

CANADIAN DIVERSITÉ CANADIENNE

VOLUME 2:2 SUMMER 2003 ÉTÉ



Canada's Ethnic Question La question ethnique canadienne

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INDEPENDENT PRODUCERS CELEBRATE!



TM Rogers Broadcasting Limited

INDEPENDENT PRODUCERS ON OMNI

Name of Program	Language	Original Time	
Caribbean Vibrations	English	2:30 PM - 3:00 PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.1
Kontakt	Ukrainian	1:00 PM - 2:00 PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.1
Latin Vibes Television	Spanish	4:00 PM - 5:00 PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.1
Leben Multi	Maltese	10:00 AM - 10:30 AM (Saturday)	- OMNI.1
Macedonian Heritage Hour	Macedonian	5:00 PM - 6:00 PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.1
Magyar Kisepek TV	Hungarian	12:30 PM - 1:00 PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.1
Morning Waves	Russian	7:00 AM - 8:00 AM (Sunday)	- OMNI.1
Noi Români	Romanian	12:00 PM - 12:30 PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.1
Paqytja Shqiptare	Albanian	2:00 PM - 2:30 PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.1
Russian Waves	Russian	10:00 PM - 10:30 PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.1
Admas	Amharic (Ethiopian)	2:30 PM - 3:00 PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.2
Afghan Hindara	Pashto/Dari	1:00 PM - 1:30 PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.2
Anamran	Bengali	12:30 PM - 1:00 PM (Sunday)	- OMNI.2
Ariqang Korea	Korean	6:30 PM - 7:00 PM (Sunday)	- OMNI.2
Flip	Filipino-English	12:00 PM - 12:30 PM (Sunday)	- OMNI.2
Front Page Philippines	Tagalog, Visayan	4:00 PM - 4:30 PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.2
Iran Zameen Today and Pasangad Today	Persian	12:00 PM - 1:00 PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.2
Kala Kazaya	Sinhalese	10:30 AM - 11:00 AM (Sunday)	- OMNI.2
Malayala Shabtham	Malayalam	11:00 AM - 11:30 AM (Saturday)	- OMNI.2
Munawa'at Arabic TV	Arabic	1:30 PM - 2:30 PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.2
Muxapofka Soomaalida	Somali	10:00 AM - 10:30 AM (Sunday)	- OMNI.2
Nor Hai Horizon	Armenian	9:00 AM - 10:00 AM (Saturday)	- OMNI.2
Ordes Africaines	French (African)	3:00 PM - 3:30 PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.2
Planet Africa Television	English (African)	3:30 PM - 4:00 PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.2
TV VnH Tien	Vietnamese	11:00 AM - 12:00 PM (Sunday)	- OMNI.2

With the launch of OMNI.2, Rogers Media television set new records in diversity broadcasting. Combined, OMNI.1 (CFMT-TV) and OMNI.2 will provide quality programming to over 50 different communities.

Twenty-five Independent producers were introduced at the OMNI Launch and joined The Hon. Sheila Copps, Minister of Canadian Heritage as she congratulated the OMNI team in numerous languages. Ted Rogers spoke of his 35 years of ongoing commitment to multilingual television in Canada.

Upholding this commitment to cultural diversity, Madeline Ziniak, Vice President and Station Manager, announced the production initiatives totalling \$50 million, of which \$30 million will be specifically dedicated to Independent Production.

Committed to Cultural Diversity!



OMNI

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Canadian Diversity is published by
Diversité canadienne est publié par



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514-987-7784

DISTRIBUTION
Gordon and Gotch Periodicals Inc.
110 Jardin Drive, Unit 11
Concord Ontario L4K 4R4

CITC/ACS STREET ADDRESS / ADRESSE CIVIQUE CITC/AEC
209 St. Catherine E., V-5140, UQAM, Montréal (Que) H3C 3P8
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This edition of "Canadian Diversity" is published in partnership with the Citizenship and Heritage sector of the Department of Canadian Heritage.

Cette édition de « Diversité canadienne » a été produite en collaboration avec le Secteur de la citoyenneté et du patrimoine de Patrimoine canadien.



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Canadian Diversity is a quarterly publication of the Association for Canadian Studies (ACS). It is distributed free of charge to individual and institutional members of the Association. Canadian Diversity is a bilingual publication. All material prepared by the ACS is published in both French and English. All other articles are published in the language in which they are written. Opinions expressed in articles are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the opinion of the ACS. The Association for Canadian Studies is a voluntary non-profit organization. It seeks to expand and disseminate knowledge about Canada through teaching, research and publications. The ACS is a scholarly society and a member of the Humanities and Social Science Federation of Canada. The ACS is also a founding member of the International Council for Canadian Studies.

Diversité canadienne est une publication trimestrielle de l'Association d'études canadiennes (AEC). Il est distribué gratuitement aux membres de l'Association. Diversité canadienne est une publication bilingue. Tous les textes émanant de l'Association sont publiés en français et en anglais. Tous les autres textes sont publiés dans leur langue d'origine. Les collaborateurs et collaboratrices de Diversité canadienne sont entièrement responsables des idées et opinions exprimées dans leurs articles. L'Association d'études canadiennes est un organisme pan-canadien à but non lucratif dont l'objectif est de promouvoir l'enseignement, la recherche et les publications sur le Canada. L'AEC est une société savante, membre de la Fédération canadienne des sciences humaines et sociales. Elle est également membre fondateur du Conseil international d'études canadiennes.

LETTERS/LETTRES

I found the spring issue of Canadian Diversity, which I picked up at the Learned's in Halifax in May, really interesting. The articles are pertinent, professional and very much to the point. They provide wonderful models for students struggling to learn to write at the university level.

Martha Musgrove
University of Ottawa

**Comments on this edition of Canadian Diversity?
We want to hear from you.**

Write to Canadian Diversity – Letters, ACS, a/s UQAM, V-5140, P.O. Box 8888, succ. Centre-ville, Montreal (Quebec) Canada, H3C 3P8. Or e-mail us at <robert.israel@acs-aec.ca> Your letters may be edited for length and clarity.

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Écrivez-nous à Diversité canadienne**

Lettres, AEC, a/s UQAM, V-5140, C.P. 8888, succ. Centre-ville, Montréal (Québec) Canada, H3C 3P8. Ou par courriel au <robert.israel@acs-aec.ca> Vos lettres peuvent être modifiées pour des raisons éditoriales.

The New Data on Ethnic Origin

This special issue of *Canadian Diversity* has been put together to provide a background and stimulus for discussion on the conceptual framework and the development of indicators of ethnicity in Canada. Currently, the most comprehensive and consistent data source for measures of ethnicity is the Census of Population, conducted every five years, which asks a 20% sample of the Canadian population to report on the ethnic origin(s) of their ancestors. In addition, in 2002, a new survey on issues of ethnicity in Canadian society – the Ethnic Diversity Survey – was conducted by Statistics Canada in partnership with the Department of Canadian Heritage. The goal of the survey was to deconstruct issues of ethnic ancestry and identity in order to better understand people’s lived experiences of diversity in Canadian society. The collection of articles brought together here provide context for current applications of research on ethnicity in Canada as well as stimulating discussion about how best to collect data and do applied research using these concepts in the future, given the changing demographic of our country.

The articles selected for this publication have been taken from a symposium on “Ethnic Origin Data from the 2001 Census: Implications for Policy Research”, held in Ottawa on March 28th, 2003. The symposium was organized by the Citizenship and Heritage sector of the Department of Canadian Heritage, which is proud to encourage and facilitate such a discussion on issues of ethnicity and diversity. These are issues which are of importance to all Canadians, as well as being an integral part of the mandate of the Department of Canadian Heritage.

The contributors to this volume come from a wide range of disciplines and backgrounds, but they all share a common interest in researching issues of ethnicity and diversity in Canadian society and have experience with the complex and detailed data on ethnic origin we are privileged to have access to through Canada’s Census of Population. In particular, 2002 and 2003 have been exciting years for researchers as new data is released from first Canadian Census of the millennium, which was carried out on May 15th, 2001. Most significant to the analytic articles in this collection, the 2001 Census is unique in that it provides current data

not only for ethnic origin – using the traditional question about a respondent’s ancestry – but also for the place of birth of each of the respondent’s parents. This combination of available information is precious to those who work in the realm of research, program development and policy-making in Canada, as it allows for timely analysis and comparison of different concepts related to measuring ethnicity – origin and place of birth of parents.

All of the articles make a contribution to the debate around data on ethnicity and diversity in the Canadian context. While the perspectives presented do differ on the utility of ethnic origin data from the Census and the need for measurements and indicators of present day ethnic identity, each article eloquently outlines applications and challenges related to the use of ethnic origin data in diverse fields of study. Disciplines ranging from geography to psychology to demography to health all rely on ethnic origin data as an integral element of their baseline portraits of Canadian society. Questions remain, however, of how best to capture that data, how indicators can be improved to more accurately reflect the diversity and increasing complexity of our population, what data gaps exist that still need to be filled and how that will be done. Our hope is that these articles will provide both the background context and the impetus for a more vigorous and informed discussion on these issues, as we work more with the data from the 2001 Census, await the results of the groundbreaking Ethnic Diversity Survey, and move towards the next Census of Population in 2006. We encourage comments and feedback, both directly to the authors and to the Department of Canadian Heritage.

Eileen Sarkar
Assistant Deputy Minister
Citizenship and Heritage
Department of Canadian Heritage



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The Cultivating Peace project is an initiative of Classroom Connections, a non-profit organization dedicated to supporting public education in Canada.
www.classroomconnections.ca

Ethnic Origin and the Canadian Census: Background and Prospects

Richard Y. Bourhis

Dr. Richard Y. Bourhis is a full professor in the Department of Psychology, Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM) and is UQAM director of the Concordia-UQAM chair in ethnic studies. He has published extensively in English and French on immigration and acculturation, discrimination and intergroup relations, socio-linguistics and language planning. (bourhis.richard@uqam.ca). A version of this paper was presented at a Canadian Heritage symposium entitled: "Ethnic Origin Data from the 2001 Census: Implications for Policy Research" held in Ottawa on March 28, 2003. This paper was made possible thanks to the support of the Citizenship and Heritage branch of Canadian Heritage.

ABSTRACT

As Canadian society changes and evolves, so does the nature of the questions posed by recent censuses. In this essay, the author charts the development of "ethnic origin" and "visible minority" questions in recent Canadian censuses. Because census data are necessary for the development and implementation of public policy, it is important that the information collected be able to map out the ethno-cultural diversity of Canadian society in such a way as to monitor diversity, and so as address, and ultimately even redress, certain inequalities that may result from the increase in immigrant populations.

"Data available in Canada on ethnicity are rich, pertain to a long period of time, and are of high quality – of very high quality when compared internationally" Krotki & Reid (1994, p.17)

Ethnic origin and visible minority questions in the Canadian census

Numerous historical and sociological circumstances help account for the development of "ethnic origin" and "visible minority" questions in the Canadian census. For instance, in the late 1960s, the fifth volume of the *Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism* made it clear that ethnocultural communities other than those of French and British ancestry also contributed greatly to the culture and fabric of Canadian society. Consequently, Canada adopted its Multiculturalism policy in 1971 which was then enshrined as the *Multiculturalism Act* of 1988, the first pluralism law of its kind in the world (Fleras & Elliot, 1992). Key features of the Multiculturalism Act include the following statement:

"The Government of Canada recognises the diversity of Canadians... as a fundamental characteristic of Canadian society and is committed to a policy of multiculturalism designed to preserve and enhance the multicultural heritage of Canadians while working to achieve the equality of all Canadians in the economic, social, cultural and political life of Canada."

While seeking to improve the acceptance of ethnocultural diversity by all Canadians, the law served as a public policy tool for defusing potential intergroup tensions that could arise from the increasingly multiethnic and multilingual composition of the Canadian population (Breton, 1984). Thus, from 1971 onwards it became even more important to maintain the use of the ethnic origin question in the Canadian census. This necessity was enshrined in both the *Multiculturalism Act* and the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. The Multiculturalism Act declared it to be "the policy of the Government of Canada that all federal institutions shall... collect statistical data in order to enable the development of policies, programs and practices that are sensitive and responsive to the multicultural reality of Canada" (section 3.2.d). Furthermore, the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* stated: "The Charter shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians". While mainly addressed to the judiciary, this element of the Charter imposed a duty on the Government of Canada, the sole authority capable of collecting the data, to provide the courts with factual information on the ethnic ancestry of Canadians. Thus, the ethnic origin question became vital as a way of not only respecting the spirit of the Canadian Charter but also of monitoring the very diversity that was the target of the official policy on Multiculturalism.

In their extensive overview, White, Badets and Renaud (1993) provided a detailed analysis of the issues and challenges involved in measuring 'ethnic origin' in the Canadian census from 1767 to 1991. The wording and ethnic labels provided for the ethnic origin question of the Census varied across the decades reflecting not only changes in Canadian immigration policies but also changes in 'myth founding' premises about the desirability of ethnocultural diversity as a basis for nation

building in Canada. For instance, in addition to the examples of cultural groups provided in the ethnic origin question, the 1951 to 1991 Census provided only *one* open-ended option to report respondents' ancestry. However the cumulative effect of the more open immigration policies of the 1970s and the growing rate of exogamy did increase the ethnocultural diversity of the Canadian population. Consequently, the ethnic origin question drafted for the 1996 and 2001 census included four write-in options as a way of more fully describing respondents' ancestry. As can be seen below, as many as twenty-five labels were provided as examples of ethnic ancestry in the ethnic origin question (Q17) of the 2001 census.

