5.6	2.5	3.3	32,408	151	
Non-immigrants	5.6	2.5	3.2	32,876	153	
Immigrants	5.5	2.5	3.5	31,966	148	
Before 1946	5.5	2.4	2.5	30,767	137	
1946-71 ³	5.6	2.6	3.8	32,397	151	
1946-55	6.1	2.8	3.8	33,147	152	
1956-60	5.8	2.7	4.0	32,058	151	
1961-65	5.4	2.5	4.0	31,137	147	
1966-70	4.6	2.1	3.5	31,325	150	
1971 ³	4.1	1.7	3.0	39,375	158	

¹Applies to single detached, owner-occupied non-farm dwellings only.

²Applies to tenant-occupied non-farm dwellings only.

³Includes the first five months only of 1971.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Housing, Bul. 2.4-8, Tables 53 and 55.

In all four metropolitan areas, pre-war immigrants reported the lowest median values and rents paid, reflecting the older age distribution of this group and the probability that the homes they occupied were constructed much earlier.

12.7 Overcrowding and Lodgers

One measure of the quality of housing is the number of persons per room. More than one person per room in a given household is generally regarded as a measure of overcrowding. In 1971, 9.4% of all households in Canada averaged more than one person per room. There was considerable difference between urban areas (7.9%) and rural areas (14.8%). There was also a difference between immigrant and non-immigrant households; in urban areas, where the majority of immigrants were settled, 8.4% of households with a Canadian-born head, compared with 6.4% of those with a foreign-born head, had more than one person per room. There was a close relationship with period of immigration; of the immigrants who arrived in the first five months of 1971, 21.9% in rural areas and 14.7% in urban areas had an average of more than one person per room. The proportion declined steadily with length of residence in urban areas, although it remained comparatively high among post-war immigrants in rural areas. The age of the family head and the probability of children living at home were related to the ratio of persons per room, so that among pre-war immigrants, who tended to be older than others, 4.1% in rural areas and 1.8% in urban areas averaged more than one person per room. In both rural and urban areas, the proportion with more than one person per room in Quebec was higher than in the rest of Canada. This was true for both immigrants and non-immigrants. The presence of lodgers might be expected to contribute to a higher ratio of persons per room. There was little difference between Quebec and other provinces in this respect, suggesting that other factors such as family size accounted for the higher rate in Quebec. In Quebec, there was little difference between Canadian and immigrant householders in the propensity to take lodgers, although outside of Quebec there was a slightly greater tendency for immigrants who arrived in 1961 or later to be in households with lodgers, particularly in the urban areas (1971 Census of Canada, Bul. 2.4-8, Table 54).

Table 12.10 shows the distribution of persons per room and the incidence of lodgers in the major metropolitan areas. The probability of exceeding the average of one person per room was greatest among post-war immigrants in Montréal but declined with length of residence in Canada. In all four metropolitan areas, those

TABLE 12.10. Percentage of Households by Period of Immigration of Head, Showing Specified Household Characteristics, Selected CMAs, 1971

Period of immigration	Households with:							
	More than one person per room		More than one person per room		More than one person per room		More than one person per room	
	Lodgers		Lodgers		Lodgers		Lodgers	
	Montréal		Toronto		Winnipeg		Vancouver	
All household heads	9.4	5.5	5.8	7.8	5.9	5.1	4.6	6.0
Non-immigrants	9.4	5.8	4.5	6.6	6.5	4.9	4.2	6.0
Immigrants	9.3	4.4	7.5	9.3	4.5	5.7	5.2	5.9
Before 1946	2.4	4.9	1.3	7.7	1.6	5.3	1.5	4.7
1946-71 ¹	11.5	4.2	9.5	9.9	7.4	6.1	8.0	6.8
1946-55	7.6	3.9	4.9	9.4	5.2	6.8	5.9	6.3
1956-60	12.2	3.4	8.6	8.9	8.3	5.0	6.3	5.9
1961-65	14.2	3.9	13.7	11.1	8.0	4.1	9.7	7.6
1966-70	14.2	5.5	15.2	10.8	10.7	6.2	12.5	8.2
1971 ¹	17.5	6.6	15.4	9.3	16.7	9.5	16.5	10.1

¹Includes the first five months only of 1971.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Housing, Bul. 2.4-8, Table 55.

who had arrived in the decade prior to the 1971 Census were the most likely to be overcrowded and to be taking in lodgers.

In metropolitan areas, the density of occupation measured by the average number of persons per room was related to ethnic factors for both Canadian and foreign-born, even after controlling for income. There was a curvilinear relationship with household income. Those in the lowest and highest income categories had the smallest ratio of persons per room. Those in the income category of \$10,000-\$14,999 tended to have the highest average number of persons per room. The somewhat lower average in the household income group less than \$5,000 reflects the fact that low incomes were often characteristic of single persons or older married couples after retirement and children had left home. Overall, occupation densities were lowest in Vancouver (0.58), followed by Toronto (0.60) and Winnipeg (0.61), and were highest in Montréal (0.67).

In all metropolitan areas, there appeared to be a relationship between the the average number of persons per room and other demographic factors such as fertility and family size. Thus, among the Canadian-born, those of French origin tended to have high densities as did the residual other category, consisting mainly of Native Peoples. Among the foreign-born in all metropolitan areas, those of Southern European and Asian origin tended to have high densities. This was particularly marked in Toronto among foreign-born of Southern European origin in the household income group of \$20,000-\$35,999. The average number of persons per room in this income group was higher than for households with lower incomes of the same nativity and ethnic origin. This would suggest that the high household income was a consequence of a large family sharing the household or, in some cases, two or more families sharing the same dwelling and contributing to the household income. Similar tendencies were found among the high-income Southern European families in Winnipeg where the average number of persons per room reached 0.91 among immigrants and 1.00 among the Canadian-born of Southern European origin. In Vancouver, the highest densities (0.87) were found among immigrants of Asian origin in the household income group of \$10,000-\$14,999. In all four metropolitan areas and in households with both Canadian and foreign-born heads, the lowest average densities were found among Jewish households. The overall national average for Jewish householders was 0.52 persons per household. This contrasted with a national average for all those of British origin of 0.59; Central and Eastern

European origin, 0.61; other Western and Northern European, 0.62; French origin, 0.72; Asian origin, 0.73 and Southern European origin, 0.73; the highest overall average at the national level was for the other origins, 0.93. Among the Canadian-born with two Canadian-born parents of other origins, the ratio rose to 1.04, reflecting the marked tendency to overcrowding among Canada's Native People.

CHAPTER 13

LANGUAGE PATTERNS AND CITIZENSHIP

Integration of immigrants into a new society is neither a simple nor fast process. It takes place, by acculturation and it is not unique to the immigrant, for it is a basic process which also occurs among native-born individuals as they grow up in their own society and as they experience social mobility during their adult years. For the immigrant, acculturation is akin to resocialization. Prolonged contact and interaction between individuals of differing cultural backgrounds involves the modification of old habits and adoption of new behavioural traits or patterns on the part of either or both individuals. The extent of the changes and the determination of which individual is affected most clearly depends upon the specific circumstances of the given situation. In the case of immigration, it is the immigrant who is generally expected to accommodate himself to the normative structure of his adopted country, but this does not necessarily mean that members of the host society will not show some modification of their own behaviour patterns as a result of their contact with immigrants. It is also reasonable to expect that the difficulty of adapting to a new society would be dependent upon the extent to which the cultural origins (and characteristics) of the immigrants differ from those of their host. Of all the characteristics that could be compared, language is obviously one of the key traits with respect to acculturation. Immigrants who speak the language of the host society have an advantage over those who do not.

Regardless of the degree of similarity between immigrants and the native-born, interaction and communication are both required for acculturation. Speaking the same language is a necessary but not a sufficient requirement for achieving minimally acceptable levels of acculturation. Language is a vehicle for the transmission of culture and fluency in the native language will increase one's familiarity with that culture whether as a growing child or a newly arrived immigrant.¹ The amount of learning that can occur, however, is a function of time and the possibility of change in immigrant behaviour would clearly be dependent upon length of residence in the host society. The extent of change would clearly depend upon a complex set of factors, among which would be the immigrant's motivation, his personal goals and expectations, as well as his actual experiences, his ability to

See footnote(s) on page 471.

reconcile discrepancies between them, and satisfaction with the outcome. Age would also seem to be an important factor because of its relation to the learning process and the fact that the younger immigrants would have greater exposure to society's educational institutions. Again, Richmond has provided supporting evidence for immigrants in Toronto by showing a positive but non-linear relationship between acculturation and length of residence.²

Concomitant with the expectation of increasing acculturation with longer periods of residence in the receiving country is the expectation of an increasing identification with the host society. As with acculturation, language is seen as a crucial factor in this process of identification, especially for the foreign-born immigrant with a non-English mother tongue. Other factors such as the immigrant's social and economic success would tend to facilitate or impede both his identification and acculturation, as would the circumstances surrounding the immigrant's departure from his former country of residence.

For most immigrants, the longer they reside in a country the more their behaviour will change in the direction of the behavioural norms of the host society and the greater their identification with it. Changes in language behaviour open new possibilities for interaction within the host society. Greater interaction would tend to increase the feeling of identification with the larger society to the extent that the increased interaction does not take place primarily within the immigrant community. Achieving economic success, acquiring property (especially a home) and greater familiarity with the social and economic system would all tend to increase the likelihood of the immigrant making a more formal commitment through the acquisition of Canadian citizenship. This chapter examines some of the evidence for acculturation and the propensity shown by immigrants for acquiring Canadian citizenship for the purpose of identifying the crucial factors associated with the latter process.

13.1. The Assessment of Acculturation

Ideally, specific cohorts of immigrants should be examined at periodic intervals after their arrival to assess the degree of acculturation that has occurred with the passing of time. The opportunities for obtaining such data are both rare and expensive, but even the recent longitudinal study of immigrant adaptation

See footnote(s) on page 471.

published as part of the government's Green Paper had serious methodological limitations which impaired the usefulness of its findings (CIPS 4 , 1974, pp. 139-152). The basic problem with such studies, as in the case of the present analysis of immigrant adjustment by period of immigration, is that the cohorts of immigrants, grouped by period of immigration, are constantly being depleted through mortality and emigration. To the extent that either the deceased or the emigrants differ from the survivors, the findings of any analysis will tend to be distorted to the extent that the characteristics by which they differ are related to the acculturation and adaptation processes. In this case, emigration of the relatively dissatisfied would tend to increase the proportion of those showing a greater commitment and degree of acculturation.

Cohort analysis is superior to cross-sectional analysis in that it permits the observation of change over time for the same group of individuals. This is not the case in the analysis of several cohorts at one point in time which have resided in the country for varying periods of time. In the latter case, differences between period-of-immigration groups reflect differences in the characteristics of immigrants at the time of their arrival as well as changes that have occurred during their residence in Canada. In both cases, however, immigrant groups will tend to show higher degrees of acculturation with increasing length of residence, partly because of the longer time they have had to adjust to new conditions and partly because many who have not been able to work out a satisfactory adjustment would have emigrated. While it is true that not all who continue to remain in Canada can be considered to be more successfully adapted, or more closely identified with the country than those who leave, most might be so considered. All other things being equal, the particular cohorts of immigrants showing high return migration rates would be judged to have had a lower propensity for acculturation than those with low emigration rates. Thus, in terms of the analysis of the 1946-60 post-war immigrant cohort included in an earlier chapter, it could be stated that women tend to have a lower propensity for acculturation than men. Specifically, the females had an emigration rate somewhat higher than the males, being 96 per 1,000 cohort population as compared to 71 per 1,000 population for the male cohort.

Evidence of immigrant commitment to Canadian society can also be found in the data presented in Table 13.1 showing the attrition of post-war immigration cohorts. Each of the separate cohorts shows losses between the time of their arrival and the 1961 and 1971 Censuses. The losses tend to be greatest shortly after

immigration with smaller losses occurring during the intercensal decade. In addition, the 1961-65 and 1966-71 immigrant cohorts experienced relatively greater losses between their initial period of arrival and the 1971 Census than did the 1951-55 and 1956-60 cohorts relative to the 1961 Census, an indication, perhaps, of lower levels of commitment.