*Q17: While most people in Canada view themselves as Canadians, information on their ancestral origins has been collected since the 1901 Census to capture the changing composition of Canada's diverse population. Therefore this question refers to the **origins of the person's ancestors**. To which ethnic or cultural group (s) did this person's ancestors belong?*

Specify as many groups as applicable: For example, Canadian, French, English, Chinese, Italian, German, Scottish, Irish, Cree, Micmac, Métis, Inuit (Eskimo), East Indian, Ukrainian, Dutch, Polish, Portuguese, Filipino, Jewish, Greek, Jamaican, Vietnamese, Lebanese, Chilean, Somali, etc. (four blank spaces are provided for write-in responses)

Though more complex to analyse, the 1996 and 2001 ethnic ancestry question had the advantage of more accurately reflecting the multiethnic background of Canadian citizens. Multiple responses to the ethnic origin item allowed cultural communities, policy makers and scholars to monitor the degree of 'ethnic mixing' and exogamy that was emerging in the Canadian population. The option of indicating more than one ethnic origin was also concordant with social psychological research showing that most individuals have multiple group identities (Nagel, 1994). Belonging to more than one cultural/ethnic ancestry has been shown to break down simplistic "us/them" categorisations within multicultural environments (Capozza & Brown, 2000). The criss-crossing category memberships which characterises multiple group memberships is related to more positive intergroup contacts and the reduction of prejudicial attitudes and discriminatory behaviours (Bourhis & Gagnon, 1994; Brewer & Gaertner, 2001).

Symbolically, inclusion of the ethnic origin question within the census also served to enshrine the status and importance of ethnocultural communities as full-fledged members of Canadian society. Documenting the vitality of cultural communities through census data on ethnic origin also enshrined the potential role of such minorities in re-defining and transforming the content of Canadian national identity. Thus the ethnic origin question provided demographic data which could be used to document the emerging founding myth of an officially multicultural Canada, qualitatively "distinct" from the assimilationist "melting pot" policy adopted by the neighbours south of the border (Berry, 2001; Bourhis et al., 1997).

An early critique of the multiculturalism model was levied by Quebec nationalists who asserted that the policy

demoted French Canadians to the status of any other ethnocultural minority of recent immigrant background (Rocher, 1973). Quebec nationalists depicted the Multiculturalism policy as another example of how Anglo-Canada refused to recognise French Canadians on an equal footing with the English of Canada. The Multiculturalism policy asserted that in Canada "*although there are two official languages, there is no official culture, nor does any ethnic group take precedence over any other*". Indeed the adoption of the Multiculturalism Policy announced the political demise of the concept of Canada's "two founding people" (Bourhis, 1994).

Not surprisingly, another critique of the Multiculturalism Policy emerged from the more traditional Anglo-British sectors of Canadian society whose status as a "founding people" was also challenged by the Multiculturalism policy (Driedger, 1996). The Multiculturalism policy represented a shift from the long established anglo-conformity policy of assimilation towards the British cultural symbols of the nine English majority provinces of Canada (Fleras & Elliot, 1992). It challenged the dominance of anglo-conformity reified as the common super-ordinate "Canadian identity" shared by all Canadians regardless of ethnic, linguistic or religious background (Breton, 1988). Without a common unifying core defining what is a "Canadian", how could immigrants and ethnocultural communities develop a sense of "belonging" and "loyalty" to their new country of settlement? By officially recognising the distinctiveness of all ethnic communities, the Multiculturalism policy was seen by many 'old stock' English Canadians as fundamentally divisive for Canadian identity (Bibby, 1990).

The ethnic origin question of the 1991 census was criticized by 'old stock' English-Canadians for excluding from its broad range of examples the very label most likely to unite all citizens: "Canadian". Right up to census day on June 4th 1991, the *Toronto Sun* ran a "Count-Me-Canadian" campaign which urged citizens to state "Canadian" as a response to the ethnic origin question of the census (Boyd, 1999). Results of the 1991 census showed that as many as 4% of respondents spontaneously indicated "Canadian" as their ancestry on the ethnic origin question. Boyd (1996) referred to this "Canadian" origin result as a "*dormant response waiting to be invoked*", especially for British ancestry respondents characterised by centuries of residency in Canada. In addition to crediting the "Count-Me-Canadian" campaign for the 1991 census results, Boyd (1999) proposed that "*Increasing levels of immigration, changed source countries, and the strengthening of neo-liberal ideologies may have set the stage for an upsurge in "Canadian" responses, particularly in certain geographical areas*" (p 7). Thus, Anglo-British ambivalence towards two decades of Government sponsored changes in both immigration and integration (Multiculturalism) policies had some impact on ethnic origin responses in the 1991 Census.

Given the popularity of the 'Canadian' label provided by Anglo-British respondents in the 1991 census, Statistics Canada included the 'Canadian' label as the fifth example for the ethnic origin question in the 1996 Census. To this day, the order of ethnic ancestry examples provided on the ethnic origin question is based on the most frequently

reported ethnic origins obtained in the previous census. Following the high rate of endorsement of the 'Canadian' label obtained in the 1996 census (38%), 'Canadian' was provided as the first example of the ethnic origin question in the 2001 census ('Canadian' in the English language census; 'Canadien' in the French language census).

With a less restrictive immigration policy adopted from the early 1970s onwards, the increasing presence of visible minorities made the issue of racism and discrimination more salient in Canada. By the mid 1990s, concerned Government departments, NGOs and visible minorities themselves felt that the ethnic origin question was no longer sufficient to properly track the presence of visible minorities in Canadian society, let alone provide the necessary baseline data needed to monitor patterns of inequality in employment, housing and the justice system. Consequently, the 1996 and 2001 Canadian Census added a new "visible minority" question which was presented with the following preamble inviting respondents to choose one or more pre-coded labels which best represented their category membership and/or add a category membership of their choice in the single blank space provided:

Q19: This information is collected to support programs that promote equal opportunity for everyone to share in the social, cultural and economic life of Canada.

In this person: Mark "X" more than once or specify, if applicable: White, Chinese, South Asian (e.g. East Indian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, etc), Black, Filipino, Latin American, Southeast Asian (e.g. Cambodian, Indonesian, Laotian, Vietnamese, etc.), Arab, West Asian (e.g. Afghan, Iranian, etc.), Japanese, Korean, Other-Specify (one blank space is provided).

For many concerned citizens, the visible minority question in the 1996 and 2001 census empowered visible minorities with the baseline data needed to document patterns of inequality and discrimination in Canadian society (Fleras & Elliot, 1999). While the "ethnic origin" question (Q17) documented the ethnic ancestry of Canadians, the "visible minority" question (Q19) provided respondents with the opportunity to categorize themselves as having a background which did not necessarily coincide with the details of their ethnic origin. Though the Canadian parliament insisted in keeping both questions in the 2001 census, some scientific civil servants in Statistics Canada preferred to drop the ethnic origin question (Q17) altogether. In contrast, scientific civil servants in the Department of Canadian Heritage preferred the ethnic origin question (Q17) because it referred to ethnic ancestry rather than to the less acceptable pre-coded "racial categories" contained in the "visible minority" question (Q19). Furthermore, Canadian Heritage did not feel that Q19 was an adequate replacement of Q17 because the "visible minority" question made it impossible to track 3rd generation Whites of various ethnic ancestries (e.g. Italian, Greek, German, Jewish, Polish, Ukrainian, Lebanese, Chilean).

Thus both the "ethnic origin" and "visible minority" questions were complementary not only describing the multiethnic complexity of the Canadian population but also in setting the baseline data needed for establishing "employment equity programs" and anti-discrimination measures

in housing, education, the police and the judiciary (Fleras & Elliott, 1999). Visible minorities, NGOs, and public policy makers could use this combined census data as evidence justifying measures to redress inequities based on ethnic and national origin (CHRC, 1997; CDPDJ, 1998). Census data on "ethnic origin" and "visible minority" background was also used to fine tune integration policies while providing up-to-date portraits of ethnic diversity in Canada. Given the availability of extensive census data on ethnic diversity, racist ideologues were hard-put to falsify or misrepresent basic demographic information concerning the ethnic and linguistic composition of the Canadian population.

Some changes in the ethnic composition of Canada

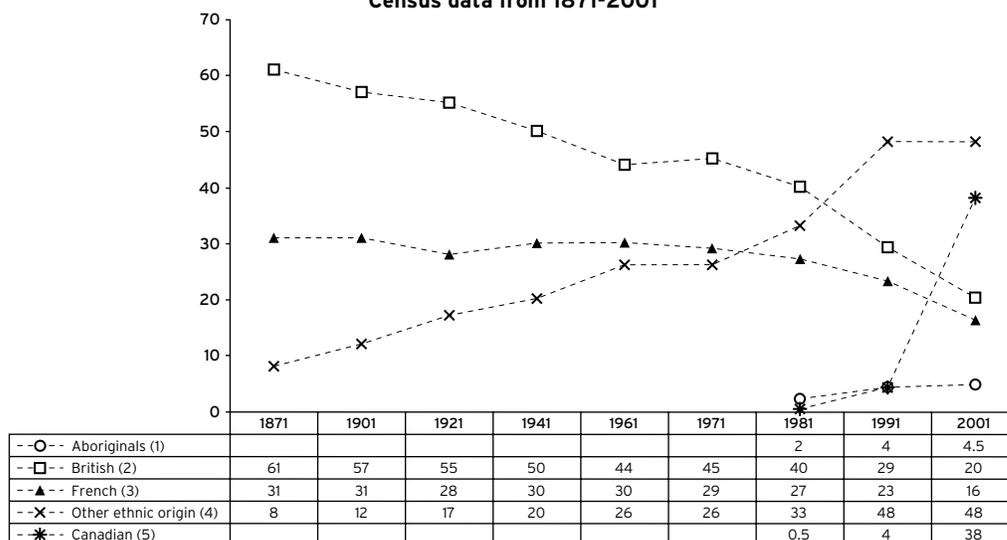
Census data gathered from the 19th century to the present provides an interesting portrait of changes which occurred in the ethnic composition of the Canadian population. Though not without its problems, Figure 1 summarises ethnic origin data obtained in the Canadian census from 1871 to 2001 expressed in percentage scores. Note that the proportion of Canadians who declared British as one of their ethnic ancestries declined from 61% in 1871 to 29% in 1991 and then to 20% in the 2001 census. The percentage of the population who reported they had French ancestry dropped from 31% in 1871 to 23% in 1991 and then to 16% in 2001. The drop in the proportion of respondents who declared either British or French ancestry between 1991 and 2001 was mainly due to the fact that close to eleven million respondents (38%) reported "Canadian" or "Canadien" as one of their ethnic ancestries in the 2001 census. The percentage of citizens who declared at least one ethnic origin other than British or French rose from only 8% in 1871 to as many as 48% in 2001 census (combining single and multiple origin responses). Finally it is noteworthy that the proportion of citizens who declared Aboriginal as a single or multiple origin rose from 2% of the population in 1981 to as many as 4.5% of the population in the 2001 census.

The increase in ethnic diversity obtained from the 1971 census onwards reflects the changes in immigration policy which until the late 1960s had favoured mainly white immigrants from Northern Europe (Knowles, 1997). As can be seen in Figure 1, Canada as a whole became a country with no ethnically defined "majority" by the 1991 and 2001 census. The multiethnic composition of the Canadian population was most evident in the 2001 census with over fourteen million people (48%) reporting dual or multiple ethnic origins as their ancestral background.

Though Canada prides itself as a country of immigrants, it was also clear that the label "Canadian" was becoming more popular as an ethnic origin response by the 1991 census. While 4% of the population spontaneously reported "Canadian" as a single or multiple ancestry response in the 1991 census when this label was not included as an example in the ethnic origin question, as many as 38% of the population reported this label in the 2001 census when "Canadian" was included as the first example in the ethnic origin question.

In their analysis of the 1996 census, Boyd & Norris (2001) showed that of those who reported "Canadian" as a single or multiple response to the ethnic origin question in the 1996 census, 38% were from Quebec, 31% from

Figure 1. Ethnic origin as a percentage (%) of the Canadian population: Census data from 1871-2001



* Given that many respondents reported multiple ethnic ancestries the total percentage is greater than 100%. Labels used to define 'ethnic origin' have varied during the last century. The ethnic origin definitions reflect more recent developments in the census including multiple ethnic ancestry.
 (1) reported Aboriginal origins; (2) British only response and mixed British and French origin/ancestry; (3) French only and mixed French and British origin/ancestry;
 (4) All other ethnic ancestry including mixed with British and French ancestry; (5) Canadian only response and Canadian mixed with British, French and other ancestry.

Ontario and 9% were from British Columbia while the frequency of this response in the other provinces ranged from only 4% to less than 1%. Most significantly, it was “old stock” Canadians whose ancestry was British or French who were most likely to adopt “Canadian” as one of their ethnic origin response in the 1996 census. In contrast, only 1% of first generation immigrants and 2% of “visible minority” respondents reported “Canadian” as one of their ethnic origins. Of the respondents who chose “Canadian” as one of their ethnic ancestry in 1996, 48% reported English as a mother tongue, thus providing evidence that the label “Canadian” still carries an ‘old stock’ Anglo-British identity as one of its value connotation. The label “Canadien” provided in the French version of the census also carries an ‘old stock’ French Canadian connotation as is evident from the fact that as many as 52% of respondents who used this label as one of their ancestral background also reported French as their mother tongue (Boyd, 1999). Thus, British and French origin respondents who could trace their ancestry in Canada for many generations may be those who felt most comfortable in reporting the label “Canadian” or “Canadien” as their ethnic background. From a pan-Canadian nation building perspective, some politicians and policy makers are hopeful that a growing proportion of both old stock and new generation Canadian citizens will adopt “Canadian” or “Canadien” as one of their ethnic origin labels in the next census.