TABLE 13.1. Attrition of Post-war Immigrant Cohorts Between Period of Arrival and Subsequent National Censuses, Canada, 1961 and 1971

Period of arrival	No. of arriving immigrants	Foreign-born population 1961	Percentage difference ¹	Foreign-born population 1971	Percentage difference 1961-71
1946-50	430,389	303,984	-29.4	272,890	-10.2
1951-55	791,930	567,190	-28.4	516,145	- 9.0
1956-60	782,911	605,507	-22.7	497,315	-17.9
1961-65	498,790	-	-	346,980	-30.4
1966-70	959,598	-	-	674,672	-29.7

¹Percentage difference is obtained from number of arriving immigrants and the foreign-born population of the 1961 Census.

Source: 1961 and 1971 Censuses of Canada and Manpower and Immigration, 1976 Immigration Statistics.

The longitudinal study by the Department of Manpower and Immigration also provided some relevant data based on a cohort of immigrants who arrived in Canada in 1969 and remained in the sample for the full three-year period. Unfortunately, the attrition rate was very high and it was not possible to sort out the return migration from internal migration during the survey period (CIPS 4 , 1974, p. 5). Nevertheless, the analysis of changing language patterns and other selected characteristics for this specific cohort of immigrants during their initial period of residence provides relevant information on acculturation that is not available from the regular census and is included in the following discussion of acculturation.

13.1.1.1. Language Change and Acculturation

Given the central importance of time in the process of adaptation, various indicators of acculturation should show evidence of change with increasing length of residence. Knowledge of the official languages and the language used in the home are perhaps two of the most important such indicators, and data relating to these

characteristics are available from both the longitudinal study of immigrants and the national censuses.

The initial impact of immigration and evidence of acculturation resulting from the immigrant's attempt to adapt to the host society can be seen in the changes in language behaviour reported over an 18-to-36-month period. The 1969 immigrant cohort of the government's longitudinal study reported a fairly high proportion having knowledge of English after six months (71%), an increase to 78% after two years, and to 80% after three years in Canada (Manpower and Immigration, 1974, p. 102). The pattern for women varied from that for men, not only in that they showed higher levels after three years (87% vs. 80%) but also that they showed a larger increase during the first two years than for men.³

With respect to knowledge of French, the overall levels were very low and showed almost no change over the three-year period, increasing from 10% to 11%. For immigrants destined for Quebec, the levels were much higher but showed only slight change over the same period, increasing from 38% to 43%. By contrast, 66% of those having gone to Quebec indicated a knowledge of English after six months and 70% after three years. Since these data are somewhat obscured by the presence of immigrants who had arrived from English-speaking countries with a good or perfect knowledge of English, it is more revealing to consider just those immigrants whose initial levels of skills in English were low. It was apparent from the longitudinal study that immigrants from some countries achieved higher levels of language skills much more rapidly than others, with German immigrants attaining the highest levels in three years and with significant gains shown by most groups (especially those from Greece and Yugoslavia), with the one exception of those coming from France.

It is difficult to say whether the levels of attainment or the rate of change during the three years is more significant with respect to acculturation. Gaining a facility in one of the official languages may simply represent an expedient form of behaviour on the part of the immigrant seeking to maximize his economic adjustment. According to the longitudinal study, which also collected data on the immigrant's sense of belonging to Canada and extent of their identification with their home country, the groups that showed rapid improvements in their knowledge of English or French were the ones who expressed the highest sense of belonging to

See footnote(s) on page 471.

Canada and least identification with their home country. This was particularly true with respect to the Portuguese and Yugoslavs and also the Chinese. Important exceptions were the Germans and Italians who still retained strong feelings of attachment to their country of origin in spite of significant changes in their language behaviour (CIPS 4, 1974, p. 109). The first years of an immigrant's life in Canada are crucial years, but it cannot be expected that all the behavioural changes associated with the acculturation process will have necessarily occurred in the first three years nor that the changes that did occur will have any predictable value with respect to changes after this initial period of adjustment. Like the socialization process for the native-born, acculturation of immigrants can be a lifelong process, or longer, extending into the second and subsequent generations as well.

13.1.2. Use of Official Languages

Ability to use one or both of the official languages tends to improve long after the initial three-year period highlighted by the longitudinal study. According to the 1971 Census, 75% of the male immigrants arriving in Canada between 1966 and June 1, 1971, could speak English only, 10% could speak either English or French, 4% French only, while another 10% could not speak either language. The total percentage of males who could speak English, i.e., 85%, combined with the 80% of the females who arrived during the same period, gives approximately the same figure as reported by the longitudinal study at the end of their three-year study in 1971. Differences in the combined proportions of males who can speak English only or both official languages, between the several period-of-immigration groups, are consistent for both Quebec and the rest of Canada except for the fact that bilingualism, as would be expected, is much more predominant in Quebec, while the English-only speaking immigrants increasingly dominate all of the period-of-immigration cohorts in the rest of Canada as length of residence in Canada increases.

Relatively more women than men immigrants speak neither language in Quebec and in the rest of the country, and the proportions for women for most of the period-of-immigration groups in Quebec exceed their counterparts elsewhere in Canada. The proportion of men, as well as women, who speak French only increased among the more recent immigrant cohorts, while the proportion of bilinguals becomes larger with increasing period of immigration. While it is not possible to say with certainty whether or not the greater proportions of immigrants speaking French only among the

more recent cohorts is a result of an increasing emphasis on language in the immigration-selection process, the differences in the proportions of bilinguals for the post-war cohorts would appear to be a response to the pressures for acculturation in a predominantly French-speaking province. The small proportions of bilinguals in the rest of Canada would appear to reflect the pressures exerted on the relatively small numbers of French-speaking immigrants to adapt to the linguistic realities of that part of Canada. The sorting of the official linguistic pie for immigrants is somewhat complicated by the uneven distribution of the resident French- and English-speaking populations. However, there is nothing very complicated about the fact that the acculturation process produces a consistent effect for both men and women immigrants in Quebec and elsewhere, as reflected in the consistent reduction in the proportions unable to speak either of the two official languages with increasing length of residence.

13.1.3. Language Usage in the Home

Similar patterns of change are observed for language spoken in the home by post-war immigrant cohorts. Comparing the cohorts of post-war immigrants from the most recent period of immigration to the earliest (1946-55) there is a consistent decline in the use of the immigrant's mother tongue (Table 13.2). There is a corresponding increase in the use of English by those whose mother tongue was not English as one considers each of the immigrant cohorts by increasing period of residence in Canada. For most of Canada, outside Quebec, this shift would appear to have been at the expense of the use of French or other languages in homes with different mother tongues. In Quebec the picture is not quite as clear and the proportion of non-French mother tongue immigrants using French in the home varies significantly from one cohort of immigrants to the next among those who came to Canada during the post-war period. The use of French in the home was highest for males of the 1946-55 cohort, followed by those who had arrived during the 1961-65 period. The pattern for females was somewhat similar, with peak proportions exhibited by the 1961-65 and 1946-55 cohorts respectively. Women, generally speaking, whether in Quebec or elsewhere in Canada, were more likely to use their mother tongue as the language used in the home rather than some other language. Those that did use some language other than their mother tongue were more likely to use English than French, and this was true for those in Quebec as well as in the rest of Canada. However, the differences in proportions of immigrants using English as opposed to French in the home in

TABLE 13.2. Percentage of Foreign-born Population Showing Language Spoken in the Home, by Sex and Period of Immigration, Canada, Quebec and Other Provinces, 1971

Language of the home	Males						Females					
	Total	Before 1946	1946-55	1956-60	1961-65	1966-71 ¹	Total	Before 1946	1946-55	1956-60	1961-65	1966-71 ¹
<u>Canada</u>												
Same as mother tongue	74.2	74.7	64.3	71.1	80.6	84.1	79.4	81.3	69.9	76.3	83.6	86.9
Different from mother tongue	25.8	25.3	35.7	28.9	19.4	15.9	20.6	18.7	30.1	23.7	16.4	13.1
English	22.1	23.2	31.9	25.0	14.6	10.8	17.4	16.9	27.1	20.4	12.3	8.6
French	1.0	0.5	1.0	1.1	1.5	1.2	0.6	0.3	0.6	0.7	1.0	0.8
Other	2.7	1.6	2.7	2.8	3.3	3.9	2.5	1.4	2.4	2.6	3.2	3.7
<u>Quebec</u>												
Same as mother tongue	77.8	77.5	71.0	77.1	81.0	82.9	82.1	83.5	75.0	82.0	84.1	85.6
Different from mother tongue	22.2	22.5	29.0	23.0	19.0	17.0	17.9	16.5	25.0	18.1	15.9	14.4
English	12.6	15.7	18.1	14.0	8.4	6.9	10.7	11.9	17.2	11.1	7.5	5.9
French	6.0	4.8	7.0	5.6	6.5	5.8	3.8	2.5	4.2	3.7	4.4	4.1
Other	3.6	2.0	4.0	3.4	4.1	4.4	3.4	2.0	3.6	3.3	3.9	4.4
<u>Other provinces</u>												
Same as mother tongue	73.6	74.4	63.3	70.0	80.5	84.3	79.0	81.1	69.2	75.1	83.5	87.2
Different from mother tongue	26.4	25.6	36.7	30.0	19.5	15.7	21.0	18.9	30.8	24.9	16.5	12.8
English	23.7	24.0	34.0	27.2	16.2	11.6	18.5	17.5	28.5	22.3	13.4	9.1
French	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2
Other	2.6	1.6	2.5	2.7	3.1	3.8	2.3	1.4	2.2	2.5	3.0	3.5

¹Includes the first five months only of 1971.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Population—Characteristics of Persons Born Outside Canada, Bul. 1.4-12, Table 33.

Quebec are much less for recent immigrant cohorts than for those who have been in Canada for longer periods of time. This pattern holds for men as well as women.

13.2. Birthplace and Ethnic Origins

The longitudinal study of immigrants mentioned earlier provides evidence that the use of English during the first three years varies significantly by country of birth, both in terms of the proportions with a good knowledge of the language and with respect to the rate by which the proportions increase during the first years of settlement. All of the immigrants from Britain, Australia, and the United States were English speaking on arrival, as would be expected. Of the remaining countries, India, the Philippines and West Indies showed the highest proportions with a good knowledge of English after the first six months, with proportions ranging from 87% to 99%. Those from France, Germany (Federal Republic), Hong Kong, and Taiwan had intermediate levels ranging between 30% and 52%, while those from the major Southern European countries exhibited rather low levels between 5% and 21%. Those in the lowest category experienced the most rapid improvement in their knowledge of English, a change which paralleled an increase in the use of English in the home (CIPS 4, 1974, pp. 102-104).

It is possible to examine the extent to which these interethnic-origin-group differences in the use of English (or French) tend to continue beyond the initial period of adjustment for cohorts of post-war immigrants who have been in Canada for varying periods of time. As the experience of immigrants in Quebec has already been shown to differ markedly from that experienced elsewhere in Canada, the data analysis and comparisons will focus on this regional contrast rather than on Canada as a whole.

The use of one of the official languages by groups with other mother tongues is generally a necessary first step in achieving a satisfactory degree of adaptation to the society at large. Changes in language behaviour, for whatever reason, will contribute to the acculturation process and the increased use of one of the official languages in interaction with people on the job or elsewhere would tend to increase its use as the language of the home. The major question that can be examined here concerns interethnic-origin differences in this acculturation process as it finds expression in changing language patterns.

Analysis of the 1971 Census data dealing with language retention and transfer with respect to the two official languages has shown that very little transfer occurs for persons whose mother tongue is consistent with the region's dominant language (1971 Census of Canada, Bulletin 5.1-7, pp. 36-41). Little language transfer occurs among the French-speaking population in Quebec and among the English-speaking population in the rest of Canada. The same analysis, on the other hand, shows that for the population with non-official mother tongues language transfer was extensive and the region of residence had particular significance in determining the extent of language transfer that occurred (Ibid., pp. 43-55). The latter findings have particular significance for immigrants who were most likely to have non-English or non-French mother tongues. However, as no distinction was made between native- and foreign-born populations in the analysis, the full implications of the findings for the immigrant acculturation process are not totally clear.