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Questioning Ethnicity: Q and A on Ethnic Identity and the Census of Canada

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ABSTRACT

Ethnic identity has been the object of much scrutiny from academics and policy-makers in Canada during the 1990's. The study of ethnic origin continues to be the object of criticism from those who do not feel it is salient and therefore urge governments not to inquire into it and those who believe that when relevant ethnic attachment represents a threat to Canadian identity and thus government should discourage such sentiment. This paradox is reflected in the ongoing debate over whether Statistics Canada should include a census question on ethnic origins. Empirical evidence reveals that ethnicity is relevant to many Canadians. The debate is a microcosm of sorts for broader discussions over the current direction of Canada's multicultural policy and how it addresses ethnicity. In that which follows a series of replies are offered to the most often heard criticisms directed at ethnic identification and inquiry into the phenomenon.

Question: Is ethnic identification relevant to Canadians?

Answer: In surveys, a majority of Canadians have repeatedly acknowledged that they value Canada's diversity and its multicultural policies. A 2001 CROP-Environics survey amongst youth in Quebec and the rest of Canada confirmed that a majority regard ethnicity as important to their personal sense of identity and believe that it will remain important in Canadian society in the future. Yet another survey conducted by Environics in 2003 reveals that following language, ancestry and ethnic origin are the next most important markers of Canadian's identity. Indeed amongst Canada's English language population, ancestry and ethnic origin were the most widely given reply to the question on identity markers ahead of language, gender, religion, social class and political orientation.

Question: As a socially constructed expression of identity does ethnic identification not lead to an artificial sense of community?

Answer: Community formation along ethnic lines is by no means uncommon and indeed ethnic identification has been and continues to be an important dimension of such organization and generally of civil society. Clearly not all persons who identify themselves in the Census on the basis of ethnicity are involved in communal activity. This is also true for other identity-based questions on the Census, whether they pertain to religion, visible minority status or language.

Question : Est-ce que le sentiment d'appartenance ethnique empêche l'intégration à l'intérieur du Canada ?

Réponse : D'après un sondage d'Angus Reid, 95 % des Canadiens affirment que l'on peut être fier d'être Canadien tout en étant fier de ses racines. Plus encore, en ce qui a trait aux symboles nationaux (par exemple le drapeau et l'hymne national), ces gens, qui s'identifient à l'intérieur des communautés ethniques, ont un niveau d'appartenance plus élevé que la moyenne pour ce qui est de l'identité canadienne. Cette notion soulève davantage de questions sur ce que l'on entend par intégration et comment l'identité ethnique est impliquée à travers cela. En effet, la question du recensement sur l'origine ethnique peut élargir notre compréhension des processus d'intégration économique, linguistique et sociale.

Question : Est-ce que les questions de recensement sur l'origine ethnique renforcent les différences entre les Canadiens en mettant l'emphase sur ce qui nous sépare plutôt que sur ce qui nous unit, causant ainsi une menace de cohésion ?

Réponse : Dans les sociétés démographiques, les citoyens possèdent de multiples identités et appartenances. Très souvent, l'échec de reconnaître de telles différences et de s'en accommoder lorsque nécessaire est nuisible à la cohésion. Mettre l'emphase sur les éléments qui nous unifient en tant que citoyens ne nécessite pas que nous rejetions les différences de nos origines et antécédents.

Question: Do ethnic leaders pressure people into defining themselves along ethnic lines?

Answer: People are under no pressure to define themselves ethnically or participate in ethnic community activity. On the other hand, those who desire to identify themselves with an ethnic community should also not face stigmatization or accusations of being 'Uncanadian'.

Question: Does emphasizing ethnic origin as a basic principle for shaping society result in ghettoization and, ultimately, in dangerous balkanization?

Answer: Ethnic origin is not the guiding principle for shaping Canadian society and Canadian identity. However it is a part of that identity as are language, regional attachments, gender, religion, etc. There is residential concentration of certain communities, notably those who are more recently arrived, and very often such organization is helpful to the adaptation process. The information on ethnicity in the Census is very useful in assessing these patterns and in evaluating their impact.

Question: Why can't we be as patriotic as Americans, for whom ethnic origins are irrelevant?

Answer: The American Census asks questions about ethnic origin and in 1990 only 7.3% of respondents reported that they were of 'American' origin, some 16 points less than the 23% that reported Canadian in the Canadian census.

Question: Can't other census questions give us all the information required to address issues of diversity?

Answer: Indeed there are other questions on the Census that address a variety of issues that are relevant to our origins. They include data on visible minorities, place of birth, languages, religion, etc. However these very essential questions do not on their own address all the issues that may arise from Canada's diversity.

Question: N'est-il pas vrai que plus les gens répondent « Canadiens » à la question de recensement sur l'origine ethnique, plus le sens de la citoyenneté se voit approfondi, contribuant ainsi à une unité canadienne plus forte ?

Réponse : Cette déclaration présume que le déracinement contribue à un sentiment d'appartenance plus fort pour le pays. Au Canada, il y a des personnes qui vivent ici depuis plusieurs générations et pour qui l'appartenance au pays a en fait diminué à travers le temps. Toutefois, il existe des Canadiens qui sont arrivés récemment et qui ont un sentiment d'appartenance très fort pour le Canada. La généralisation dans ce domaine est très problématique.

Question : Pourquoi ces « groupe ethniques » ne peuvent-ils pas être des Canadiens, comme nous ?

Réponse : Ils sont Canadiens. Il existe plusieurs façons d'être Canadien. Une importante question qui découle de cela se pose : quelle est la définition de « Canadien » aux yeux de ceux qui font de telles déclarations ? Cela implique-t-il de renier ses origines ? Plus le lien est fort entre l'identité nationale et ethnique, plus on risque

d'obtenir le résultat opposé en polarisant ceux qui se disent Canadiens et les « autres ».

Question: Because declaring ethnic origins is a form of self-identification the information is less reliable.

Answer: The notion that ethnicity is a function of self-identification with true or imagined communities neglects that, to varying degrees, all group identities require some form of recognition.

Question: This information on ethnicity has no bearing on those matters in the public sector and therefore the state should not be involved in something that rests in the private domain. In short, the information can and should be collected by the groups themselves.

Answer: The information collected is valuable in many areas of the lives of Canadians, from employment and health to education and immigration. Few communities have the resources to collect such information. In recognition of this the Canadian Multiculturalism Act declares it to be the policy of the Government of Canada that all federal institutions shall collect statistical data in order to enable the development of policies, programs and practices that are sensitive and responsive to the multicultural reality of Canada.

Question: Researchers can no longer use the data on ethnicity due to continued changes in the formulation of the question, the increased number of multiple declarations and the growing number of persons who identify themselves as ethnically Canadian.

Answer: Measuring identity is complex and examining the impact of ethnic attachments presents several challenges. While it is harder to compare results

from one Census to the next, other identity-based questions on the Census have also been modified to adapt to changing realities. Still research on ethnic ancestry and identity is socially relevant and when employed in conjunction with other identity markers via the census or opinion surveys, it can yield valuable information to policy makers. The results have been modified somewhat by several factors, including changes to the question, the confusion of some as to how to answer and the growing number of respondents who answer 'Canadian'. Despite the increase in 'Canadian' responses to the ethnic origin question, persons of backgrounds other than British or French have not given this answer to a substantial degree rendering comparisons feasible. As in other areas of the Census, the data needs to be used and interpreted with the appropriate cautions.

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Overview of the Relationship between Country of Birth of Parents and Ethnic Origins as Reported in the 2001 Census of Canada

John Kraft

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ABSTRACT

This paper is an abridged version of a report commissioned by the Department of Canadian Heritage. The terms of reference for the paper required the author to examine the usefulness of ethnic origin data from the Canadian Census as compared to country of birth data and other alternative data sources and to provide an indication of the policy ramifications for the Department should other data sources replace the traditional ethnic origin Census question. Data used in this report are drawn from custom data tabulations prepared for the Department of Canadian Heritage from the 2001 and 1996 Censuses. Opinions expressed herein are solely those of the author and do not in any way represent the views of the Department of Canadian Heritage.

Introduction¹

According to the 2001 Census, two in five Canadian residents aged 15 and over are either born outside Canada themselves, or have one or both parents born outside Canada. It is therefore not surprising that there is considerable interest, both among the general public and among those responsible for public policy, in this *immigrant* component of the population.

This report focuses on *Ethnic Origin* and its relationship to *Country of Birth of Parents* and the potential usefulness of the latter to replace the former. *Ethnic origin*, and its predecessor, *race* or *racial origin*, has been asked in some form or other in every census since 1871. Up to and including the 1971 census, only one *racial origin* or *ethnic origin* was to be reported and retained in the data. In response to a need for data on *Métis* (an impossible origin using 1971 criteria) and to remove some of the known inconsistencies in the data, more than one ethnic origin (multiple

responses) was allowed in 1981, a practice continued in subsequent censuses.² Information on the *country of birth of parents* has only been collected in the 1971 (was each parent born inside or outside Canada) and in 2001 (specific countries of birth of each parent for the population aged 15 and over).

The criticism of the ethnic/racial origins data collected by Census has intensified in the past 20 years. The introduction of multiple responses has made the data difficult to analyse for many users, in part because of the large number of potential combinations of origins. During recent collection phases of the census, these data have been systematically attacked in some of the mass media on the basis that we are all *Canadians* and that asking for the origins of Canadians is discriminatory and irrelevant. Since the introduction of self-enumeration in the 1971 Census, there has been a steady increase in the number of persons reporting *Canadian* as an ethnic origin. What to do with these *Canadian* responses has been an ongoing problem for many users, especially those who focus on single responses. As a result, it has been suggested that *country of birth of parents* (the country of birth of parents according to current boundaries) would be a good replacement as it is objective and not subject to misinterpretation.

Overview of the Findings

The one third increase in the reporting of *Canadian* between the 1996 and 2001 censuses would be very significant if multiple responses were not allowed. However, the impact of *Canadian* on the total number of times specific ethnic origins *Other than English and French* have been reported has been minor, or non-existent. Only *English* (12.5%) and *French* (-28.2%) showed large percentage and numeric decreases between 1996 and 2001. (The other major change in numbers was a 2.4% decrease (104 thousand) for *Scottish*). It is argued here that the overall numbers reporting specific origins *Other than English and French* in 2001 are quite consistent with those collected in 1996. It is clear that the increase in *Canadian* has been at the expense of *English* and *French*, not at the expense of the *Other* origins.

Of the 23.9 million persons in Canada aged 15 and over, 6 in 10 (14.7 million) reported that they and both their parents were born in Canada. Among those aged less than 55, two thirds reported that they and both their parents were born here compared to only half of those aged 55 and over. Of the remaining 9.2 million Canadians, 5.3 million, nearly 2 in 3, were themselves immigrants. Of the 3.9 million born in Canada, 2.0 million had both parents born outside Canada and another 1.9 million had one parent born in Canada and the second parent born outside Canada. If the respondent has one or both parents

born outside of Canada, three in five of those aged 25 and over were immigrants themselves, a figure considerably higher than the two in five among those aged 15-24.

The country of birth of parents were only collected for the population aged 15 and over. Historically, approximately 3 in 10 of all immigrants in Canada in the census came here as children under the age of 15. Therefore, among children currently aged <15, a number also immigrated to Canada. It is argued here that among immigrants there are two different streams in the *country of birth of parents* data:

a. - persons *who were born outside Canada and who themselves immigrated to Canada*: these persons almost by definition have both parents born outside Canada. These persons are divided between those who immigrated to Canada as adults (it seems reasonable to assume that for most, although not all, their parents did not immigrate to Canada) and those who immigrated to Canada as children under the age of 15 (it seems plausible to assume that the vast majority of these persons accompanied their immigrant parents).

b. - persons *who were born in Canada who have one or both parents as immigrants*: these persons have parents who live in Canada and whose parent(s) could have immigrated to Canada either as children or as adults.

In the data available from the 2001 Census, it is not known if the parents immigrated to Canada. If the parents immigrated, it is known at what age the parents immigrated to Canada.

Ignoring for the moment the impact of not having cultural origins for data for 60% of the population, the use of *Country of Birth of Parents* data as a proxy for cultural affinity and as a replacement for ethnic origin depends in part on the extent to which the same country of birth is reported for parents.

It seems reasonable to assume that the impact of the culture of the *home country* (country of birth of the parents) would be stronger for those who came here as adults than for those who came here as children, ties to the *home country* are stronger for those who are the children of adult immigrants than for those who are the children of children, the ties to the *home country* are least strong when the parents are born in different countries or in Canada.

Not all origins would be equally affected by the loss of the ethnic data. For example, while much of the data for most of the Western European origins would disappear, the data for much of the rest of the globe would be retained. In examining specific countries of birth of parents for persons aged 15 and over, 4 in 5 reported the same country of birth for both parents and the remainder reported different countries. Nearly 9 in 10 persons with a Canadian born parent had both parents born here. This is not the case for persons with parents born outside Canada

During recent collection phases of the census, these data have been systematically attacked in some of the mass media on the basis that we are all Canadians and that asking for the origins of Canadians is discriminatory and irrelevant.

as only 2 in three reported both parents as being born in the same country, although the extent to which parents were born in the same country varies greatly from country to country. The extent to which the ethnic origin reported was associated with the country of birth of one or both parents, e.g. persons reporting *Greek* and country of birth of parent(s) *Greece*, showed considerable variation for different countries of birth. For Western European countries, the rate of association was very low while it was high for virtually all other countries.

Alternative Data Sources: Aboriginal Identity, Visible Minority, Religion

The 1996 and 2001 Censuses also had questions on the visible minority status, aboriginal identity and religion. It could be argued that these data could be alternative data sources for these three populations. However, persons who reported an *Aboriginal Identity* did not necessarily report an *Aboriginal Origin* and persons reporting an *Aboriginal Origin* did not necessarily report *Aboriginal Identity*. If the ethnic origin data were to be eliminated, the census could only identify two thirds of the *Total Reported Aboriginal Population*. Similarly, there is not a 1:1 correlation between a person reporting an ethnic origin and that same person reporting that ethnic origin as a visible minority. In fact, only half of those who reported *Latin American Origins* reported *Latin American Visible Minority Status* compared to 9 in 10 for *Filipino* and *Korean*. It is possible to get some indication of the Jewish population from a religion question (if such a question is included in the Census) although 15.5% of combined Jewish population only reported *Jewish* as an ethnic origin.

Policy and Data Implications for the Department of Canadian Heritage

There are two major areas for the Department of Canadian Heritage and its programs that would be adversely affected:

- 1) the absence of any data on many of the cultural and ethnic groups with which the department has been dealing with on an ongoing basis;
- 2) the perception of *who is a Canadian*, *Canadian Identity* or *the sense of belonging to Canada*, ideals promoted by the department as part of its mandate.

Absence of Data

If the country of birth of parents were to be used to replace the ethnic origins data, it would mean that for many of the ethnic and cultural groups of interest to the department, there would be little or no data. In essence, there would be little data for most groups with origins in Western Europe, including Jewish. However, the impact for Canadian Heritage would probably be most significant in the total absence of *Aboriginal/North American Indian/Métis* and *Inuit* ethnic origins data. The Department of Canadian Heritage deals with all Aboriginal persons, not just with those who identify as such, or who are registered, or are band members. The aboriginal ethnic data and aboriginal identity data combined provide a better data-set to assess the socioeconomic conditions

of aboriginal persons in Canada than only the aboriginal identity data.

Impact on Perception of Who Is a Canadian

The way in which the Census categorizes cultural data has a major impact on how Canadians see themselves. Up to and including the 1971 Census, Canadians were either *only British* or *only French* or *only Other*, i.e. *Neither British nor French*. Since 1981, Canadians have been designated as *British and/or French and/or Other* with *Other* being divided between *Aboriginal* and *non-Aboriginal*. In 1996 and 2001, the addition of visible minority data means that *Other* is now divided between *Aboriginal* and *Non Aboriginal* and *Visible Minority* and *Non Visible Minority*. By some quirk of statistical logic, the instructions and the question flow on the Census questionnaire do not allow an individual to report both a *Visible Minority* and *Aboriginal Identity*.

By only using *country of birth of parents* data, official Canada would effectively be sending a message to newer arrivals and their children that no matter what they do, they are not really *Canadians* as the government distinguishes between immigrants and their children and all other Canadians. It is argued here that the immigrant or the child of an immigrant is thereby seen as being somewhat less *Canadian*, has less of a right to be in this country than a person who is born here of parents who were born here. Being *immigrant* implies that the Canadian government gave the foreigner or the foreigner's parent permission to take up permanent residence in Canada, gave the immigrant or the immigrant's child permission to become citizens of Canada. At the same time, unlike virtually all children of parents born in Canada, the Canadian government can deport the immigrant under a number of circumstances, and can remove that citizenship or immigration status for the immigrant and even the immigrant's child if the immigrant was not totally forthcoming in his/her immigration or citizenship application.³

By eliminating the ethnic data, there would be no effective *official recognition* that all Canadians or their ancestors, with the exception 1.4 million Aboriginal Canadians, were immigrants at some time in the not too distant past. In the rationale for collecting the 1921 racial origin data, the statisticians of the day wrote:

"The significant fact in the present connection is this. The combined biological and cultural effect on Canada of the infiltration of a group of English is clearly different than that produced by an equal number of, say, Ukrainians coming to the country. This is partly due to the different biological strains and partly due to different cultural environment in the home country. It would be futile from a practical point of view to attempt to separate the biological and the cultural influence. It is known, for example, that biologically the Orientals are not assimilable in Canada, even if culturally assimilation were possible."

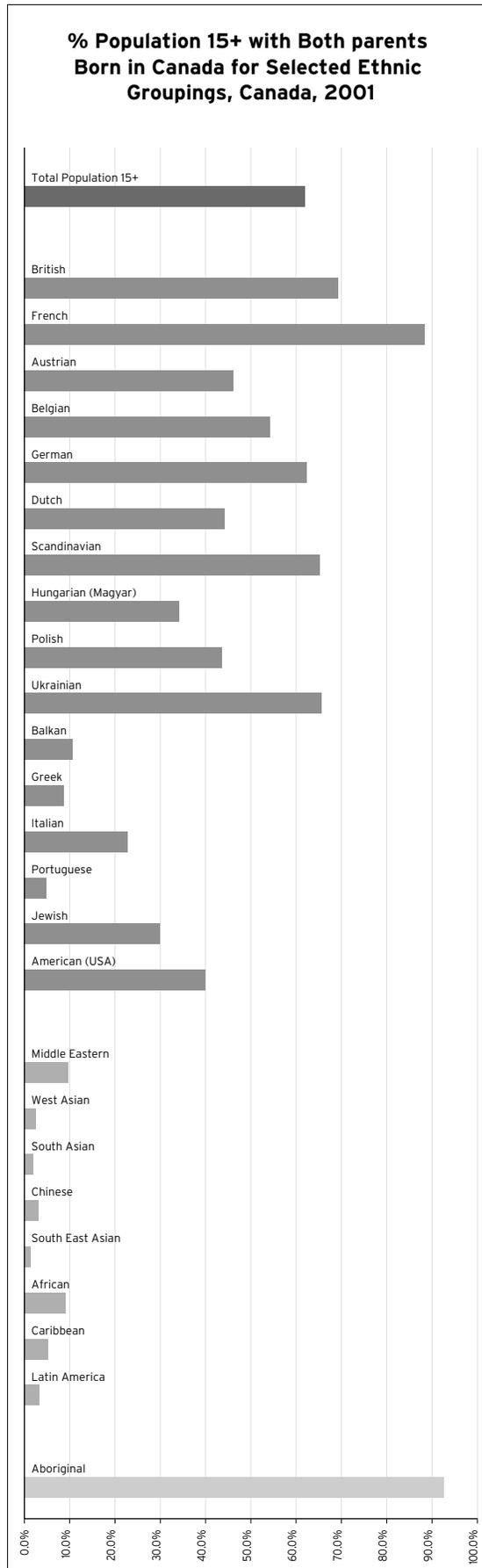
Similar sentiments were contained in the 1931 and 1941 reports on ethnic/racial origins.⁴ While such blatantly *English/French* ethnocentric statements are now totally

unacceptable in the public forum, it is argued here that much of the discussion surrounding the questions of who are *Canadian ethnics* and who are *immigrants* and *second generation immigrants* has many of the same ethnocentric overtones.

The chart, based on ethnic origins, shows the extent to which persons with specified ethnic origins aged 15 and over reported that both parents were born in Canada. From the chart, it is clear that there would be a major change in the European component of the population. Origins such as *Scandinavian*, *German*, etc. would effectively disappear while many others such as *Dutch* and *Belgian* would decrease drastically. The effective result is that persons whose parents were born in Western European countries would probably be reduced to small minorities in the next couple of decades as the immigrants and their children who came in the immediate post World War II war immigration die. European origins, with the exception of *Ukrainian*, would be reduced to those deemed as less desirable in the 1929 report. Given the extremely low percentages of persons aged 15 and over whose parents are both born in Canada among third world origins, these origins are and will continue to be considered as immigrant for the next 50-100 years, as many of the immigrants with these origins are currently children or came here at a young age.⁵

References

1. This paper is an abridged version of a report commissioned by the Department of Canadian Heritage. The terms of reference for the paper required the author to examine the usefulness of ethnic origin data from the Canadian Census as compared to country of birth data and other alternative data sources and to provide an indication of the policy ramifications for the Department should other data sources replace the traditional ethnic origin Census question. Data used in this report are drawn from custom data tabulations prepared for the Department of Canadian Heritage from the 2001 and 1996 Censuses. Opinions expressed herein are solely those of the author and do not in any way represent the views of the Department of Canadian Heritage.
2. For a more detailed description of the rationale for the changes between 1971 and 1981 and later years, see Kralt, John *Ethnic Origin in the Canadian Census, 1871-1981* in R..W. Petryshyn (ed): *Changing Realities: Social Trends Among Ukrainian Canadians* Edmonton :The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1980 pp. 18-49 and John Kralt *Ethnic Origin in the Canadian Census, 1871-1986* in Frank Trovalto, Shiva Halli and Leo Driedger (ed) *Ethnic Demography: Canadian Immigrant, Racial and Cultural Variations*, Ottawa: Carleton University Press 1990 pp.13-29.
3. Even minors born in Canada and who are Canadian citizens by birth can effectively be deported if their parents are deported.
4. Quoted in Kralt, John, 1980 p.22-23
5. Historically, approximately 30% of all immigrants came here aged less than 15. Almost by definition, the parents of these children immigrants and the children immigrants were born outside Canada. If it is assumed that the life span of a person is 80 years and if there is an average of 25 years between generations, then the children of these children immigrants who have immigrated in the past 10 years would still be reporting themselves as born of immigrant parents a century from now.



Ethnicity, Health and the Census: Moving Beyond "Culture-by-Proxy"

Joanna Anneke Rummens

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ABSTRACT

The percentage of the current foreign-born Canadian population is at its highest in 70 years. Censuses can help us determine such statistical information. The data they yield can also be analysed with an eye toward identifying the complex interplay between ethnicity, culture and health in such a way as to make our health care system equitable, efficient, and accessible to all Canadians. The author proposes a series of steps to help us obtain meaningful data about the cultural diversity of Canadian citizens, which in turn can help us better serve the ethno-culturally complex makeup of our society.

During the past four decades Canada has undergone a fundamental socio-demographic shift due in large part to changing immigration trends. 2.2 million immigrants and refugees arrived in Canada between 1991-2000, the highest number for any decade since the beginning of the century and close to double the 1.3 million figure for the 1980s (Statistics Canada, 2003: 6). As a result 18.4% of the current Canadian population is foreign-born, representing close to 5.4 million people, the highest level in 70 years (Statistics Canada, 2003: 5). There has also been a major change in primary source countries. Prior to 1961, European-borns made up 90% of all immigrants coming to Canada (Badets 1989); in contrast, the 2001 Census indicates that 58% of the immigrants who arrived during the past decade came from Asia (including the Middle East), 20% from Europe, 11% from the Caribbean, Central and South America, 8% from Africa and 3% from the United States (Statistics Canada, 2003: 6). In addition to enriching the cultural fabric of Canadian society, this shift has contributed to a concomitant increase in the proportion of visible minorities within the overall population with close to 4 million individuals (representing 13.4% of the population) identifying themselves as such in the 2001 Census, up from 3.2 million (11.2%) in 1996 and 1.1 million (4.7%) in 1981 (Statistics Canada, 2003: 10). It is further reflected in the growth in Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism within a predominantly Christian population (Statistics Canada, May 13 2003 Census Release).

Ethnicity and Health

Research into the connections and interplay between ethnicity, culture and health is of growing strategic importance for societies as ethno-culturally diverse as Canada. If our health care system is to equitably, effectively and economically serve all Canadians, it is essential that we be able to accurately identify variations in health status, behaviour and outcomes across salient sub-populations. This knowledge greatly facilitates the development of health initiatives most responsive to actual needs. It is also critical to the identification of socio-cultural barriers to health care services which otherwise remain hidden behind an erroneous assumption that equal *availability* of health care services necessarily translates into *equal access to* or *usage of* available resources. This is significant because obstacles to needed care can in-and-of-themselves constitute a major health risk factor in certain vulnerable populations. It is also fundamental to ensuring that the specific health care needs of marginalized sectors of the client population are fully met. Greater awareness of differences in cultural knowledge, beliefs, values and practices as they relate to health in turn helps to minimize the risk of underutilization of essential services among culturally distinct or 'racially' disadvantaged groups and has direct implications for effective client care. Culturally sensitive, responsive and competent health care service delivery is particularly important for newcomer immigrants and refugees, established ethnic populations, as well as for aboriginal peoples, and simultaneously underwrites increased choice in health promotion and care intervention for all Canadians.

The trend towards a society ever more ethnically complex underscores the pressing need to better understand the various intersections between culture and health, and acutely heightens the demand for accurate and valid data upon which to base health policy, programming and health service decisions. Ironically, despite Canada's tremendous diversity, research into specific cultural factors which impact individual and population health is surprisingly limited. The key

stumbling block is the scientifically valid identification of culturally and/or 'racially' distinct sub-groups existent within the Canadian population. This then readily translates into a relative lack of meaningful, comparable data regarding the impact of variations in culturally-based lifeways within the general population – and concomitant interplay with social factors – on health outcomes. Yet quality evidence-based research regarding the role of cultural beliefs and practices and identifications in health behaviour and concomitant impact on health status is clearly needed to inform policy decisions, programming initiatives and service provision that is fully responsive to the ethno-culturally complex makeup of our society.