Data from the 1971 Census permit an extension of the analysis of selected countries of birth in the longitudinal study to immigrant cohorts who have been residing in Canada for longer periods of time and enable a comparison to be made between immigrant cohorts residing in Quebec and those living elsewhere. Data on official language spoken by immigrants, 21 and over, who had arrived in Canada between 1946 and 1966 are presented for selected countries of birth (Table 13.3). While these data are not strictly comparable to the data from the longitudinal study, they show levels of knowledge and trends consistent with the experience reported for the first three years in Canada by the 1969 cohort of immigrants. The increase in proportions reporting an ability to carry on conversations in English with longer periods of residence in Canada is clearly evident for Quebec and the rest of Canada, whether the immigrants were born in Western, Eastern or Southern Europe. The proportions with knowledge of English, however, tend to be higher for immigrants from Western and Eastern European and Asian countries than those from countries in Southern Europe and generally higher for those residing outside Quebec. Actually, the use of English by those born in Greece does not seem to be affected as much by residing in Quebec as is the case for the Italian, the Spanish and Portuguese where the proportions with facility in English is almost half the level found elsewhere. Note, too, that with few exceptions the proportions of these groups not having conversational skills in either of the official languages decline with increasing length of residence characteristic of each of the three immigrant cohorts shown in this table. For the two most recent immigrant cohorts, the Italians, the Spanish

TABLE 13.3. Official Language Spoken¹, by Selected Countries of Birth and Period of Immigration, for Foreign-born 21 Years and Over, Quebec and Other Provinces, 1971

Country of birth	1961-65			1956-60			1946-55		
	English ²	French ²	Neither	English ²	French ²	Neither	English ²	French ²	Neither
	<u>Quebec</u>								
Western Europe	50.0	83.7	1.4	71.9	65.9	-	80.0	71.9	-
France	34.7	98.0	-	43.9	100.0	-	55.5	97.7	-
Germany	91.7	41.7	8.3	91.7	31.2	-	100.0	48.9	-
Eastern Europe	63.7	45.5	9.1	85.8	29.2	7.5	89.8	34.0	7.1
Southern Europe	46.4	47.9	26.1	53.8	62.3	17.0	59.8	75.9	12.4
Italy	31.8	56.5	33.8	44.4	73.8	20.4	56.4	83.4	12.8
Greece	81.8	12.7	18.2	88.5	17.3	11.5	82.8	27.6	17.2
Spain and Portugal	44.4	64.4	13.3	42.8	71.4	4.8	42.8	92.8	-
Asia	76.2	54.8	7.1	76.9	30.8	15.4	90.3	32.2	6.5
	<u>Other provinces</u>								
Western Europe	95.2	16.4	4.3	98.2	9.3	1.7	98.8	7.6	1.0
France	90.9	81.7	-	91.6	91.6	-	96.7	80.0	-
Germany	93.6	4.0	6.4	97.8	5.3	2.1	98.8	6.9	1.2
Eastern Europe	84.4	2.0	14.9	92.8	3.8	7.2	95.8	5.8	4.2
Southern Europe	69.8	4.9	29.9	78.6	4.5	21.3	89.6	5.5	10.1
Italy	62.0	4.9	37.6	72.7	4.9	27.3	87.4	6.1	12.1
Greece	86.7	1.9	13.3	87.7	2.0	12.2	92.5	1.5	7.5
Spain and Portugal	71.0	9.0	29.0	76.4	3.9	22.5	95.6	13.0	4.3
Asia	81.8	7.7	18.2	82.0	6.6	18.0	88.8	5.7	21.2

¹Ability to carry on a conversation in the language on a number of topics.

²Includes individuals who are bilingual in French and English as well as those who can speak one language only.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

and Portuguese outside Quebec show the highest proportions not knowing either of the official languages, while inside Quebec the Italians and Greeks share this attribute. For the post-war immigrant cohort that has resided the longest in Canada, immigrants born in Asia and living outside Quebec had the highest proportion (21.2%) not knowing either of the official languages. Inside Quebec, those born in Greece were highest with 17.2% and the Italians were second with almost 13%. Contrary to others born in Southern Europe, the Greeks have shown a marked preference for English in Quebec, almost as strong, in fact, as their preference for English elsewhere in Canada. The Germans and those born in Eastern Europe and Asia who are living in Quebec show consistently higher proportions with an ability to speak English rather than French.

Data based on successive period-of-immigration cohorts are obviously open to several interpretations. If it is assumed that the composition of successive cohorts of immigrants from each of their general regions of origin has remained approximately the same over the post-war period, the passage of time, or increasing length of residence, would appear to enhance the likelihood of using English in the home at the expense of other languages. On the other hand, to the extent that the language characteristics of the more recent immigrant arrivals may have changed from what they were for earlier cohorts from the same countries of origin, the trends exhibited in these data may have less validity for predicting future changes in the language behaviour of the most recently arrived immigrant cohorts. Manpower and Immigration's longitudinal study of immigrant adjustment, limited as it is, tends to support the validity of an acculturation interpretation of these intercohort differences in language behaviour of immigrants from different countries of origin. The initial 1969 cohort of immigrants did show significant gains in knowledge of official languages as well as decreased use of languages other than English or French in the home after several years in Canada (CIPS 4, 1974, pp. 98-105). The significance of changes in language behaviour is difficult to assess given the lack of national origin or ethnic origin homogeneity in the categories employed in Canada's census. Observed differences in the proportion of immigrants from the same country of birth speaking English, or French, in the home from one period of immigration to the next may reflect changes in the ethnic or national compositions of the immigrant cohort rather than language changes resulting from acculturation. Some reduction in the ambiguities in the analysis of these data with respect to language

behaviour can be achieved by examining the proportions of specific immigrant cohorts by ethnic origin and period of immigration who report using English in the home with the proportions reporting English as their mother tongue.⁴ In other words, a high proportion of a specific cohort using English in the home does not say anything about the amount of language change that may have taken place after a few years of residence in Canada unless it is compared to the proportion of that cohort reporting English as its mother tongue. This compensates for the fact that some ethnic origin groupings of immigrant cohorts already have large proportions with English mother tongue. These data and their percentage-point differences are presented side by side in Table 13.4 for male immigrants by ethnic origin and period of immigration for Quebec and the rest of Canada.

Comparing the cohort's proportion of English mother tongue with its proportion using English in the home would provide an estimate of actual language transfer (to English) as compared to apparent transfer, assuming, of course, that the proportion reporting English mother tongue were already using English as their home language when they arrived in Canada. Generally speaking, the proportions using English in the home for general ethnic origin groupings of immigrants for each of the periods of immigration tended to exceed their respective proportions reporting English mother tongue. Furthermore, as would be expected within an acculturation explanation, the difference between the two proportions tends to be larger for those immigrant cohorts that have been in Canada for the longest period. This is true for all the ethnic-origin, period-of-immigration cohorts residing outside Quebec with the notable exception of the cohorts of Asian-origin immigrants and for those of British origins where the levels of English mother tongue and use of English as the home language are extremely high. The situation for Quebec would appear to be similar but somewhat less clear because of the smaller immigrant populations in that province and greater sampling variance that can be expected to affect the proportions. While it is not surprising that immigrants of French origin residing outside Quebec should experience greater actual language transfer for immigrant cohorts which have been in the country for longer periods of time, the fact that the corresponding cohorts in Quebec showed a similar response is somewhat surprising. The differences, while slight, are consistent. However, given the fact that the French-origin immigrants represent an unknown mixture of immigrants from the United States,

See footnote(s) on page 471.

TABLE 13.4. Percentage of Foreign-born with English Mother Tongue, English as the Language of the Home, and the Percentage Points Difference as Language Transfer, by Ethnic Origin and Period of Immigration, for Males, Quebec and Other Provinces, 1971

Ethnic origin	1966-71 ¹			1961-65			1946-60		
	English mother tongue	English home language	Language ₂ transfer ²	English mother tongue	English home language	Language ₂ transfer ²	English mother tongue	English home language	Language ₂ transfer ²
	<u>Quebec</u>								
British	97.1	99.0	1.9	95.0	97.5	2.5	92.5	94.0	1.5
French	4.4	3.5	- 0.9	6.9	6.9	0.0	5.7	7.1	1.4
German	31.8	54.5	22.7	23.1	53.8	30.7	7.8	53.2	45.4
Other Northern and Western European	37.5	50.0	12.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.7	71.4	60.7
Italian	2.0	5.0	3.0	3.3	7.8	4.5	2.8	8.2	5.4
Polish	14.3	0.0	-14.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	16.7	38.1	21.4
Other European	6.7	26.7	20.0	0.0	28.6	28.6	7.9	31.5	23.6
Jewish	27.3	39.4	12.1	24.3	54.1	29.8	27.6	54.1	26.5
Asian	25.0	29.2	4.2	12.5	37.5	25.0	12.5	25.0	12.5
All other	15.0	24.7	9.7	15.9	23.0	7.1	12.5	34.3	13.3
	<u>Other provinces</u>								
British	97.6	99.1	1.5	96.8	98.5	1.7	98.2	99.4	1.2
French	39.2	45.1	5.9	47.6	66.7	19.1	43.3	71.7	28.4
German	37.6	52.1	14.5	31.1	59.2	28.1	8.5	59.5	51.0
Other Northern and Western European	33.6	53.4	19.8	32.4	74.3	41.9	16.9	82.8	65.9
Italian	8.2	13.1	4.9	4.3	13.8	9.5	5.8	27.8	22.0
Polish	32.3	54.8	22.5	16.3	34.9	18.6	11.2	49.1	37.9
Other European	16.5	25.6	9.1	12.5	40.0	27.5	10.3	45.1	34.8
Jewish	59.7	64.5	4.8	42.9	71.4	28.5	37.0	68.5	31.5
Asian	12.6	22.3	9.7	10.0	45.0	35.0	10.5	28.6	18.1
All other	25.8	40.5	14.7	18.2	41.6	23.4	11.0	46.7	35.7

¹Includes the first five months only of 1971.

²Estimated language transfer (to English) = per cent English as language in home - per cent English mother tongue.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

France, and elsewhere, some caution in interpreting the significance of these inter-cohort differences is advisable.

Considering all three post-World War II cohorts for Quebec, the immigrants of German ethnic origin tended to show the greatest actual language transfer. The other European origins, comprised mainly of Southern and Eastern European origins, not specifically listed in Table 13.4, and those of Jewish origin also showed a fairly consistent and sizable language transfer to English. For the rest of Canada, all three immigrant cohorts for Northern and Western Europeans, other than the British and French, showed fairly strong transfers to the use of English in the home. The cohorts of Polish origin which arrived during 1946-60 and during the 1966-71 period showed relatively large language transfers, as did those of Jewish and Asian origins belonging to the 1961-65 cohort of immigrants. While the amount of actual language transfer appears to be greatest for the cohorts of immigrants that have been in Canada the longest, the various ethnic origin groups tend to vary considerably from each other within each of the periods of immigration. In other words, the acculturation process, insofar as changes in the amount of language transfer are concerned, appears to vary considerably in its impact between ethnic origin groups and for different periods of immigration. With the exception of the Germans who have shown considerable language acculturation for each period-of-immigration group and the Italians who have shown relatively little, the extent of acculturation for the other ethnic origins appears to be closely related to the time of immigration and region of residence in Canada, reflecting the circumstances surrounding their emigration as well as the social and economic conditions in Canada at the time of arrival. Further insights into the net effects of these conditions for the acculturation of specific ethnic origin groups may be gained by examining the development of the immigrant's political commitment as reflected in their propensities for acquiring citizenship and some of the social and economic correlates of citizenship status.