Use of Ethnic Origin Census Data

In Canada, base-line information regarding ethnicity is collected in the long form of the official census. The Ethnic Origin question reads "To which ethnic or cultural group(s) did your ancestors belong?" It is accompanied by a list of 24 illustrative sample responses including "Canadian;" an open ended response format then allows the respondent to provide up to four responses. Additional instructions specify that "an ancestor is someone from whom a person is descended and is usually more distant than a grandparent," and indicate that most non-aboriginal people can trace their origins to their ancestors "who first came to this continent." They clarify that "ancestry should not be confused with citizenship or nationality" and that information is sought regarding the "ethnic or cultural group or groups to which their ancestors belonged, not the language they spoke." Persons of East Indian or South Asian origins and those with Aboriginal ancestors are furthermore advised to "report a specific group" (www.statcan.ca).

The resulting data constitute a key information source regarding Canada's diversity that helps to inform health research, policy, programming, and service delivery alike. A key anchor for tracking Canada's changing demographic profile over time, this data is most often used in conjunction with other ethno-cultural identity indicators – including place of birth, mother tongue, language usage, religion, citizenship, immigration status and visible minority status – to identify possible areas of need, determine priorities, plan programme initiatives, inform service delivery and evaluate health-related outcomes. The primary challenge in using Ethnic Origin census data by itself is, however, that sophisticated statistical analyses are required before something meaningful can be said or extrapolated regarding the *actual cultural practices* and *current identifications* of a population living in a certain catchment area. Expensive cross-tabulations – for instance of home language by visible minority status – are often needed, as are specially commissioned 'target

profiles' of particular ethno-cultural groups and/or ethno-cultural communities. Language knowledge and contextual usage data become helpful indicators of possible cultural practice(s), visible minority status data suggestive of 'racial' diversity, and place of birth and immigration status information jointly indicative of the percentage of newcomer Canadians living within a specific census area. Additional information must then also be gleaned from other available survey databases, ecological analyses, individual research studies, targeted surveys, as well as via 'anecdotal' information provided by health care providers practising within a given geographical area or ethno-specific community. This rather piecemeal approach requires additional resources and effort and is, moreover, duplicated across separate research or policy applications.

The reason for these existing difficulties lies in the conceptualization of "ethnicity" within the Ethnic Origin Census question itself. The question formulation, format, and accompanying instructions make it clear that information is sought regarding the ethnic or cultural group(s) to which the respondent's *ancestors* belong rather than that of the respondent *per se*. The illustrative responses provided further suggest that *ethnic ancestry* is meant to refer to *country and/or nation of origin*. What the question really asks about, and what the resulting data can thus only convey, is the respondent's *family background* according to country/nation of origin. This has important implications for the use of the resulting data. Used by itself Ethnic Origin census data does not – and cannot – accurately reflect either past or present *cultural lifeways* either of the ancestors in question or of respondents themselves. Nor can it capture *cultural identifications*, symbolic or otherwise. Any attempt to use ethnic origin data as a "cultural marker" erroneously assumes that the line of descent has been culturally

homogeneous for an unspecified number of generations. It also assumes that a statement about ethnic origin is a statement about continuing cultural *practice*; this may or may not be the case. It may also lead to the false, yet surprisingly common, assumption that a response to a question about ethnic ancestry is a statement about current ethnic *identification*, namely continuing affiliation, allegiance or assignment to a particular group based on a shared cultural tradition, language and history. For these reasons epidemiological and cross-cultural health research using Ethnic Origin census data alone is understandably limited to comparative natal, fertility and mortality rates.

As a result of these limitations, estimates of current cultural practice and likely identifications are often made in health research – as in other research – by using a combination of diversity markers. The latter include: ethnic origin; place of birth of respondent; place of birth of

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parents; citizenship; immigrant status; generational status; age at immigration; mother tongue; language knowledge, language usage at home and work respectively; as well as age and sex. These indicators are then checked for overlaps or intersections with religious identifications, 'race,' and/or visible minority status in order to identify possible cultural groupings. Such "culture by proxy" is helpful in making educated guesses within census areas regarding current ethno-cultural diversity, particularly in the case of newcomer populations. They do need, however, to then be empirically substantiated on the ground via cross-triangulation with additional sources of information, including other survey data or direct supplementary research questions.

The use of a combination of diversity indicators to construct cultural profiles and subsequent utilization thereof as proxies for lived cultural expression has both advantages and disadvantages. The primary advantage of developing such 'cultural profiles' is that information regarding relevant diversity markers is in fact collected via the Canadian Census and thus readily available. In the absence of a direct question regarding respondent culture and/or identity, such proxies may therefore present the best, and often only, option for many researchers and analysts. The primary disadvantage is that the resulting groupings are by nature *social* identifications regarding respondent culture(s) and identification(s) constructed by analysts and researchers rather than the *personal* identifications provided by respondents themselves (see Rummens 1993, 2000). In short, without the possibility of direct recourse to respondents there is no way of ascertaining the *validity* of cultural identifications made via proxy.

Key Issues

The successful teasing out of cultural factors, their inter-relationships and connections to health inherent in ethnicity and health research is fundamentally dependent upon two things: first, the accurate and reliable identification of distinct cultural groupings; second, the subsequent specification and examination of those specific cultural values, beliefs, knowledge systems and practices thought to have direct or indirect bearing on health outcomes. The latter then needs to be considered within the framework of the particular societal context in question and carefully distinguished from social factors per se.

The accurate identification of culturally and/or 'racially' distinct sub-groups existent within the Canadian population is clearly the primary challenge. In Canada information regarding client 'ethnicity' or 'race' is not collected during hospital admissions or via health care practitioner records; only country of birth is recorded on birth certificates. In order to identify the ethno-cultural or ethno-racial composition of a population living within a given geographical area, researchers, policy makers and programme planners have therefore to consult and then carefully analyse available census tract and vital statistics information. It is largely for these reasons that epidemiological research into ethnicity and health is highly dependent upon the development of separate surveys. Most of these are directly informed by diversity information available in the census, especially at the initial design and

participant recruitment stages. Some initiatives are directly linked to census data, while others incorporate alternative sources of base-line diversity information. However, in the end health researchers, policy analysts, programme planners, and service providers alike are left dependent upon triangulation across different information sources, all of which may use different conceptual definitions, question formats, health indicators and measures.

As a result, evidenced-based policy-making in the area of ethnicity and health remains challenged by the relative lack of meaningful, comparable data regarding the impact of variations in culturally-based lifeways within the general population – and concomitant interplay with social factors – on health outcomes. This is critical since limitations in accurate data collection regarding ethno-cultural variation and various minority statuses readily translate into hidden needs, the underutilization of existing services, and non-responsive service provision within certain sectors of the general population. In the final analysis, existing difficulties obtaining accurate, valid information regarding actual cultural practices and identifications within the general population actually contribute to the continued relative 'invisibility' of cultural influences on health outcomes.

Efforts to address these shortcomings remain stymied by an erroneous *conceptual* conflation between ethnic ancestry, lived culture and self-identification. Confusion between these three distinct referents is not unique to this particular field of inquiry. However, in ethnicity and health research it can effectively hamper the search for relevant cultural factors, render data analyses invalid, and result in compromised policy analysis, programme development, and service delivery. Increased conceptual clarity is therefore of fundamental importance, as it so readily translates into improved data validity and research methodology.

Initial failure to accurately identify practitioners of specific cultural lifeways effectively hinders subsequent identification and isolation of specific cultural factors thought to have either direct or indirect impact on health behaviours and health status outcomes. This effectively obscuring a long list of potential protective and risk factors relevant to both individual and population health, including a variety of lifestyle factors, (eg. diet, exercise, leisure activities), values (eg. regarding work/family balance), ideologies (eg. gender role divisions) and practices (eg. family networks; social activities) that help to inform health and wellbeing. The end result is often what has been called 'black box epidemiology' (Bohpal, 1997), a type of research in which the "how" is hidden and the cultural link simply assumed through the mere inclusion of various ethno-cultural populations in the study sampling frame.

Towards a Solution

What is needed at the conceptual level is greater clarity regarding the difference between ethnic origin, current cultural practice and actual identification, and at the methodological level clearer identification of specific cultural (and social) factors that inform health behaviour and thereby help to determine health status. The key question thus becomes: How might we best obtain and use meaningful data regarding cultural diversity across

time and space in Canada with which to better inform health policy decisions, programming initiatives and actual service provision?

Three steps are suggested. First, the simplistic assumption that a survey response regarding ethnic origin is necessarily equivalent to a statement about current cultural practices and/or identifications must be abandoned. Second, it is important to recognize the limitations of attempts to determine “culture by proxy,” as it essentially represents a default position. Third, it is suggested that a series of standardized questions regarding ethnic origin, actual cultural practice, and identification respectively be developed for use within and across the Canadian Census and/or other studies and surveys. The use of three separate standardized questions would better tap variations across cultural, ethno-cultural and ethno-racial groups, effectively increase the scope of research inquiry, and greatly facilitate direct linkages and comparisons across different surveys, databases and applications. They would greatly enhance data validity, improve comparability across population groups, and in the area of health research, help to more clearly identify and clarify possible links with relevant health indicators and measures.

The **first** of these standardized questions consists of the existing Ethnic Origin census question. The data it provides are essential to the description of Canada’s social composition through time, and critically important for the analysis of changing immigration trends, settlement trajectories, intermarriage patterns, ethnic references, linguistic and cultural shifts. Modest changes to the current formulation would strengthen the existing question by helping to ensure even greater consistency within and utility of the data collected. First, the question’s referent might be clarified. Since the question is meant to only capture *family background* rather than tap the respondents’ current cultural practices and/or identification(s), it would be clearer for respondent and analyst alike to simply rename the question accordingly. An accompanying explanatory note might then specify that this information is being collected *according to country or nation of ancestral origin*. Second, the responses provided might be further qualified by asking respondents to specify the generational distance involved in each response; this information is currently only available in derived form for first and second generation immigrant respondents. Third, greater conceptual consistency in the sample responses provided would enhance internal comparability as well as facilitate data linkages with ‘current cultural practices’ and ‘identification’ responses in relevant surveys.

Second, it would be extremely useful to develop a separate standardized question regarding *current cultural practice(s)* for use in – or with – the Census and other surveys. The increased conceptual clarity provided by a separate question would translate into more valid representation of existing cultural diversity and fundamentally transform investigations into the respective roles of cultural and social factors in health processes. Such a question would serve as a model for – and link between – various quantitative and qualitative research initiatives. The information collected via would be particularly helpful in ethnicity and health research, where ‘culture by proxy’

clearly has its limits. The effective linkage it would provide between data sources would also prove cost effective for comparative cross-cultural research both in the area of health and elsewhere.

Third, a standardized question focusing on *self-identification(s)* might also be developed for use across various surveys, research initiatives, and study designs. Such a question would help to tap into salient cultural, ‘racial,’ ‘ethnic,’ religious, and minority status identifications, facilitate distinctions between historical, contextual, cultural and social factors, and tease out existing relationships between various permutations of origin, practice and identification. It would also permit meaningful analysis of, and comparisons cross, data regarding family background(s), current cultural practice(s), and actual identification(s). Such self-reporting would help researchers and analysts avoid the temptation to deduce salient cultural identifications without recourse to the independent verification necessary for data validation.

Used separately or in combination, across different surveys or within individual studies, the introduction of three separate, standardized research questions regarding family background, respondent cultural practice, and self-identification respectively would raise our understanding of the interplay between culture, ethnicity and health to an entirely new level. It would permit the accurate identification, description and location of relevant targeted populations. Used in conjunction with relevant health indicators and measures would underwrite attempts to accurately identify various culturally-based protective and risk factors in the area of health. More importantly, the enhanced conceptual clarity would translate directly into improved specificity of the resulting data and thus increase the validity of subsequent analyses. The use of identical questions across individual population health surveys and research initiatives would, moreover, maximize comparability both across research initiatives and among population groups; such combined and/or linked data would in turn permit more varied analyses and create more application possibilities. Together, these three questions would yield valuable additional data at all levels with which to better inform evidence-based health policy, planning and service delivery that is more truly responsive to the increasingly diverse, rapidly globalizing society that is Canada.

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Spatial Residential Patterns of Selected Ethnic Groups: Their Significance and Policy Implications

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ABSTRACT

This article investigate the spatial dimension of ethnic integration. The author is interested in the geographical distribution of ethnic groups in Canada, in immigrants' patterns of settlements, as well as in the possible causes, voluntary and involuntary, for the repetition of these patterns. Balakrishnan explores the relationship between ethnic residential segregation and such factors as prejudice and discrimination, social distance, lack of official language, social networks, and economic resources, which help shape the spatial organization of immigrant communities ethnic enclaves.

One of the striking features of contemporary Canadian population is its remarkable ethnic diversity. There are more than 200 ethnic groups identified in the Census who have their origins in the migration of peoples from all over the world to Canada. While western Europeans predominated before 1960, in the 60s and 70s most immigrants were primarily from Southern and Eastern Europe. Since then however, populations from the Third World countries have formed the majority of immigrants. More than half of the immigrants since 1980 were the so-called 'visible minorities' of Blacks, South Asians, and Chinese and Latin and Central Americans. For example, of the 1.8 million immigrants who arrived between 1991 and 2001, 58% came from Asia, including the Middle East, 20 % from Europe; 11.5 % from the Caribbean, Central and South America; 8% from Africa; and 3% from the United States (Statistics Canada 2003). Given the present immigration policies, there is reason to believe the trends will continue for sometime. Lack of official language facility and social networks, occupational skills, and economic resources may make the immigrants settle in ethnic enclaves, which are often found in the poorer sections of the city. Discrimination against certain immigrant groups in housing and labour markets may also force them into specific areas of the city, and thus increase their spatial concentration and segregation from specific groups, such as the British or other European-origin groups in Canada. Different customs and lifestyles may also be difficult to accept for the host society if the immigrant population of a different ethnic origin increases substantially within a short time. Canada's multiculturalism policies are meant towards achieving integration of various minorities and yet enable them to preserve their heritage. In this article we will investigate one aspect of integration, namely its spatial dimension.