13.3. Acculturation and Citizenship

Increasing similarity between recent immigrants and native-born populations, to the extent that the changes in the immigrant population have taken place subsequent to their arrival in Canada, is reflective of the continuing process of acculturation. Earlier chapters have examined the data pertaining to ethnic groupings for convergence of selected demographic characteristics over successive generations

and have examined the 1946-60 post-war immigrant cohort in particular for evidence of convergence which might be attributable to their continuing efforts to adapt to Canadian society. The analysis of changes in language behaviour in this chapter has suggested that, while increasing knowledge of the official languages is almost a necessity for achieving minimal levels of economic adaptation, it may say very little about the individual degree of acculturation. Decreasing use of a non-English mother tongue as the language in the home may be a more sensitive indicator of basic changes in cultural identification resulting from acculturation, but this still does not provide direct evidence of the individual's personal commitment to the host society. The longitudinal study has provided some evidence of a connection between the rate of change in knowledge of French or English and a sense of identification with or belonging to Canada (CIPS 4, 1974, pp. 107-110). They were, of course, unable to explore the significance of this for more definitive expressions of political commitment through the acquisition of citizenship because of the three-year limitation imposed on the study. Had the study been designed to follow up the immigrants for a five- or six-year period, the acquisition of citizenship or intention to do so would have been a useful index for assessing identification and commitment along the political dimension of acculturation.

It is true that the acquisition of citizenship may be nothing more than an act of expediency for some immigrants but all things considered, the individual who takes this step would appear to be making more of a personal commitment to Canada than one who does not. Richmond, in his attempt to outline a typology of male immigrant adaptation, clearly implies that immigrants who have made a permanent commitment to and strongly identify with Canada tend to express this through the acquisition of citizenship or have serious intentions to do so in the near future (Richmond, 1974, pp. 41-44).

Earlier analyses of Canadian census data, in particular those carried out by Burton Hurd, have treated citizenship as an index of national identification in the sense of making a more permanent commitment to remain in Canada and to assume political responsibility (Hurd, 1965, pp. 113-114). Citizenship status was incorporated in the analyses of the 1961 Census data on post-war immigration to identify those immigrants who had made a more positive commitment to Canadian society and the characteristics that tended to differentiate between those who did and those who did not acquire citizenship (Kalbach, 1970, pp. 337-392). The following analysis treats

citizenship status as an index of commitment arising through the general process of acculturation experienced by the immigrant after his arrival in Canada.

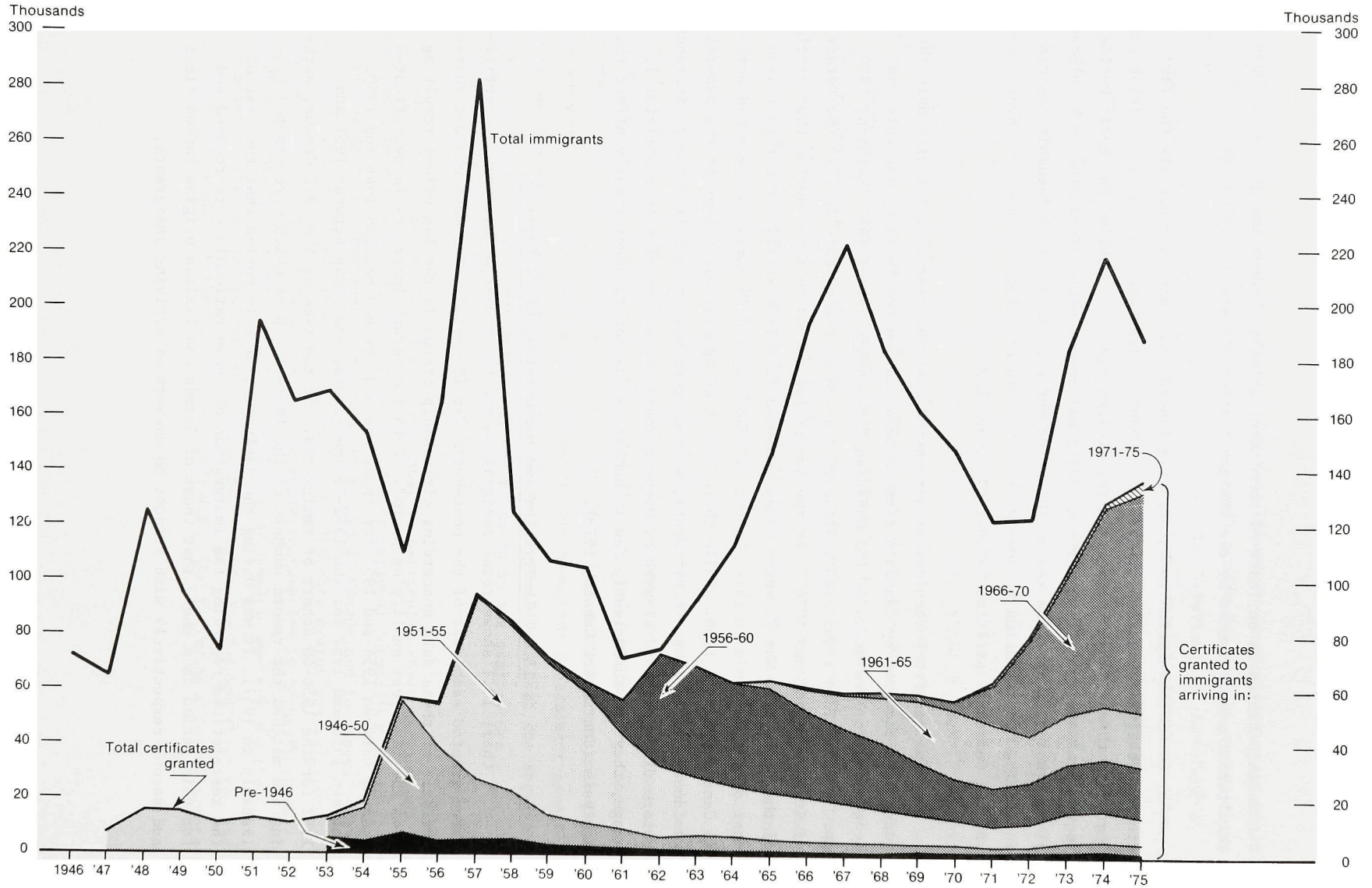
Gaining admission to Canada as a landed immigrant is generally the first step in obtaining Canadian citizenship. Adult aliens and non-Canadian British subjects can then file an application for citizenship after meeting the basic residence requirement and fulfilling certain additional requirements pertaining to knowledge of English or French, and responsibilities and privileges of citizenship besides indicating his intention to comply with the Oath of Allegiance and permanently reside in Canada (Statistics Canada, 1973, pp. 122-4).

The residence requirement has varied over the years. Originally only three years were required by Canada's first Naturalization Act in 1870, but this was lengthened to five years by the Canadian Citizenship Act of 1947 (Kalbach, 1970, pp. 345-8). This requirement, although reduced to three years in 1974 (Secretary of State news release 1974), was the qualifying period in force during that portion of the post-World War II years being examined in this analysis. For this reason most of the analysis in this chapter has been limited to immigrants who had arrived in Canada prior to 1966. While there have been special exceptions to the general residence and language requirements, so that some persons acquired their citizenship before five years had elapsed or without having knowledge of either official language, they are sufficiently few in numbers so as not to significantly affect the analysis (Statistics Canada, 1973).

13.4. Immigration and the Granting of Citizenship

Chart 13.1 shows total immigration and the number of citizenship certificates granted each year of the post-World War II period. The most obvious characteristic of these data concerning citizenship status is the lag effect resulting from the five-year qualifying period. Note the abrupt increases in certificates granted between 1954 and 1955 for those who had arrived between 1946 and 1950, between 1956 and 1957 for the 1951-55 immigrants, and again between 1961 and 1962 for the 1956-60 cohort of immigrants. At the time of the 1971 Census, nothing had matched the record numbers of the 1951-55 cohort which were granted citizenship in 1957. It was during the early part of this period that the last of the restrictions regarding the immigration of enemy nationals were removed and for this period as a whole that those of German and Italian origins ranked first and second respectively with respect to numbers of arriving immigrants.

Chart 13.1
Total Number of Immigrants and Citizenship Certificates Granted,
by Period of Immigration, Canada, 1946-75



Sources: Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Statistics Section, and Dominion Bureau of Statistics. *Characteristics of Persons Granted Canadian Citizenship, 1953-58 and 1959-64, January 1960 and January 1966*, and *Canadian Citizenship Statistics 1967-1970 and 1971-75*, Statistics Canada; *Canada Year Books*, 1951, 1952-53, and 1955 (1947-52 data)

The five-year lag effect is still apparent for later immigrant cohorts, but the expected sharp increase in the number of certificates granted failed to materialize between 1966 and 1967 for the 1961-65 immigrant cohort. This is particularly interesting in view of the fact that these immigrants were arriving during a period of economic recovery and rapid growth and at a time when the government was liberalizing its selection process by eliminating references to the ethnic and cultural characteristics of immigrants in its selection criteria. The peak years for granting citizenship for this cohort were 1969, 1970 and 1971 but the numbers involved were the smallest for any of the post-war cohorts up to that time.

The character of the immigrant arrivals during this period showed significant changes. The relative numbers of immigrants from Northern, Western, Central, and Eastern Europe were declining significantly, while those from Southern and Southeastern Europe increased significantly, as did the immigrants from the United States, Asia, and other non-European countries (Kalbach, 1974, Table 2.2). These trends in the changing composition of immigrants by country of birth and ethnic origin continued through the second half of the 1961-70 decade during a period of sharply declining total immigration and worsening economic conditions, yet the response of immigrants in the 1966-70 cohort to the opportunity to gain Canadian citizenship after their qualifying period has been very good, with the number of certificates granted from 1971 through 1975 exceeding those granted during the previous record-breaking five-year period established by the 1951-55 cohort between 1956 and 1960. While this increase reflects in part the high levels of immigration between 1966 and 1970, as had been the case with respect to the earlier 1951-55 cohort, it is difficult to anticipate the consequences of the peak in immigration that again occurred during 1974 which triggered a tightening of regulations and coincided closely with the introduction of a new immigration act. The reduction of the qualifying period from five to three years in 1974 can be expected to increase the numbers applying for citizenship, but what its long-term effects might be remains to be seen.

The foreign-born population continued to increase during the 30-year post-war period, as did the number of foreign-born who became Canadian citizens. While the latter may be compared with the former to achieve some type of measure of the

rate of naturalization, it is more appropriate to compare the numbers who have acquired citizenship with the foreign-born who have acquired eligibility for citizenship through five years of residence in Canada. Most of the eligible foreign-born population in Canada at the time of the 1971 Census, or 97%, had in fact acquired their Canadian citizenship. This represents a significant improvement over the situation in 1961 when only 81% of the eligible foreign-born population had attained citizenship status following the first heavy wave of post-war immigration between 1950 and 1955. However, the proportion of the total foreign-born population reporting Canadian citizenship remained essentially unchanged at just over 60%.

Evidence of the massive influx of foreign nationals as well as the effects of naturalization may be seen in Table 13.5. The preponderant proportion of foreign nationals at each of the census dates is from European countries, other Commonwealth countries and the United States; the inter-decade changes are very indicative of the shifting character of immigration that has been taking place. The numbers of foreign nationals from the older immigrant sources show significant declines in size, while the new immigrants from Southern and Southeastern European countries show somewhat lower gains during the 1960s than they had during the previous decade.

While relatively small in numbers, the largest relative gains were registered by nationals of Asian countries. Citizens from the United States, still numerically larger than those of Asian countries, showed a considerably larger increase between 1961 and 1971 than between 1951 and 1961. Future trends in the rates of naturalization, in view of the changing composition of the alien population, may be difficult to anticipate on the basis of Canada's prior experience. For this reason, it will be particularly important to examine the propensities for acquiring Canadian citizenship exhibited by non-European immigrants who now have greater access to Canada since the elimination of the more discriminatory aspects of Canadian immigration regulations.