An examination of the geographical distribution of ethnic groups in Canada will show that there is a wide diversity by regions, provinces, cities and areas within cities. Many of these differences have historical roots in past immigration and settlement patterns. People of British Isles and French Heritage predominate in the four Atlantic Provinces and the French in Quebec. Ontario is most diverse with all European groups and Asians and Blacks. Germans, Ukrainians, Polish and Dutch are over-represented in the Prairies and English most often reported in British Columbia along with Chinese and East Indian. Recent immigrants who are largely visible minorities have their own distinct pattern of settlement. They are overwhelmingly attracted to the large metropolitan areas. In Canada as a whole, the proportion of visible minority population increased from 11.2 percent to 13.4 percent (Statistics Canada 2003). While the proportions in Montreal were similar to the national figures, the attraction of Toronto and Vancouver was overwhelming. In Toronto the proportion of visible minorities which was already high at 31.61 percent in 1996 increased substantially to 38.67 percent in 2001, and in Vancouver from 31.13 percent to 38.71 percent. About two thirds of the minority population is made up of South Asians, Chinese and Blacks.

Concentration of ethnic groups within cities

Residential segregation within cities is often seen as a measure of how well or how poorly a group has integrated into the society at large. The assumption is that a group isolated in a particular area is probably not participating in the housing and labour markets to the fullest extent. It is argued further that living in close proximity to others of the same ethnic or racial background, while increasing interaction within groups, reduces interaction outside the group. Thus while residential segregation maintains ethnic identity, it may reduce integration into the wider society, economically, socially and politically.

Three hypotheses have been advanced and tested to explain the trends and changes in residential segregation (Balakrishnan 1982). The first, called the "social class hypothesis", states that ethnic segregation is largely a reflection of social-class differences among the ethnic groups. Lack of economic and social capital force certain immigrant groups to live in the poorer areas of the

city, often in the city core. As their conditions improve they are able to disperse to more desirable neighbourhoods. With increased integration in the country's occupational and industrial structure, ethnic residential segregation should decrease. This basically human ecological perspective stresses the economic dimensions and puts less emphasis, if any, on cultural and psychological factors in settlement patterns (Clark 1986). The second hypothesis states that ethnic residential segregation is due to the social distance among the ethnic groups. Social distance can be measured by such factors as acceptance of a particular ethnic group as work colleagues, neighbours, close friends or spouses. Greater social distance should be reflected in higher levels of residential segregation. Prejudice and discrimination, strong indices of social distance can be expected to be correlated to residential segregation (Balakrishnan and Hou 1999; Lieberman and Waters 1988). A third hypothesis to explain ethnic residential segregation may be called the "ethnic identity" hypothesis. This is fundamentally different from the two earlier hypotheses which were based on the premise that residential segregation is due to involuntary causes. One's social class and social status determined residential choices and hence intrinsically bad. In contrast, the ethnic-identity hypothesis postulates that persons of the same ethnic ancestry choose to live in proximity so that social interaction can be maximized, and group norms and values can be maintained (Breton 1964; Driedger and Church 1974). Size and concentration provide distinct advantages. Many institutions such as ethnic clubs, churches, heritage language newspapers, stores specializing in ethnic food, clothing etc, require threshold populations concentrated in space. Thus ethnic residential segregation has certain merits, whether or not it is perceived as such by the ethnic group. According to this hypothesis, the greater the self-identity of an ethnic group, the more likely they will be residentially segregated. The level of self-identity among the ethnic groups may vary for several reasons. Apart from historical and political causes, it could be due to the strength of commonly held beliefs and values, kinship networks, and feelings of solidarity. It is not our attempt here to test these hypotheses with rigour. This is hardly possible with the type of macro-level census data we are examining. They do however provide a theoretical framework in interpreting our results. While one cannot separate the effects of social class, social

distance or self-identity on residential segregation levels, it is possible to observe the relationship between residential segregation and these underlying factors.

Our analysis will be restricted to the three largest metropolitan areas of Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver, the gateway cities of Canada. They attract most of the immigrants and are very ethnically diverse metropolitan areas. One simple way of assessing the extent of spatial concentration is by seeing whether a particular ethnic group is over- or under-represented in an area. As the census tracts are supposed to be fairly comparable in overall population size, an idea of concentration can be obtained by comparing the cumulative proportion of census tracts with the cumulative proportion of the ethnic population in those tracts. Census tracts in the three CMAs (Census Metropolitan Areas) were arranged in decreasing order of ethnic population in 2001, and the cumulative proportions calculated. Using the responses to the ethnic origin question, ten broad categories were constructed. One should be aware of the differential impact of multiple origin responses in these categories. Table 1 shows the extent of concentration, by examining the proportion of tracts in which 50 and 90 percent of an ethnic-group population is found.

There is a low concentration of persons of British and French origins in all the three cities. Though the British are a minority in Montreal, they do not show a high level of concentration. Although the French are a much smaller group in Toronto and Vancouver, they show very little concentration. As a matter of fact, they are as dispersed as they are in Montreal. Concentration is also low for the western, central and eastern European groups, though slightly more than for the British. Italians are somewhat more concentrated than the other European groups, probably a function of their more recent migration to Canada. Half the Italians in Montreal live in 12.3 percent of the census tracts, and in Toronto in 13.6 percent of the tracts. The most residentially concentrated minority group in Canada are the Jews. Half of them lived in 2.4 percent of the tracts in Montreal, 3.8 percent of the tracts in Toronto and 14.3 percent of the tracts in Vancouver.

After the Jewish population, visible minorities are the most concentrated groups in the three cities. In Montreal, half the South Asians lived in 4.6 percent of the tracts. Among the visible minorities they were the most concentrated.

Table 1 - Percentage of census tracts in which 50 percent and 90 percent of ethnic populations are concentrated - 2001

Ethnic Group	Montreal	Toronto	Vancouver	Montreal	Toronto	Vancouver
	50%			90%		
British	19.7	25.4	29.3	71.4	70	73.3
French	29.8	25.3	28.5	74.7	68.7	72.8
Western Europe	21	24.5	29.3	68.1	68.7	73.6
Central and Eastern Europe	17.8	26	32.4	60.4	72.4	76.7
Italian	12.3	13.6	23.1	55.9	60.6	68.7
Jewish	2.4	3.8	14.3	13.6	26.2	51
South Asian	4.6	13.7	10.4	27.2	50.1	50
Chinese	9.1	10.2	10.6	42.4	50.6	50.3
African origins	14.15	15.9	22.5	50.2	57.4	63
Caribbean origins	11.5	17.4	20.2	44.7	57.5	57.5
Number of tracts	846	924	386	846	924	386

Based on total responses (those who gave single or multiple)

Table 2 - Segregation indices for selected ethnic groups in Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver - 1996-2001

Ethnic Group	Montreal		Toronto		Vancouver	
	1996	2001	1996	2001	1996	2001
British	0.422	0.316	0.298	0.364	0.221	0.29
French	0.213	0.184	0.238	0.272	0.167	0.206
Other western Europeans		0.282		0.292		0.216
Central and Eastern Europeans		0.409		0.303		0.142
Italians	0.437	0.432	0.396	0.402	0.237	0.257
Jewish	0.793	0.777	0.703	0.696	0.437	0.427
South Asian	0.632	0.636	0.432	0.44	0.489	0.517
Chinese	0.542	0.52	0.524	0.509	0.493	0.494
Black	0.47		0.388		0.311	
African		0.426		0.36		0.293
Caribbean		0.464		0.356		0.325

Based on total responses (single and multiple)
 Due to changes in the categories used, some indices could not be calculated

They are less concentrated in Toronto and Vancouver, where most of them live. Half the South Asians live in 13.7 percent of the tracts in Toronto and 10.4 percent in Vancouver. Chinese show somewhat lower concentration than the South Asians in Montreal, but in Toronto and Vancouver their concentration is about the same. Half the Chinese live in about a tenth of the tracts in all the three CMAs. The Black population, whether they are of African or Caribbean origins show significantly lower concentration than the other two major visible minorities of Chinese or South Asians, a striking difference from the U.S. residential patterns (Massey and Denton 1987).

Segregation of ethnic groups

When a minority group is concentrated in space, it is also more likely to be segregated from other groups. We will focus on the extent of segregation between the ethnic groups, measured by the index of dissimilarity, which compares the distribution of two different populations over the same set of spatial units (census tracts in our case) in a metropolitan area. It is the sum of either the positive or negative differences between the proportional distributions of two populations. The index has a range from 0 (no segregation) to 1 (complete segregation).

The indices of segregation for selected ethnic groups in Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver are presented in Table 2. As observed earlier, segregation indices in general seem to be highest in Montreal and lowest in Vancouver. In Montreal, it is not surprising that the French are the least segregated. Their substantial majority in the city and dispersion across the city would explain this phenomenon. The British and western Europeans show relatively low segregation. The British seem to actually show a decline. Central and Eastern European groups and Italians show moderate segregation around .4. Jewish segregation has always been high in Montreal and continues to be so. The visible minorities also exhibit high segregation, but show considerable differences among themselves.

The segregation indices are somewhat lower in Toronto than in Montreal, but show the same pattern. It is remarkable how well the French are spatially integrated outside of Quebec. The other European groups have also low levels of

segregation, except Italians, with a moderate index of .402. Jews continue to be the most highly segregated group in Toronto with a segregation index of .696 almost the same as in 1996. The visible minorities are more segregated than the European ethnic groups. Unlike in Montreal, South Asians in Toronto are less segregated than the Chinese. Blacks are noticeably less segregated than the Chinese or South Asians. Vancouver is the least segregated of the three gateway cities in Canada. The Charter groups of British and French and the European groups all show a level of only around .2. Even the Jewish population is less segregated with an index of .427, much less than in Montreal or Toronto. South Asians and Chinese who form the two largest visible minority groups in Vancouver show fairly high segregation with indices around .5. The reasons for this are to be found in the historical development of these groups in the city and their social cohesion. Blacks who form a small minority in Vancouver are fairly dispersed over the city as shown by the indices which are around .3.

Ethnic Segregation and Social Distance

We hypothesized that one of the many factors that cause segregation among the ethnic groups is social distance. While economic resources influence residential location, social distance is also important in explaining ethnic segregation in Canadian cities. Ethnic groups that are culturally similar to each other are less likely to be segregated among themselves compared to other ethnic groups. Though we do not have a well-tested social distance scale of recent construction, based on earlier studies done by others, we venture to classify our ethnic groups in order of increasing distance from the British as follows; British; Northern and Western Europe (French, German, Dutch, Scandinavian etc); Central and Eastern Europe (Polish, Hungarian, Ukrainian, Czech etc); Southern Europe (Italian, Portuguese etc); Visible minorities (South Asians, Chinese, Blacks etc). Though Jews show high segregation we are not able to place them in the social distance scale. They probably are close to Central or Eastern European category.

The relationship between social distance and residential segregation is examined here with the 2001 data for the three largest metropolitan cities of Canada. There seems to be

support for the social distance hypothesis. The segregation indices between the British and the other groups increase with their social distance. The visible minorities show much higher segregation from the British in all the three cities. Among the visible minorities, South Asians and Chinese exhibit greater segregation from the British than the Blacks, a finding of considerable significance when compared to the U.S. patterns. The pattern for the French is very similar to that of the British, low segregation from the Western European groups, medium segregation from the central and eastern European groups and high segregation from the visible minority groups. Their own size seems to make no difference for the French, as the patterns are similar in all the three cities. Given the cultural affinity of Western European groups to the British, it is not surprising that their segregation patterns are also similar as far as other ethnic groups are concerned. Central and Eastern European groups and Italians are moderately segregated from the charter groups of British and French and somewhat more segregated from the Jews and visible minorities. The Jewish population is the most segregated ethnic group in Canada. They show high segregation from all the other groups irrespective of their origin.

Among the visible minorities, a significant finding is that the segregation indices are relatively high. One would have expected that given their shared experiences of relative deprivation, discrimination and prejudice, perceived or otherwise, the segregation among themselves would be low. Or in other words, we would expect ethnic groups such as the Chinese, South Asians and Blacks would reside in the same areas of the city. Though slightly lower than from the European groups, the segregation indices among the visible minority groups are still high around .5. This would mean that while the visible minority groups are more concentrated, they do not necessarily live in the same neighbourhoods, but rather have their own favoured locations within the cities. The cultural differences among the visible minorities are probably significant enough not to make physical proximity particularly advantageous, in spite of their similar social distance from the European groups. However, though not living in the same census tracts, they are often found in nearby census tracts.

Segregation by Generations

In the early ecological models of urban growth, ethnic residential segregation is seen as a transitory stage dependent on the nature and time of arrival of immigrants to gateway cities. Lacking economic and human resources, new immigrants often have to settle in poorer areas of a city, usually in urban cores. As their social mobility and acculturation to the host society increase, they move to the other areas of the city. Thus one would expect with increased duration, there would be desegregation. Residential segregation among the earlier immigrants should be less than the recent arrivals. By the same logic one would expect the native born to be more assimilated than the foreign born and hence should be found more dispersed spatially.

Segregation indices by generation are presented in Table 3. The classical assimilation pattern, where the successive generations show less residential segregation is found only among the European groups, whose segregation is

generally low. Other West Europeans, Central and Eastern Europeans and Italians all show a decline with successive generations. The patterns in Toronto and Vancouver are basically the same, except that the indices in these cities are lower than in Montreal.

For the visible minorities change in segregation indices by generation provide little support for the assimilation hypothesis. Subsequent generations show as much segregation as the first generation of foreign-born. For example in Montreal, the segregation index for the South Asians was .645 for the first generation and .693 for second and later generations. Similarly a small increase in residential segregation can be noticed for the Chinese as well, from .558 for the first generation to .620 for subsequent generations. For the Blacks as well the differences between generations are small. Africans show a slight increase, while the Caribbeans a small decline. In the two other cities of Toronto and Vancouver, there does seem to be a decline in segregation for the South Asians and Chinese. These ethnic groups are larger in size in these two cities and one does not know whether this size has any influence in their lower segregation. In any case it is probably too early to say whether this decline will persist in the future. The finding of persisting segregation among many minority groups has been noted earlier by Kalbach in his studies of Toronto (Kalbach 1990). The most segregated group are those of Jewish origin, who show little change over the generations.

Conclusions and Policy Implications

The fact that certain ethnic groups are highly concentrated and segregated from other ethnic groups is an important finding. Is high concentration a characteristic of poor neighbourhoods? This is clearly the case of Blacks in many U.S. cities, but it is less evident in Canadian cities. Jewish neighbourhoods are not poor nor are some Chinese neighbourhoods in Scarborough. At the same time there are many neighbourhoods which are poor showing high concentrations of Blacks, Portuguese, Vietnamese etc. The crucial policy question is whether concentration of an ethnic group can lead to neighbourhood poverty? U.S. studies have shown that as Black concentration increases in an area, the overall socioeconomic status of the area goes down (Massey and Denton 1993). In Canada, Kazemipur and Halli report that some studies have suggested that as the Aboriginal population of a neighbourhood increases, the real estate prices fall, and so does the desirability of the neighbourhood. Some real estate agents may direct Natives to certain neighbourhoods and not to others. This can lead to high concentration of Natives in a small number of neighbourhoods in many Canadian cities (Kazemipur and Halli 2000). Whether such discriminatory practices have affected the concentration of other visible minority groups such as the Chinese, South Asians or Blacks is not known, but should be explored.

It is possible that a great deal of the concentration and segregation of many minority groups in Canada may be due to voluntary causes rather than due to class differences or social distance. A certain threshold population size may enable a minority group to establish an ethnic neighbourhood with many advantages. Specialized social institutions such as an ethnic community club, ethnic food stores and restaurants, entertainment places, religious institutions such

Table 3 - Segregation Indices by generation for selected ethnic groups : Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver - 2001

	British	French	West Eur	Central & East Eur	Italian	Jewish	South Asian	Chinese	African	Caribbean
Montreal										
First Generation	0.526	0.318	0.406	0.424	0.537	0.781	0.645	0.558	0.448	0.486
Second + generation	0.297	0.184	0.268	0.357	0.372	0.773	0.693	0.620	0.499	0.440
Toronto										
First Generation	0.237	0.325	0.257	0.307	0.478	0.705	0.430	0.522	0.369	0.359
Second+ generation	0.333	0.274	0.274	0.242	0.343	0.686	0.371	0.407	0.381	0.318
Vancouver										
First Generation	0.245	0.326	0.199	0.200	0.379	0.503	0.505	0.483	0.351	0.374
Second+ generation	0.238	0.206	0.203	0.158	0.244	0.449	0.422	0.383	0.435	0.466

as an ethnic church or temple, synagogue etc. become viable in an ethnic enclave. Canada's multiculturalism policy supports such social institutions and encourages one to maintain their cultural heritage. Policy oriented research should examine whether ethnic enclaves enable its inhabitants to develop and enjoy a culturally and socially rich life rather than degenerate into a ghetto with all its negative images of poverty and crime.

Why there is a persistence of segregation in the later generation for many minority groups is a worthwhile area to investigate. We need survey data on attitudes and behaviour to get to the core of this issue. The strong bond between generations involving expectations and obligations vary among the ethnic groups. Similarly if the social distance persists even in the later generations and not only in the first generation, it can partially explain the continuing segregation levels in the second generation.

Another important policy concern is whether residential segregation is a reflection of occupational segregation. New immigrant groups may often be concentrated in certain occupations such as construction, manufacturing, garment making etc. This may be due to their limited skills on arrival, official language facility etc. It is expected that with time they will be able to move into other occupations. Balakrishnan and Hou compared census data for the three years of 1981, 1986 and 1991 and found that while the residential segregation remained about the same during the decade of 1981-1991 for almost all the ethnic groups, occupational segregation decreased significantly (Balakrishnan and Hou 1999b). This would imply that residential segregation has not adversely affected the socio-economic integration of the ethnic groups in the Canadian society. Our findings for 2001 show that residential segregation continues at about the same level as in 1991. This was also a period of high immigration, but many immigrants come to Canada with higher education and job skills than earlier arrivals. With increased economic assimilation, one would have expected residential segregation to decline. This has not happened to date in the case of the visible minority groups to any significant degree. However with longer stay in Canada and increased social mobility it is possible that residential segregation will decrease among the minority groups, though some level of segregation will remain, if only because of discrimination and prejudice, and the desire for some ethnic groups to live in proximity.

The future of ethnic residential segregation is hard to predict. The high level of segregation among some ethnic groups such as the visible minorities has been sustained by

many factors such as their size and recency of immigration, lack of official language facility, and cultural differences. It may also have been influenced by discrimination and prejudice experienced by them, actual or perceived, in their interaction with the largely white host society.

With time the impact of these factors on residential location should decrease. Inter-marriage between white European groups and the visible minority groups will be a powerful factor in reducing segregation. There is evidence that there is a greater acceptance of ethnically diverse groups by the host society, especially among the young people. Though the Canadian government's policies of multiculturalism may help preserve ethnic identity, over time there is bound to be an erosion of the cultural heritage of many groups. As we try to understand the dynamics of ethnic diversity in Canada, it is clear that their spatial dimension is an integral part of the overall picture.

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The Intergenerational Transfer of Ethnic Identity in Canada at the Turn of the Twenty-first Century

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ABSTRACT

This paper concerns itself with what the census reveals about the nature of Canadian society in terms of immigrant composition and with the integration of the immigrant populations within the Canadian cultural landscape. More specifically, the author analyses census data, such as the decline in the use of ethnic languages spoken at home and lower levels of ethnic-connectedness, in order to understand how immigrant identities evolve from one generation to the other, and the patterns through which ethnic identity is transferred intergenerationally.

The post-war years in Canada have seen the emergence of the ideals of multiculturalism blossom into policies that have had a major effect on the composition of Canada's immigrant stream and this along with time has had a major effect on the identity of Canada's immigrants. Changes in the wording of the census ethnic ancestry question since 1971, the legitimization of multiple origin responses, the acceptance of "Canadian" as an answer to the ethnic origin ancestry question, and the addition of the birthplace of parents question for the first time since 1971 present an opportunity to look at the intergenerational transfer of ethnic identity in Canada at the time of Canada's 2001 Census.

While Canada's census does not ask an identity question per se, it is still possible to examine the data to achieve some understanding of how Canadians identify themselves in terms of ethnicity. Questions such as those dealing with birthplace of parents, mother tongue, language spoken at home, ethnic ancestry, birthplace and marriage type can tell us about identity and its changes from one generation to another. Ethnic ancestry and ethnic identity, for example, can be the same or different depending on the individual and his/her migration and generational status, language use, marital type if married or the marital type of his/her parents or ancestors. Levels of ethnic-connectedness can also be examined with Canadian census data. A case in point is the use of an ethnic language spoken at home or mother tongue. Previous research has shown a decline in the use of ethnic languages from the first to the third-plus generation (Kalbach and Richard, 1991, Pigott, 2003).

The major waves of immigration of Canada's older immigrant populations such as the Germans, Ukrainians, Dutch, Scandinavian and Polish took place in the early decades of the twentieth century. Canada's visible minorities did not come in large numbers until the country's immigration policy became non-discriminatory in the 1960s. The older immigrant groups had large proportions of third-plus generations by the turn of the century, while the more recent immigrants such as the Chinese and South Asians did not. The only exception is the Japanese who have been in Canada for many years and the Blacks to some degree, because "Canadian Blacks", i.e., those who came to Canada from the United States to escape slavery, are included in this group. Low proportions of third-plus generations make it more difficult to examine intergenerational transfers of ethnic identity because the numbers are small and therefore less reliable than if the numbers were larger. Regina, Saskatoon and Winnipeg tend to have the highest proportions of the more Canadianized third-plus generations compared to Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, Toronto and Montreal and were consistently above the average for Canada as a whole at the time of the 2001 Census.

Canadian Responses

Statistics Canada has always accepted "Canadian" as an ethnic ancestry. It has been suggested in an earlier paper that Canadian is not an ethnic ancestry per se, but rather an ethnic identity (Kalbach and Kalbach 1999). The percent

distribution of Canadian responses in the 1991, 1996 and 2001 censuses reveals an increase from 4 percent in 1991 to 31 and 39 percent in 1996 and 2001 respectively. Very clearly, the increase in the response rate reveals that over time greater percentages of individuals perceive themselves as Canadian. According to the 2001 Census, the highest proportion of individuals reporting Canadian tends to have native-born parents followed by individuals with at least one-native born parent. The proportion of individuals reporting Canadian is significantly lower if both of their parents are foreign born. Conversely, the percentage of people reporting origins other than Canadian is significantly higher for people with parents who are both foreign born. Thus, the more Canadianized generations are the ones that tend to identify as Canadian rather than with their ethnic or cultural ancestry group.

Multiple Origins

Multiple responses are also indicative of the relative importance of an individual's ethnic ancestry in terms of identity. The ethnic-connectedness research argues that higher levels of ethnic-connectedness tend to be associated with single ethnic origin responses. Multiple origin responses tend to be associated with lower levels of ethnic-connectedness for Canada, the five Prairie census metropolitan areas, Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver. Census data show that the most ethnic mixing in Canada at the turn of the century had occurred within the older immigrants groups, i.e., the British, French, German and Ukrainian followed by the Latin, Central, and South Americans, Middle Easterners, Italians, Canadians, and Greeks and Portuguese. The least ethnic mixing is reported for the Chinese and South Asians. This is consistent with recent intermarriage research (Kalbach, 2000, 2002). Similar patterns for the eight census metropolitan areas are evident. However, the Portuguese and Italians residing in Regina and Saskatoon are exceptions to the overall patterns in that they tend to have relatively high proportions of multiple responses rates. Aboriginals residing in Canada's CMAs also have high rates of multiple responses. The lowest response rates for Aboriginals are found in the Prairie CMAs of Regina and Saskatoon.

Ethnic Intermarriage

The percentage of husbands and wives of English, French, Polish Ukrainian Greek, Portuguese, East Indian and Chinese who were married to spouses of different origins at the time of the 2001 Census tell the stories of interethnic marriage for these ethnic origin groups. The data indicate an increase in the rates of ethnic intermarriage across generations for Ukrainian, East Indian and Chinese husbands. An increase in ethnic exogamy across generations is also revealed for Ukrainian, Greek, Portuguese and Chinese wives. The exceptions are husbands and wives who are English, French and Polish,

Greek and Portuguese husbands and East Indian wives. In general, however, the pattern for these groups reflects a significant increase in ethnic intermarriage from the 1st generation to the 2nd and 2.5 generations.

Generational patterns of ethnic intermarriage for husbands residing in the census metropolitan areas of Vancouver, Calgary, Winnipeg and Toronto at the time of the 2001 Census show similar results re ethnic exogamy to the patterns for husbands in Canada as a whole. Rates of ethnic intermarriage are generally significantly higher for third-plus generation husbands, but in most cases the rates tend to be slightly lower than the rates for husbands of the second and 2.5 generations. However, it is important to note that the increase in marital assimilation from the first generation to the third-plus generation is significant.

Canada's visible minorities did not come in large numbers until the country's immigration policy became non-discriminatory in the 1960s.

Language: Mother Tongue and Language Most Often at Home

The use of an ethnic language has been shown to decline across generations (Kalbach and Richard, 1980). Lower levels of ethnic-connectedness are associated with a decline in the use of the ethnic language (Ibid.). An examination of the percentage distribution of non-official mother tongues by generation of the population fifteen years of age and over for Canada and the census metropolitan areas of Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, Regina, Saskatoon, Winnipeg, Toronto and Montreal at the time of the 2001 Census reveal the classic pattern of continuous ethnic language loss from the first to the third-plus generation is clearly evident for Canada and each of the CMAs. The declines are most precipitous for Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver.

A slightly different pattern is evident for ethnic languages spoken most often in the home. There was a significant decline in the use of ethnic languages spoken most often at home from the first generation to the third-plus generation at the time of the 2001 Census, but the proportion of the third-plus generation using an ethnic language in the home was not always lower than the proportion for the 2nd or 2.5 generation. Again, the most precipitous decline in the loss of the ethnic languages spoken most often at home between first and third-plus generations was evident for Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver, and least in the Prairie CMAs.

If the data were available to do a similar analysis for specific ethnic groups, the same results regarding a generational decline of ethnic mother tongues and ethnic languages spoken most often at home would be expected. Differences in levels of declines between groups would also be expected, as well as generational differences within the various ethnic or cultural groups.