The regional distributions of foreign nationals are a reflection of the major population trends that have been shaping Canada for many decades. The regions of population concentration and economic activity are Ontario, Quebec, British Columbia and Alberta and these are the areas that have attracted the recent immigrants. Over half of the non-Canadian citizen population have been located in Ontario since 1951, with the proportion continuing to increase. With 16% in 1971, Quebec has the next largest share followed by British Columbia with 14%. While

TABLE 13.5. Population Showing Percentage Decade Change by Country of Citizenship, Canada, 1951, 1961 and 1971

Country of citizenship	Number			Percentage change	
	1951	1961	1971 ¹	1951-61	1961-71 ¹
Canada	13,567,939	17,182,429	20,221,155	26.6	17.7
Other Commonwealth ²	104,071	306,690	482,210	194.7	57.2
United States	69,000	88,312	143,325	28.0	62.3
European Countries	236,490	603,195	564,325	155.1	- 6.4
Austria	3,769	12,648	7,455	235.6	-41.1
Belgium	4,893	10,095	6,995	106.3	-30.7
Denmark	4,432	14,921	9,090	236.7	-39.1
Finland	6,080	11,660	7,980	91.8	-31.6
France	5,031	21,032	31,205	318.0	48.4
Germany	12,926	126,241	67,380	876.6	-46.6
Hungary	7,871	26,775	7,055	240.2	-73.6
Italy	22,616	173,337	200,965	666.4	15.9
Netherlands	32,179	80,096	34,010	148.9	-57.5
Poland	55,771	29,977	12,925	-46.2	-56.9
USSR	46,267	11,082	6,850	-76.0	-38.2
Yugoslavia	6,718	17,363	27,465	158.5	58.2
Other	27,937	67,968	144,950	143.3	113.3
Asiatic Countries	15,122	23,033	86,665	52.3	276.3
China	12,808	13,618	16,600	6.3	21.9
Other	2,314	9,415	70,065	306.9	644.2
Other ³	16,807	34,588	70,620	105.8	104.2
Total	14,009,429	18,238,247	21,568,310	30.2	18.3

¹Includes the first five months only of 1971.

²United Kingdom and Republic of Ireland and West Indies.

³Includes 14,927 in 1951, 27,889 in 1961, and 14,050 in 1971 reported as Stateless; includes Latin America, African Countries, and Other in 1971.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Population—Citizenship and Immigration, Bul. 1.3-7, Table 48.

Alberta has the fourth largest, its proportionate share of the foreign-national population has been declining throughout the entire post-war period.

The foreign nationals are even more geographically concentrated than their regional distributions would indicate. Data for a selected number of Census Metropolitan Areas show that almost 60% of the non-Canadian citizens living in these 15 CMAs are located in Ontario CMAs (Table 13.6). Between 1961 and 1971, the Toronto CMA increased its share from 38.3% to 44.6%. Kitchener, London and Windsor also increased their relative share of the CMA population, but only slightly, while Vancouver was the only CMA outside Ontario to show a small gain. Kitchener, Windsor, and Vancouver were the only CMAs besides Toronto in which their foreign-national populations increased at a relatively faster rate than their Canadian citizen population between 1961 and 1971.

The shifting character of the immigrant population and its continuing tendency to settle in a relatively small number of Canada's larger metropolitan-urban areas will have significant ramifications for government programs designed to assist immigrants to adjust to Canadian society and move towards full participation as Canadian citizens. Interestingly, the new Immigration Act, officially proclaimed in 1978, contains provisions to encourage the immigrant to settle outside these larger metropolitan centres.

13.5. Propensities for Canadian Citizenship

Earlier analyses of the factors associated with achieving citizenship status have turned up a variety of results. The basic common denominator in their findings is the accepted importance and centrality of length of residence as an explanation of the major part of the variance associated with the citizenship status of foreign-born populations. The other correlates of citizenship have been more difficult to identify and to assess in terms of their relative significance. The results of Hurd's analysis of the 1941 Census data, for example, produced correlation coefficients that were low, unreliable and inconsistent with his findings based on the 1931 Census. In his attempt to rationalize his inability to identify significant correlates, he seems to make a strong case for the importance of unique historical conditions as opposed to the existence of common elements in the naturalization process. Specifically, he felt that deteriorating conditions in the immigrant's homeland during the 1931-41 decade overshadowed the factors of length of residence,

TABLE 13.6. Number and Percentage of Non-Canadian Citizens for Selected Census Metropolitan Areas of 100,000 and Over, 1961 and 1971

Census Metropolitan Area	1961			1971 ¹		
	Number	Per cent of total ²	Per cent of CMA	Number	Per cent of total ²	Per cent of CMA
Calgary	29,112	3.9	10.4	33,015	3.2	8.2
Edmonton	32,237	4.4	9.5	31,985	3.1	6.5
Halifax	5,323	0.7	2.9	6,630	0.6	3.0
Hamilton	42,627	5.8	10.8	52,555	5.1	10.5
Kitchener	13,047	1.8	8.4	22,820	2.2	10.1
London	15,615	2.1	8.6	23,320	2.3	8.2
Montréal	155,846	21.0	7.4	183,475	17.7	6.7
Ottawa	22,469	3.0	5.2	28,200 ³	2.7	4.7
Quebec	3,405	0.5	1.0	4,850	0.5	1.0
Sudbury	7,051	1.0	6.4	6,465	0.6	4.2
Toronto	283,639	38.3	15.5	461,430	44.6	17.6
Vancouver	74,549	10.1	9.4	112,880	10.9	10.4
Victoria	10,616	1.4	6.9	13,505	1.3	6.9
Windsor	11,538	1.6	6.0	19,290	1.9	7.5
Winnipeg	33,883	4.6	7.1	33,390	3.2	6.2
Total	740,957	100.0	9.8	1,033,810	99.9	9.6

¹Includes the first five months only of 1971.

²Totals for the fifteen selected Census Metropolitan Areas only.

³Includes Hull.

Source: 1961 Census of Canada, Citizenship in Canada, Bul. 7.1-8, Table 3a; 1971 Census of Canada, Population—Characteristics of Persons Born Outside Canada, Bul. 1.4-12, Table 34; and 1971 Census of Canada, Age Groups, Bul. 1.2-3, Table 11.

percentage urban, and percentage surplus males which he had found to account for three-fourths of the variability associated with citizenship status in the 1931 Census (Hurd, 1965, p. 125).

While remarking about the virtual cessation of immigration during this period, it did not seem to occur to Hurd that this factor alone would have accounted for a large share of the increase in the proportion of the foreign-born who were Canadian citizens even if the rate of naturalization had remained constant and regardless of conditions in the homeland of the immigrant. Furthermore, without the continuing influx of alien immigrants, the proportion of the total foreign-born population that was naturalized would continue to increase and the differences between ethnic-origin groups (or birthplace groups) would decline. In short, there would be little variation left to explain. In this case, time would tend to reduce the variance as more immigrants acquired citizenship and those that did not, emigrated. Hurd mentions that, in part, the lack of significance of his findings might be attributable to the fact that he had data for only 18 countries in 1941 compared to 28 in 1931. In addition he shows that the percentage of the foreign-born naturalized increased from 54.8% to 70.7%, but he does not comment on the possible reduction in the amount of dispersion associated with these two distributions between 1931 and 1941 or its connection with the decrease in his regression coefficients.

Hurd's approach emphasizes the time factor plus certain structural characteristics of the immigrant populations and their distribution that would facilitate marriage and stable family relationships, steady employment, and the acquisition of citizenship as the expected outcome of the assimilation process. Richmond's studies place more emphasis on the motivations underlying the individual's decision to emigrate and his level of satisfaction. His analyses emphasize the inter-relationships between cultural backgrounds, individual motives, skills, and satisfaction, and their identification with and commitment to their new country. His transient and alienated modes of adaptation, while illustrating rather different types of adjustment, represent conditions of minimal commitment (and low propensity for citizenship), while his urban villagers, anglo-saxon conformists and cultural pluralists represent types of adaptation associated with relatively high levels of commitment, but with varying rates of naturalization (Richmond, 1974). It would seem that a fuller understanding of the development of political commitment on the part of immigrant groups would be aided by viewing the act of citizenship as the consequence of a complex interaction between the socio-economic and political context existing at

the time of arrival, the structural characteristics of both host and immigrant populations and the particular motivations underlying individual migration behaviour.

The analysis of citizenship status in the 1961 Census sought less to explain variations in the proportions of citizens among ethnic-origin groupings of the total foreign-born population than to determine which individuals among those eligible for citizenship tended to avail themselves more quickly of the opportunity to become naturalized than others. This was attempted by examining the differences in the characteristics of those who become citizens shortly after satisfying the residence requirements, with those who did not. Differences in birthplace and ethnic origin, while found to be significant, interacted in different ways with age, education and area of residence in the naturalization process (Kalbach, 1970, pp. 420-422).

For the cohort of immigrants arriving in Canada between 1951 and 1956, who had resided in Canada from five to 10 years at the time of the 1961 Census, those from Central, Eastern, and Southern European countries (excluding Italy) showed high propensities for acquiring citizenship, while those from the most culturally similar countries (United Kingdom, United States, and other Commonwealth) showed the least tendency to do so. These latter countries would appear to be the major source of Richmond's transilients (Richmond, 1967). Education varied in its significance and in ways consistent with the fact that educational attainment was positively associated with citizenship for immigrants from Central, Eastern, and Southern Europe and negatively for those from the United Kingdom, United States and some Western European countries. Involvement in the labour force was found to lack relevance, as did many characteristics of the immigrant's area of residence such as proportion of immigrants in the area, rates of population and economic growth. What seemed to matter, however, was the character of the population and opportunities within the area of settlement in relation to the cultural, social, and economic characteristics of the immigrant population. For example, metropolitan-area residence was associated with higher citizenship levels for Central, Eastern European, and Jewish origin immigrants, while non-metropolitan residence enhanced the propensity for more quickly acquiring citizenship among immigrants from the United Kingdom, United States, France and Italy.

13.5.1. Citizenship Propensities in 1971 and Changes Since 1961

The analyses of the 1971 data on the correlates of citizenship status have been limited to the population 21 and over (the age of majority) and the cohort of immigrants that had arrived in Canada between 1961 and 1966.⁵ The discussion, in keeping with the overall analytical framework of the larger study of immigrant adjustment, will emphasize comparisons between Quebec and the rest of Canada and highlight these contrasts, when appropriate, with data for Montréal and Toronto.

Length of residence still retains its basic importance vis-à-vis the acquisition of citizenship, the proportions having been granted citizenship varying from 34.0% for the most recent cohort (which had just met the five-year residence requirement) to over 90% for the combined pre-World War II cohorts. The increase in proportions naturalized by length of residence was consistent between Quebec and the rest of Canada for rural as well as for all categories of the urban population by size. There were, however, two interesting aspects to these data. First, the proportion of immigrants becoming naturalized in the first five years following the qualifying period was about 25% lower than the proportion for the corresponding immigrant cohort that had resided in Canada between five and 10 years at the time of the 1961 Census. Conditions and the incentives to acquire citizenship appear to have been less favourable during the 1960s than they had been in the 1950s. The second interesting aspect is the significantly higher proportion of immigrants in this 1961-65 cohort electing citizenship who were residents of Quebec (41.7%) in contrast to those settling elsewhere in Canada (32.0%). While the difference was fairly consistent for each rural-urban size category of residence, the difference was greatest for the largest urban places, those of 100,000 or more population. The slight variation that exists within each size category is due entirely to variations in the proportion citizens within the rural-urban size places in Quebec which varied from 36.3% for rural populations to a maximum of 42.0% for urban places of 100,000 and over. Elsewhere in Canada, the proportion of citizens was practically constant at 32% for all rural-urban size places.

Citizenship status by age, for the total foreign-born cohorts immigrating prior to 1966, is directly influenced by the length of residence in Canada, as the proportions naturalized tend to increase with each passing year as does the average age of the cohort. Considering only the 1961-65 cohort, little variation was found

See footnote(s) on page 471.

in the propensities for acquiring citizenship by age except for those over 65 in Quebec. Slightly over one-half, or 54.5%, had acquired citizenship in contrast to about 40% for each of the younger age groups. Interestingly, the situation was the reverse of this for the cohort that had arrived during the 1956-60 period, not only in Quebec but also elsewhere in Canada. The inducements for acquiring citizenship would appear to have been considerably less attractive for these elderly immigrants, as only 55% of their numbers in Quebec acquired citizenship in contrast to the 65% to 73% of those in the younger age groups who had done so.

In the 1961 Census, there was some indication that the divorced had capitalized on the first opportunity to acquire citizenship to a greater degree than those of other marital statuses, with the widowed showing the greatest reluctance to do so. It does not seem too unreasonable to assume (with the advantage of hindsight) that an immigrant either arriving divorced, or getting divorced, might have an extra incentive to establish some stability in his life by making a personal commitment elsewhere as would be the case in acquiring Canadian citizenship. Being widowed, on the other hand, represents a different type of altered status, for which a change in citizenship status might not provide the same comfort or satisfaction. Be it as it may, the divorced and widowed of the 1961-65 cohort with 43% and 31% respectively hold the same relative positions in 1971 for Canada as a whole as they did in 1961 with respect to their proportions having acquired citizenship. Again, the contrast between Quebec and the other provinces is surprising. The widowed in both Quebec and the other provinces show the expected low propensities, but only the divorced in Quebec have a very high proportion who have become citizens while elsewhere in Canada the proportion for the divorced is low and single immigrants show the largest proportion as having acquired Canadian citizenship.

The immigrant cohort arriving in Canada a decade after the 1951-55 cohort shows essentially the same significant variations in citizenship propensities by the immigrant's country of birth. As may be noted in Table 13.7, those born in the United States exhibit the lowest proportion, followed closely by the United Kingdom and the Irish Republic. Those born in Poland and other Central and Eastern European countries show the highest, with those from Asia and other countries having the next highest. Immigrants born in Italy also have low propensities for acquiring citizenship early. The intermediate groups are those from Northern and Western Europe and Southern Europe. The only regional contrast in Canada is a slight one in that the only groups for which the propensities are not higher in Quebec than

TABLE 13.7. Percentage of the 1961-65 Immigrant Cohort 21 Years and Over, with Canadian Citizenship, by Birthplace, Canada, Quebec, Other Provinces and Selected CMAs, 1971

Birthplace	Canada	Quebec	Other provinces	Montréal	Toronto
United States	14.3	20.1	13.4	16.5	11.5
United Kingdom and Republic of Ireland	16.6	20.9	16.3	20.4	11.8
Germany	34.5	30.4	34.9	31.0	30.0
Other Northern and Western Europe	34.3	32.5	35.2	32.6	32.0
Poland	62.4	67.0	61.6	67.5	62.3
Other Central and Eastern Europe	68.9	71.1	65.1	71.0	66.2
Italy	24.3	27.0	23.4	26.5	17.6
Other Southern Europe	34.9	44.0	31.4	43.6	27.5
Asia	59.7	61.8	59.2	62.3	55.0
Other	50.6	63.4	43.3	64.3	41.0
Total	34.0	41.7	32.0	41.8	27.8

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

elsewhere are those born in Northern and Western Europe. Toronto and Montréal again reflect these regional contrasts but while the propensities for Montréal are about the same as for Quebec, those for Toronto tend to be somewhat lower than those for the rest of Canada.

Table 13.8 shows that ability to speak both official languages is clearly related to a higher propensity to acquire citizenship in either of the two major regions or their largest metropolitan centres. This was true in 1961 of the 1951-55 cohort as well, and in both cases a lack of knowledge of either language was a handicap insofar as becoming naturalized is concerned. More significant with respect to understanding the intricate inter-relationships between the two dominant language groups is the interesting fact that the English-only speaking minority in Montréal had a significantly higher proportion of naturalized citizens than did their counterparts living in the English milieu of Toronto. The same is true for the French-only speakers who find themselves in the position of being a language minority in Toronto as opposed to those in Montréal who are part of the language majority. Acquiring citizenship almost appears to be a defensive or protective reaction of a minority member aimed at insuring his rights to remain unilingual in a potentially threatening cultural setting. The relatively small numbers of French-only speaking immigrants belonging to the 1961-65 cohort and residing in Toronto make a certain amount of caution advisable in interpreting these data. However, the differences noted between Toronto and Montréal in this respect do persist for all pre-1966 cohorts. Ordinarily, the differences within cohorts tend to disappear as the relative number of long-term residents increases, as would be true of the combined cohorts.

TABLE 13.8. Percentage of Foreign-born Population 21 Years and Over, with Canadian Citizenship, by Official Language for the 1961-65 Immigrant Cohort, Canada, Quebec, Other Provinces and Selected CMAs, 1971

Period of immigration/ Official language	Canada	Quebec	Other provinces	Montréal	Toronto
<u>1961-65</u>					
English only	34.0	37.5	33.3	41.4	24.8
French only	37.8	37.8	37.5	31.6	100.0 ¹
Both English and French	48.2	54.2	40.7	53.5	43.1
Neither	23.4	18.9	24.6	21.0	17.2
Total	34.4	40.2	32.8	40.0	24.6

¹200 or less cases.

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

Speaking French in the home, for members of the 1961-65 cohort, appears to have facilitated the early acquisition of citizenship. This is true both in Quebec as well as outside the province, and for both Montréal and Toronto. Again, the interesting aspect of these differences is that the contrast with those speaking English or some other language, is greater outside Quebec and in Toronto in comparison to Montréal. This is again suggestive of the possible relevance of minority cultural status, as reflected in language behaviour, for the expression of personal commitment to Canada through the act of citizenship.

As with other characteristics, citizenship differentials tend to disappear as length of residence increases; for Canada as a whole and its major regions and metropolitan centres, the longer the period of residence the more likely the immigrants will speak English in the home and the larger their proportions will be who have attained citizenship. However, the significance of a particular language in the home does not necessarily remain the same as the ethnic composition of successive cohorts of immigrants tends to change. For the 1956-60 cohort, languages other than French or English were more likely to be associated with citizenship. This would appear not only to reflect a change in the particular ethnic or cultural composition of the immigrants who had come to Canada at this particular time, but also an indication of a significant combination of immigrant characteristics and conditions in their homelands that provided some additional incentive for acquiring Canadian citizenship.

Analysis of language behaviour in the home by country of birth for immigrants in Quebec and in the rest of the country permits some further elaboration of this point. For example, for those born in Asia, the levels of citizenship acquisition can be shown to be high no matter what language they speak in the home. The same is true for those born in Eastern Europe, but in this case the explanation would probably rest more heavily on political factors rather than social and economic. The generally lower proportions of citizens among immigrants from non-European countries using English in the home could be due to European origin transient type immigrants.

Educational attainment showed a positive relationship with the citizenship status of immigrants who had resided in Canada for the minimum qualifying period before the 1961 Census. The corresponding cohort of immigrants, at the time of the 1971 Census, also shows a slight relationship with proportions acquiring citizenship

ranging from 32% for those with elementary education to 38% for those with some university. The relationship appears somewhat stronger in Quebec, where the proportions ranged from 35% for those with elementary education to 48% for those with university education. The range in variation outside Quebec, however, was much less, running from 32% to 35%. Again, Montréal closely reflects the pattern of Quebec, while for Toronto the propensities for citizenship for those with less than Grade 12 education are somewhat lower than for the non-Quebec areas as a whole.

Richmond has already suggested by his analysis of the various modes of immigrant adaptation that educational attainment alone will not adequately predict the level of naturalization without some knowledge of the type of society the immigrant has come from or his occupational expertise. This is clearly evident upon examination of the data in Table 13.9 showing the proportions with Canadian citizenship by level of education for major country-of-birth groupings, for Quebec, the rest of Canada and for Montréal and Toronto. Educational attainment is, in fact, related differently with citizenship propensity for almost each of the major groupings of birthplaces shown and the patterns are not too different from those reported in the 1961 Census. Germany and the other Northern and Western European countries show almost identical patterns of gradually rising proportions of citizens with higher educational attainment levels. The relationship is similar but stronger for those born in Italy and other Southern European countries, the latter group showing a particularly strong relationship in Quebec. In this instance, the proportion increased from 38% for those with elementary education to 63% for those with university training.

Eastern and Central European immigrants show very high and constant levels of citizenship at most levels of educational attainment, whether in Quebec or elsewhere. The incentive to become a Canadian citizen is very close to being independent of their educational characteristics. The political realities for most of these persons would appear to over-ride whatever influence education might otherwise have. Asians, and those born in all other countries, also show high levels of citizenship but somewhat lower overall than those reported for the Central and Eastern European countries. Citizenship for Asians peaks in the intermediate grade levels, then declines to minimum levels for those with some university. Those of the all other category show their minimum proportion for the intermediate levels with some slight increase at the university level. Immigrants from the United Kingdom and Republic of Ireland also show a somewhat flattened U-shaped distribution in

TABLE 13.9. Percentage of 1961-65 Immigrants 21 Years and Over, with Canadian Citizenship, Showing Educational Attainment, by Country of Birth, Canada, Quebec, Other Provinces and Selected CMAs, 1971

Country of birth	Grade 9	Grades 9-11	Grades 12-13	Some university	Total
<u>Canada</u>					
United States	26.7	21.9	10.8	13.3	14.3
United Kingdom and Republic of Ireland	22.6	14.7	14.7	22.3	16.6
Germany	31.7	34.4	35.1	38.8	34.5
Other Northern and Western Europe	32.9	32.9	33.9	38.6	34.3
Poland	59.0	64.3	67.3	64.5	62.4
Other Central and Eastern Europe	63.9	68.7	67.0	67.9	65.9
Italy	22.0	32.4	36.0	43.5	24.3
Other Southern Europe	30.1	41.0	46.5	53.5	34.9
Asia	64.1	67.6	64.4	51.6	59.7
All Other	56.6	49.2	48.9	50.5	50.6
Total	32.3	36.4	31.9	38.3	34.0
<u>Quebec</u>					
United States	44.0	37.2	15.6	15.0	20.1
United Kingdom and Republic of Ireland	37.5	19.0	16.9	24.7	20.9
Germany	30.2	33.7	28.6	29.8	30.4
Other Northern and Western Europe	29.1	29.0	30.2	40.6	32.5
Poland	67.6	70.7	52.2	70.7	67.0
Other Central and Eastern Europe	67.4	65.7	74.6	76.7	71.1
Italy	24.3	38.6	42.5	44.8	27.0
Other Southern Europe	38.1	51.6	57.0	63.3	44.0
Asia	61.2	66.7	75.2	54.6	61.8
All Other	63.2	63.4	65.2	62.3	63.4
Total	34.7	47.2	45.8	48.5	41.7
<u>Other provinces</u>					
United States	24.0	19.1	10.1	12.9	13.4
United Kingdom and Republic of Ireland	21.6	14.4	14.8	22.0	16.3
Germany	31.9	34.5	35.7	41.0	34.9
Other Northern and Western Europe	33.8	35.3	35.5	36.8	35.2
Poland	57.6	63.4	68.7	62.6	61.6
Other Central and Eastern Europe	63.5	69.3	65.8	64.3	65.1
Italy	21.3	30.6	34.6	42.1	23.4
Other Southern Europe	27.1	36.6	43.3	46.7	31.4
Asia	64.9	67.9	62.3	50.6	59.2
All Other	52.7	39.5	42.6	42.3	43.3
Total	31.6	33.5	29.7	34.7	32.0
<u>Montréal</u>					
United States	38.5	32.1	10.0	13.7	16.5
United Kingdom and Republic of Ireland	38.5	20.0	15.7	24.7	20.4
Germany	30.8	32.9	29.8	31.4	31.0
Other Northern and Western Europe	28.9	29.0	28.2	41.6	32.6
Poland	67.7	71.7	52.2	73.0	67.5
Other Central and Eastern Europe	66.7	65.6	74.6	77.7	71.0
Italy	24.2	37.7	43.7	42.2	26.5
Other Southern Europe	37.4	52.4	57.1	62.1	43.6
Asia	61.1	65.7	75.2	55.8	62.3
All Other	64.4	63.9	66.0	63.3	64.3
Total	34.2	48.4	46.8	49.6	41.8
<u>Toronto</u>					
United States	25.0	27.8	10.0	10.8	11.5
United Kingdom and Republic of Ireland	15.1	11.0	10.9	15.3	11.8
Germany	28.7	29.2	28.9	35.4	30.0
Other Northern and Western Europe	34.3	28.5	33.0	33.3	32.0
Poland	58.2	59.1	71.0	68.8	62.3
Other Central and Eastern Europe	65.7	68.3	65.6	64.8	66.2
Italy	16.0	24.9	26.6	32.1	17.6
Other Southern Europe	23.5	33.3	37.8	43.2	27.5
Asia	64.2	59.7	59.7	46.1	55.0
All Other	43.4	39.1	42.8	39.4	41.0
Total	24.3	30.2	29.7	34.0	27.8

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

both regions but with the highest proportion (37.5%) occurring for those with only elementary education in Quebec. The pattern is similar to those from the United States, which has an even higher proportion occurring for those with the least education and a more rapid falloff for the higher levels, dropping from 44% to 15% in the case of Quebec. With only slight variations, the patterns are basically the same for Montréal and Toronto as those just described for Quebec and the rest of Canada.

Analyses of ethnic-origin groupings produce very similar results, but with additional information about immigrants of Jewish origin. For Canada as a whole, they show a strong negative relationship between citizenship and education, decreasing from 77% for those with elementary education to 57% for those with some university. The same general negative relationship holds for both Quebec and outside Quebec as well as within their main metropolitan centres. In this case the region of residence appears to make little difference in the relationship between educational attainment and the acquisition of citizenship. The relationship between the two variables is roughly the same within Quebec as elsewhere in Canada but as with the other comparisons, levels of citizenship are generally higher in Quebec than elsewhere.

The relationship between occupation and propensities for citizenship shown in Table 13.10 is complex, and the latter are often influenced less by the unique aspects of particular occupations themselves than by the characteristics of those who find work in these occupations. An example of the former situation in the 1961 Census was the immigrants who worked as fishermen. They had the highest propensity for acquiring citizenship at the earliest possible moment. For the 1951-55 immigrant cohort, 82% were citizens in 1961 compared to only 52% for the cohort as a whole (Kalbach, 1970, p. 378). The explanation lies in the laws regarding commercial fishing rights in Canadian waters rather than in the unique qualities of this type of work that might kindle a natural desire for greater identification with Canadian society. If one wanted to earn a living fishing in coastal water, it was necessary to become naturalized--a simple case of economics winning over political allegiance. For other types of occupations, the propensities for citizenship might be the consequence of the need for importing specialists and the general characteristics of the country's labour force which could export the needed manpower. For example, positions which had to be filled by British immigrants (or American) would be

TABLE 13.10. Percentage of Foreign-born Population 21 Years and Over, with Canadian Citizenship, by Occupation for the 1961-65 Immigrant Cohort, Canada, Quebec, Other Provinces and Selected CMAs, 1971

Occupation	Canada	Quebec	Other provinces	Montréal	Toronto
Managerial	38.2	47.1	34.2	18.2	23.5
Natural Science	38.0	66.7	27.9	52.6	22.7
Social Science	25.0	16.7	33.3	100.0	0.0
Religion	28.6	0.0	33.3	-	0.0
Teaching	39.3	44.0	37.3	53.3	6.7
Medicine and Health	41.9	42.3	41.8	37.5	22.2
Artistic	21.4	0.0	27.3	14.3	25.0
Clerical	29.8	46.7	25.6	52.0	24.5
Sales	39.6	50.0	36.5	40.0	34.1
Services	46.7	50.0	45.9	41.3	29.7
Farming	39.0	0.0	43.2	0.0	0.0
Other Primary	11.1	-	11.1	-	-
Processing	29.4	34.8	27.8	50.0	4.2
Machining	36.5	37.5	36.1	36.0	29.8
Construction	24.7	40.0	23.1	36.4	16.3
Transportation	26.9	25.0	27.3	50.0	27.3
All other	27.0	31.6	26.1	42.9	25.9
Not stated	37.4	37.1	37.5	45.2	18.8
Total	35.6	42.0	33.7	41.5	24.1

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

expected to show lower proportions obtaining citizenship during the first years of eligibility than if they were filled by other immigrants. In 1961, the 1951-55 cohort of immigrant workers in clerical occupations was characterized by a below-average level of citizenship, a condition attributed to the high proportion of British-origin clerical workers. Other occupations with the lowest propensities at that time (loggers, farm workers and general labourers) were those that would tend to attract the more transient types of labour.

A decade later, occupational differences still reflected the effects of some of the same conditions, while other conditions appear to have changed. Clerical foreign-born workers still exhibit lower-than-average proportions of naturalized citizens, but only outside Quebec. The explanation for the 1961 situation is probably still valid, except that in Quebec non-British and non-Americans are more likely to be occupying such positions. Other primary occupations, processing, construction, and transportation occupations show low propensities, as do social science and religious occupations. On the other hand, service occupations, sales, teaching, managerial and natural science occupations all show high naturalization levels. Pressures to employ Canadian citizens are increasingly being felt in these fields, and citizenship is gaining in importance as a selection criterion in job placement. It is interesting to note the contrast, however, between the citizenship levels in managerial occupations in Montréal in comparison with Quebec and in Toronto in relation to the rest of Canada. It would appear that citizenship is less of a job requirement for managers in the two largest centres of Canada than elsewhere. This is, of course, where you would expect to find Richmond's transient men and women.

Overall, the characteristics associated with variations in the proportions of recent arrivals acquiring citizenship following the initial qualifying period are not very different from those observed in the 1961 Census. Taken individually, as in the case of knowledge of official languages, language in the home, or educational attainment, significant variations can be observed in association with differences in citizenship status. Furthermore, it has been shown that there are important modifications in these general relationships for immigrants of differing ethnic and cultural backgrounds within the major socio-cultural milieus of Canada (Quebec and the rest of Canada). In addition, one is tempted to infer from these data that for some groups the political and socio-economic conditions in their homelands can

create such a strong desire to change political allegiance by acquiring a new citizenship that the more general correlates of citizenship appear to be invalidated. In short, the analyses of specific immigrant cohorts must not forget to take into consideration the possible effects of the specific socio-political context of the act of emigration along with the factors usually considered.

13.6. Discriminant Analysis: A Multivariate Perspective

A discriminant analysis was performed on nine characteristics of the immigrant population in an attempt to determine the particular set of factors that would discriminate most effectively between members of recent cohorts of immigrants on the basis of their citizenship status and determine the relative importance of each factor in terms of its ability to differentiate between the two groups of citizens and non-citizens, both for Quebec and Canada. The data for this analysis are the same as those used in the earlier bivariate analyses, the individual file of the 1% public use sample tape of the 1971 Census of Canada. The 1961-65 cohort of immigrants was selected for the primary focus of this analysis, not only to insure maximum variance for the dependent variable but because on theoretical grounds this particular immigrant cohort is the key group with respect to making decisions regarding citizenship status.⁶

For this analysis, 26 dummy variables were devised from the nine basic variables and used in the construction of a linear set of variables that would maximally differentiate between the citizens and non-citizen members of the 1961-65 immigrant cohort. Fewer variables were actually entered in the discriminant function and fewer still were found to be significant at the 0.05 level. Ten significant factors were identified for males and eight for females at the national level. For Quebec, the number of significant variables was six and eight for males and females respectively. Table 13.11 presents the standardized discriminant coefficients for Canada and Quebec by sex. The pattern of weights indicates the relative contribution of the dummy variables to the differentiation between citizen and non-citizen groups and the factors displaying the five largest coefficients for males and females in Canada and Quebec are presented in rank order in Table 13.12.

Considering the analysis for Canada first, note that country of birth and ability to speak the official languages head the list of the five most important factors ranked in terms of their relative contribution to the differentiation

See footnote(s) on page 471.

TABLE 13.11. Standardized Discriminant Function Coefficients¹ for Variables Discriminating Between Citizen and Non-citizen Groups of the 1961-65 Cohort of Immigrants 21 Years and over, by Sex, Residing in Quebec and for Total Canada, 1971

Discriminating variable	Dummy variable	1961-65 immigrants			
		Canada		Quebec	
		Males	Females	Males	Females
Age group	30-44 years	-0.36			
	45-64	-0.23			
	65 and over	-0.22			
Provinces	Outside Quebec	0.11			
Marital status	Married	0.16			-0.11
	Wid., Div., & Sep. ²	-		-0.25	
Birthplace	United States	0.36	0.37	0.39	0.26
	Western Europe	-	0.15	0.30	
	Northern Europe	0.33	0.47	0.20	0.46
	Southern Europe				
	Eastern Europe	-0.40	-0.55	-0.38	-0.39
	Asia Africa, W.I., & Latin America	-0.26	-0.47	-0.33	-0.44
Occupation	Man., Prof. & Semi-prof. ³	-0.14	0.10		0.20
	Service	-0.32	-0.11		
	Primary		-0.10		
	Process., Construction, etc.			0.22	
Language at home	English		-0.20	0.37	
	French		-0.20	0.21	
Official language	English	-0.51	-0.34		-0.59
	French	-0.23	-0.09		-0.34
	Both English & French	-0.60	-0.39	-0.21	-0.75
Level of schooling	Elementary	0.15		0.54	0.16
	Secondary				
Place of residence	Urban under 30,000		-0.11	0.16	
	Rural	0.09	-0.10		-0.13

¹Absence of coefficient indicates lack of discriminating power.

²Widowed, divorced and separated.

³Managerial, Professional and Semi-professional.

Source: Analysis based on the 1971 Census of Canada, Public Use Sample Tapes.

TABLE 13.12. The Five Most Important Factors Discriminating Between Citizen and Non-citizen Groups for the 1961-65 Cohort of Immigrants 21 Years and Over, by Sex, Residing in Quebec and for Total Canada, 1971

Rank order	Discriminating variables	
	Males	Females
<u>Canada</u>		
1	Speak both English and French	Born in Eastern Europe
2	Ability to speak English	Born in Northern Europe
3	Born in Eastern Europe	Born in Asia
4	Born in the United States	Speak both English and French
5	30-44 years of age	Born in the United States
<u>Quebec</u>		
1	Elementary schooling	Speak both English and French
2	Born in the United States	Ability to speak English
3	Born in Eastern Europe	Born in Northern Europe
4	Use of English in home	Born in Asia
5	Born in Asia	Born in Eastern Europe

Source: Table 13.11.

between citizens and non-citizens. Furthermore, it is important to note that ability to speak both of the official languages or English only are the two most discriminating factors for males while country of birth accounts for four of the five most important factors for females. Because of the greater participation in the labour force by males, language skills can be seen to be of vital importance in achieving even a nominal level of economic adaptation. It would seem that the ability to speak the official languages would be a less urgent matter for early adaptation to Canadian society by immigrant women. If so, cultural factors reflected in their country of birth would appear to assume greater relevance for their acculturation. The outcome of the discriminant function analysis underscores the earlier impressions gained by examining the data on citizenship status by birthplace, that different ethnic and cultural origins can have opposite effects insofar as the acquisition of citizenship is concerned. In this case, the opposite signs of the standardized discriminant function coefficients in Table 13.11 associated with birthplace in Eastern Europe or Asia in contrast to birthplace in Northern Europe and the United States show that they do not contribute in the same manner to the differentiation between citizens and non-citizens. Earlier analyses have already indicated that those born in Eastern Europe and Asia were more likely to become citizens than those born in Northern Europe or the United States. The standardized coefficients of the discriminant function analysis indicate that being born in an Eastern European country is the most important factor for differentiating between citizen and non-citizen status.

Birthplace for males has less ability to differentiate citizenship status than official language skills; and, interestingly, being born in the United States has the same differentiating abilities as it has for women. Age of male immigrants (30-44 years of age) is the fifth most important factor for males although it has no discriminatory power whatsoever for females. Note that the age group represents the age of the 1961-65 immigrant cohort at the time of the 1971 Census and not their ages when they arrived in Canada.

The analysis for Canada as a whole essentially reflects the situation outside of Quebec because of the much larger size of this population in contrast to that of Quebec. It will be remembered from the series of bivariate analyses that the proportions of immigrants who became citizens tended to be consistently higher in Quebec than in the rest of Canada. The identification of this regional factor

in the discriminant analysis as a significant negative factor is consistent with these earlier results, although the size of its contribution is not very great. However, doing a separate discriminant analysis for Quebec does produce some interesting findings vis-à-vis the results for Canada as a whole. In general the analysis of the 1961-65 immigrant cohort in Quebec finds fewer discriminating variables, but with some overlap with the results for Canada as well as several new variables among the top five most important in terms of their discriminatory power.

Birthplace for males, i.e., being born in Eastern Europe or the United States, makes about the same contribution as they did for Canada as a whole. Ability to speak English loses its discriminatory power entirely while ability to speak both English and French drops considerably below the discriminatory power of Asian birthplace and use of English in the home which appear in the first five most important factors for Quebec males. The most important factor for Quebec males is elementary schooling. With a standardized discriminant function coefficient of 0.54, it is the most significant factor of the five presented in Table 13.12.

For women in Quebec, there is some shifting around of language and birthplace factors. The importance of Northern Europe or Asian birthplace remains almost identical to that of women in Canada as a whole. East European birthplace loses its discriminatory power, dropping from first to fifth place with respect to the size of its discriminant function coefficient. The coefficient for ability to speak English or French is almost double its size for the 1961-65 cohort of immigrant women for Canada as a whole, making it the most important factor. Ability to speak English was ranked second in importance for female members of the 1961-65 cohort in Quebec.

It is difficult to address the problem of determining the more general validity of this particular linear combination of discriminatory variables for other similar immigrant cohorts. A greater length of time in Canada would in itself tend to introduce new discriminating factors that might not have been relevant for those who had been in Canada for a shorter period of time. Perhaps more important would be the change in the character of the immigrants who came to Canada during the earlier period in comparison to those who came during the subsequent period, between 1961 and 1966. Economic conditions were changing in Canada, as well as the sources of immigrants between the last part of the 1951-60 decade and the first half of the

1961-70 period. Not only would the reasons for emigrating from their homelands be expected to be different but the ease of adapting to the conditions in Canada would not necessarily be the same in comparison to those who had come earlier, or to those who would follow. Because of the dynamic changes that were occurring, both in Canada and abroad at this time, there is little basis for expecting that a discriminant analysis of the 1956-60 cohort of immigrants would produce the same linear combination of discriminating variables with the same weighting or sign. A similar analysis of this earlier cohort of 1955-60 immigrants in fact did produce a significantly different set of discriminating variables. The importance of specific birthplaces did shift, with their number and significance becoming even more important for the earlier immigrant cohort of males in Canada. On the other hand, the language factors became less important with respect to their contribution to the differentiation between these two groups. For the female members of this immigrant cohort, there was a slight change in the number and ordering of birthplace and official language skills in accounting for differences between those who became citizens and those who had not.

These changes in the nature of the discriminant variables when contrasting a younger with an older immigrant cohort seem self-evident. For men, particularly those with non-official language mother tongues, the major factor in adapting to a new society is knowledge of the language and those who acquire such skills will tend to more quickly identify with the dominant host society. Beyond the initial impact, and after language skills have become more universally achieved among the members of the particular immigrant cohort, other factors, including the socio-cultural and political characteristics reflected in the country of birth, will gain in importance with respect to their ability to differentiate between those who obtain their citizenship during this latter period as opposed to those who continue to postpone their decision.

For women, cultural factors continue to have primacy and continue to be strong factors in discriminating with respect to citizenship status. With increasing time spent in Canada, they would also be expected to begin to show changes in language behaviour and in acquiring increasing conversational competence in one or both official languages would experience greater acculturation as reflected in their greater propensity to acquire citizenship. While the use of English as the language in the home was shown to be related to citizenship status when examined separately, it did not assume any position of importance in the discriminant

analysis. English in the home was a discriminating factor for males of the 1956-60 cohort only, while English in the home was a discriminating factor for females of both 1956-60 and 1961-65 cohorts but their standardized coefficient values were considerably below one-half the values of their respective dominant factors, which is generally taken as an acceptable cutoff point (Tatsuoka, 1970, pp. 3-4). While the use of a non-mother tongue in the home (especially English) may be used as an index of acculturation, it would appear that this stage is preceded by acquisition of official language skills and their use outside the home. Thus, skill in the use of official languages would be the key factor in identifying those who are experiencing acculturation. Whether or not this will be a positive force in changing the immigrant's citizenship still depends upon the specific language skill acquired, the cultural context within which it is used, the sex of the individual and the strength of ethnic and cultural values reflected in the immigrant's country of birth.

FOOTNOTES

¹Richmond, in his 1970 research on immigrant adaptation in Toronto, found a correlation of 0.51 between English fluency and familiarity with Canadian society. For a discussion of his measure of cognitive acculturation and his analysis see John Goldlust and Anthony H. Richmond, 1974a; 1974b; 1977; 1978.

²In this instance, Richmond combined measures of English usage and fluency for foreign-born immigrants with non-English mother tongue with his Index of Cognitive Acculturation to examine changes over time. He noted that little change occurred in acculturation for the first nine years of residence of non-English mother tongue immigrants, but this was followed by a sharp increase for the 10-14 year residence group. (See Goldlust and Richmond, 1974a, p. 128.)

³In contrasting these trends with the analyses of census data it must be remembered that the women in the longitudinal study were restricted to female immigrants in the labour force and, like the males, are not representative of the total immigrant arrivals for 1969.

⁴Examining the proportions using English as the language in the home in relation to the proportions reporting English as a mother tongue for specific ethnic and period-of-immigration cohorts is similar but not the same as the measure of net linguistic assimilation discussed by Kralt in the 1971 Census Profile Study, Languages in Canada. It is analogous to his measure of language transfer which is a comparison of the individual's mother tongue with his home language. In this case, the proportion of a specific ethnic and period-of-immigration cohort reporting English mother tongue is compared with its proportion reporting the use of English as the home language.

⁵As in the analysis of the 1961 data, the purpose of restricting the analysis to the 1961-65 immigrant cohort was to use the most relevant population, the cohort containing the largest number of immigrants having just completed their residence requirement for citizenship. Those under 21 years were excluded in the analysis of the 1971 data on the grounds that the decision of those under the age of majority were not generally independent of their parents' decision.

⁶The 1961-65 immigrant cohort was the only one of the four period-of-immigration groups for which the discriminant function prediction model was consistently successful for both males and females in Quebec as well as for Canada, where the percentage of cases correctly classified by the discriminant function exceeded the modal percentage of the dichotomized citizenship status variable.

Citizenship status	<u>1961-65 immigrants</u>			
	<u>Canada</u>		<u>Quebec</u>	
	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
Canadian citizens	37.7	31.4	46.4	33.9
Non-Canadian citizens	62.3	68.6	53.6	66.1
Total: Per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	1198	1375	278	277
Percentage of cases correctly classified:	65.4	71.4	68.7	74.7

CHAPTER 14

EPILOGUE

It has been shown that, after an initial period of adjustment, immigrants and their children in 1971 had achieved levels of material prosperity that equalled or surpassed longer-established Canadians. This has been accompanied by their linguistic assimilation into the English-speaking population of the country, although a small minority, mainly those settling in Quebec, had adopted French as their language. This cultural assimilation was not matched by a corresponding structural assimilation. The recent foreign-born population exhibited a distinctive regional distribution unlike that of their predecessors with very few resident in the Atlantic Provinces and a large proportion settled in Ontario. Immigrants were also disproportionately concentrated in the metropolitan areas of the country and within these localities there was evidence of definite residential concentrations that persisted into the second and subsequent generations. Immigrants also exhibited a relative concentration in certain industries and occupations where employment opportunities were growing rapidly in the post-Second World War period. In contrast, the Canadian-born and particularly those in the older generations were over-represented in primary industries and such traditional occupations as farming and transportation.

Demographically speaking, immigrants had smaller families and lower levels of fertility than the Canadian-born; recent immigrants were also better educated on average and their children were more likely to remain in school beyond minimum school leaving age. With the exception of those who arrived shortly before the 1971 Census, immigrants earned above the average of the Canadian-born, even within the same occupational groups, although this was largely a function of their distinctive regional and urban distribution. To the extent that there was any evidence of a convergence between the characteristics of the foreign-born and the Canadian-born it was the latter who were assimilating toward the former rather than the reverse. That is to say, the third-plus generation of Canadians were moving out of rural areas and small towns and, like the immigrants, were becoming more urbanized and metropolitanized. Birthrates among the Canadian-born were declining and more young people were seeking higher education. There was growing competition between the Canadian-born and immigrants for higher status positions in management and the

professions. However, French-Canadians continued to be handicapped by lower levels of educational achievement compared with English-speaking Canadians and many of the foreign-born.

The period 1946-71 was particularly favourable for the absorption of immigrants. Despite occasional recessions, as in the period 1960-61, the Canadian economy was growing rapidly and there was considerable demand for immigrant workers. However, by the mid-1970s, the post-war baby-boom reached the labour market just at a time when technological changes were creating structural unemployment and the energy crisis had created a world-wide recession. The need for labour force immigrants in Canada was less apparent. The government began to reduce the numbers admitted annually, giving preference to dependents and others not immediately planning to seek employment. However, there remained seasonal fluctuations in the demand for workers in certain industries and, from 1973 onwards, increasing use was made of temporary employment visas to meet these needs (Richmond, 1978).

Technological advances in jet air transportation and the economics of the travel industry brought large numbers of visitors to Canada, who subsequently sought the right to permanent residence. The numbers reached a peak in 1974 at which time the government rescinded the right of visitors to apply, from within Canada, for permanent residence. At the same time, it permitted the majority of those already in the country without landed immigrant status to remain here, applying rather relaxed criteria of admissibility. This tended to negate the intent of the selection system particularly since these former visitors could then sponsor dependents and nominate relatives, who would also be admissible with fewer points than independent immigrants.

In 1974, the government's Green Paper on immigration was published and extensive public debate followed. Subsequently, a Special Parliamentary Committee investigated the need for changes in immigration law and regulations together with the prospective needs of the Canadian economy and society for immigrants in the future (CIPS 1, 1974; Canada, 1975). In 1977 a new Immigration Act was passed. It was the first major legislative change in 25 years. Revised immigration regulations under the act came into force in April 1978. They provided for less emphasis on education and more on occupational experience and the encouragement of entrepreneurs. Extra units of assessment were given to those willing to work outside major

metropolitan areas and landed immigrant status was not confirmed until the individual had actually settled in the prescribed employment and locality.

The new Immigration Act reaffirmed Canada's commitment to family reunification and to non-discrimination with regard to race or nationality and made formal its humanitarian concern for refugees, by adopting the U.N. protocol on the subject. In this way, it ensured that immigration would continue to add to the ethnic diversification of Canada. The act also emphasized the relationship between the state of the economy and immigration and provided for the greater participation of the provinces in the determination of the numbers to be admitted, and their selection and distribution. Quebec was given the opportunity to devise its own selection criteria with a right to veto those planning to settle in Quebec, even if the federal government regarded them as suitable in terms of their selection criteria.

At the present time, the indications are that until the last of the baby-boom cohort has been absorbed into the labour force and the economy undergoes another period of economic development strong enough to cause labour shortages, immigration will continue to be limited to modest levels through the imposition of annual quotas set by the government in consultation with the provinces. Internal migration of the resident population has been a relatively minor factor in satisfying Canada's labour force needs and has done little to alter the fact that the residents of the Atlantic Provinces, the rural farm sector and French Canada, and the Native People everywhere are the most economically deprived in Canada. Immigrants have been more mobile and responsive to economic opportunities and they and their children have benefitted from their location in the more prosperous and expanding metropolitan areas where educational and employment opportunities were greatest. However, even in 1971 the evidence suggested that the most recently arrived immigrants were having some economic difficulties. Those who arrived after 1971, when employment conditions were less favourable, may have experienced even more serious problems of adjustment. Unfortunately, the 1976 Census did not provide any information concerning birthplace so that it will not be until after the results of the 1981 Census are available that any further assessment will be possible of the consequences of changes in immigration policy and the character of immigrants, as well as the changing economic conditions in Canada. Plans for the 1981 Census do

not include a question on the birthplace of parents as a consequence of which it will not be possible to examine the generational changes in the relative positions of immigrants, compared with the second and third-plus generations, which has been the unique contribution of the present study.

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