Aboriginals

Many Aboriginals declared multiple origins in the 2001 Census as previously mentioned. The rate of multiple responses as a percentage of the total responses was 57.9

for Canada and over 50 percent for every CMA except Regina. The rate of multiple responses was just over fifty percent for Saskatoon.

Aboriginal ancestry and identity can be examined directly because a question was asked about both in the census. It is clear from the 2001 Census data that a significant number of Canada's Aboriginals don't identify with their aboriginal heritage.

Discussion and Conclusions

Canada's 2001 Census reveals that there is an intergenerational transfer of ethnic identity across generations for Canada and the census metropolitan areas of Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, Regina, Saskatoon, Winnipeg, Toronto and Montreal. The evidence is found in ethnic language loss across generations, in increases in ethnic exogamy across generations, in relatively high rates of multiple responses and in the continued increases in the percentage of the population who have responded Canadian in Canada's censuses since 1991. According to previous research lower levels of ethnic-connectedness are associated with each of these findings, and this in turn suggests that there is a significant level of intergenerational transfer of ethnic identity in Canada, especially from the first to the third-plus generation. Any aberrations in the data can probably be explained by small numbers in the 2.5 and third-plus generations for the most recent immigrant groups such as the Italians, Greeks, Portuguese, East Indians and Chinese. It is also a fact that some of the older ethnic ancestry groups such as the Poles that have not been refueled by high levels of recent immigration also have small numbers of first generation or foreign born. In spite of these facts the analysis reveals a intergenerational transfer in ethnic identity away from an ethnic ancestry to another identity such as Canadian or a combination of ethnic ancestry and Canadian. At any rate the analysis suggest that there are many individuals who think of themselves as Canadian, but who also seem to be aware of their ethnic or cultural ancestry with which they may still identify under some circumstances (Kalbach and Kalbach, 1999; Isajiw, 1990; Isajiw et.al., 1993).

The 2001 Census of Canada provides a picture of Canada's multicultural population at the turn of the twenty-first century. The ethnic character of Canada's immigration stream has changed from what it was during most of the twentieth century. Canada's immigrants are now mainly non-European in ancestry and most live in census metropolitan areas. The analyses in this paper suggest that the new immigrant groups will continue to experience an intergenerational transfer of ethnic identity as their second and third-plus generations numbers increase.

One of the goals of Canada's Censuses is to provide a snapshot of the Canadian population at the same point in

time every ten years. This is especially important in a multicultural society such as Canada if policy making is to be adequately informed. Thus, the results of this analysis provide an argument for continuing to ask about ethnic ancestry and argue for additional questions to be retained on a regular basis or added. It would be prudent to remove Canadian as a response to the ethnic ancestry question because it is really an answer to the question of identity. In time it may become a legitimate ethnic ancestry but as long as Canada is a country of immigration it would appear to be more of a reflection of ethnic identity. The addition of a question on ethnic identity would allow individuals to identify as Canadian if they wished. It

would ensure legitimacy and validity to this response category as well as to the ethnic ancestry question. In addition, questions on birthplace and birthplace of parents should be included in all decennial censuses to facilitate the provision of an accurate picture of Canada's immigrants and the extent of their integration into Canadian society over time.

Statistics Canada and Canadian Heritage conducted a post-censal survey regarding ethnic diversity in Canada after the 2001 Census. This should be continued if Canada's policymakers and ethnic groups themselves are to make informed decisions about their welfare.

Lower levels
of ethnic-
connectedness
are associated
with a decline
in the use of the
ethnic language.

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Reporting Métis in Urban Centres on the 1996 Census

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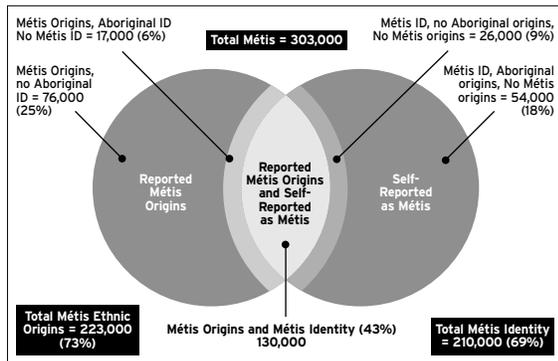
ABSTRACT

This paper argues that the geographical location of the Métis in Canada, particularly their presence and situations in urban centres, need to be more carefully investigated. The author proposes that in order to provide researchers with a more holistic understanding of the integration of the Métis within the Canadian urban landscape, the census questions should be formulated in such a way as to maintain the broadest possible definition of the concept of Métis identity. In fact, the melding of the data collected about Métis origin and about Métis identity into a “total Métis” category may provide a more comprehensible approach for future research on the Métis population in urban centres.

The number of people reporting Métis origins on the Census has increased dramatically over the last 20 years, as has the number of people who self-identified as Métis over the last decade. A majority of people reporting Métis origins or identity live in Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs) or Census Agglomerations (CAs)¹, but the circumstances of their well-being has remained relatively unexplored. How are Métis faring relative to the non-Aboriginal and other Aboriginal populations? Do people reporting Métis reside in particular geographic communities? Are people who have only recently reported either Métis origins or identity socio-economically different from the non-Aboriginal population? Do urban Métis perceive barriers to their participation both in non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal communities? These are examples of some of the questions that need to be answered in order to have a more complete understanding of how this urban population is faring.

As a starting point, the Census provides benchmarks for the Aboriginal identity and ethnic origin questions. As shown on Diagram 1, the identity and origin numbers appear comparable. However, when cross-tabulated, only 43% reported both Métis identity and Métis origin on the 1996 Census (Diagram 1). This paper applies 1996 Census data to consider whether or not combining origin and identity results would help researchers achieve higher counts at the Census Tract² (CT) level and thereby provide a more complete understanding of Canada’s urban Métis population³. The first section will present a brief historical overview of Métis in Canada. The second section will provide an overview of the census concepts where Métis is reported and consider reporting patterns and geographic distribution. The third section will look at what happens when these two concepts are combined and whether (or not) this can enrich our understanding of urban Métis. This paper will illustrate that there are many different ways in which people report Métis on the census and will highlight that the concept of Métis remains fluid. It will be suggested that definitions of Métis should remain broad so that more detailed research of these communities can reflect the urban Métis reality.

Diagram 1
People who reported Métis on the 1996 Census
(20% Sample)



Total Métis Origins: people who reported "Métis Single Response", Métis and Others", or a "Multiple Aboriginal Response" to Question 17 (Ethnic Origin) on the 1996 Census. "Multiple Aboriginal Response" was included as 97% of combinations include a Métis response.

Total Métis Identity: people who reported "Métis Single Response", "North American Indian and Métis", "Métis and Inuit", or "North American Indian and Inuit and Métis" to Question 18 (Aboriginal Identity) on the 1996 Census.

Defining Métis

The concept of Métis comes from the word *mestizo*, which means a person of mixed ancestry, and usually refers to people of European and Aboriginal origins (Canadian Oxford Dictionary). Patrick Douaud, from Canadian Ethnology Services, at the National Museum of Man (1985) takes us back to the 1600s and 1700s when there was a lot interaction between Indians and "Whites" in the St. Lawrence and Upper Great Lakes regions and how they were mostly Indian and French Canadian, but Highland Scot, English and Yankees as well (Douaud, 1985, 8). By 1885, a Prairie nation under the leadership of Louis Riel and Gabriel Dumont, local Métis inhabitants defended their right to the land and to self-government in what became known as the Northwest Rebellion. However the defeat of the Métis rebellion, similar to their defeat at Red River (1869-70), resulted in several thousand Métis suffering the consequences of displacement (Peterson and Brown, 1985, 4).

During the 19th century, mixed marriages were occurring between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples across Canada. Unlike in Manitoba, the degree to which this mixing occurred is difficult to discern. In the case of Quebec, for instance, biologist Jacques Rousseau has suggested that forty percent of French-Canadians could find at least one Amerindian in their family tree (Dickson, 1985, 19). However an important question remains: Why was Red River so different from other regions in Canada? Dickson identifies how the French government viewed intermarriage as a means to populate French nationals in Canada (1985, 22). It seems that many regions either assimilated or did not recognize mixed marriages and their offspring and it is difficult to know how large the Métis population could possibly be if the definition of Métis remains broad.

The question of terminology and when to apply Métis or métis has also become an issue. Francophones have, up until the 1960s, applied the term *métis* to refer to the offspring of Indian and white parentage, but more specifically to the French- and Cree-speaking descendants of the Red River Métis (Peterson and Brown, 1985, 5). However, by

the 1970s the situation had changed and the term Métis had expanded and was regularly applied in English to those people who had Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal origins even though individuals had no lineage to Red River. Peterson and Brown assert that this terminology transition confuses a historically-based political and ethnic identity with the genetic attributes of individuals, regardless of their ethnic or cultural identities (1985, 5).

The definition of who is and who is not Métis is very much at issue. As the rights of Métis are discussed in the media, amongst parliamentarians, in the courts, and by Canadians in general, as the place of Louis Riel in Canada's history is publicly reconsidered, as more people feel comfortable expressing or recognizing their aboriginality, so the number of people reporting both an Aboriginal identity and/or origin grows. The Census does not attempt to clarify whether or not someone is reporting as *métis* or Métis. However, it is clear that today more people are reporting either one of these terms on the Census. In this essay I refer to "Métis" since that is how Statistics Canada releases the Census data and more than likely some people have reported Métis as a distinct socio-economic group and others have reported Métis as an indication of their mixed ancestry.

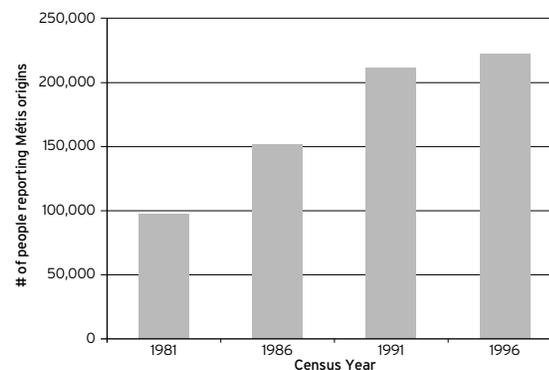
The Census Concepts

Ethnic Origin

An origin question has been on the Canadian Census since 1887, with the sole exception of 1881. However, this information has not been collected uniformly over time making historical comparison difficult and questionable. Prior to the 1981 Census, the ethnic origin question asked people only about their paternal ancestral origins thereby not always capturing peoples' Métis origins. Then, 1981 Census questions requested information on origins of both paternal and maternal ancestors and multiple responses were accepted. By 1996 the question becomes a write-in question with space for multiple responses and a list of examples, one of which is Métis. It is clear that reporting Métis on the ethnic origin question does not always equate with lineage back to the original Red River community.

As shown on Graph 1, the number of people reporting Métis origins has increased from 98,300 in 1981 to almost 223,000 in 1996. This increase can be attributed in part to

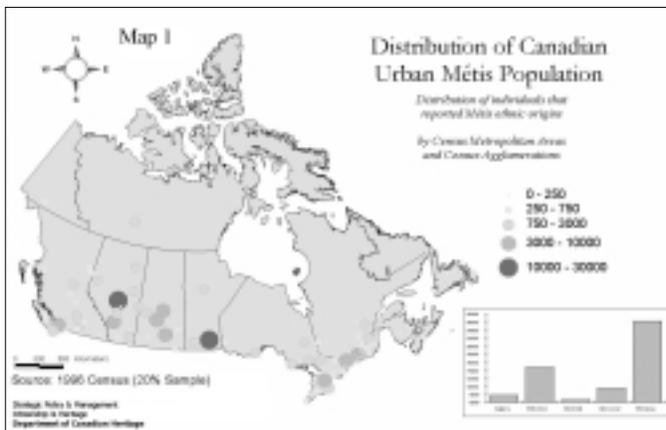
Graph 1
People Reporting Metis Origins,
1981-1996 Census



births, but also to ethnic mobility, the fluidity of defining who is Métis and the many different ways in which Métis origins can be reported.

Given that the concept of Métis means mixed, people reporting Métis origins often report multiple origins. On the 1996 Census, 77% of people reporting Métis origins reported it as a multiple response compared to 55% of people reporting North American Indian origins and 33% of people reporting Inuit origins. Of those who reported multiple responses Métis origins, 26% reported two responses, 24% reported three responses and 27% reported four or more responses to the ethnic origin question. 67% of people who reported Métis origins reported it in combination with Canadian, British and/or French. Trying to derive this population using the ethnic origin data is difficult since people could report in a variety of ways.

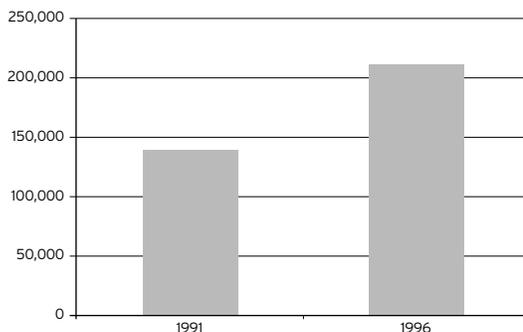
The ethnic origin results highlight that Métis are not only a Prairie group. The top six Métis provinces were: Manitoba (22%), Alberta (21%), Saskatchewan (15%), Ontario (15%), British Columbia (13%), and Quebec (10%). Sixty-seven percent of people reporting Métis origins resided in CMA or CA and the top five CMA were Winnipeg, Edmonton, Vancouver, Calgary, and Montreal (Map 1).



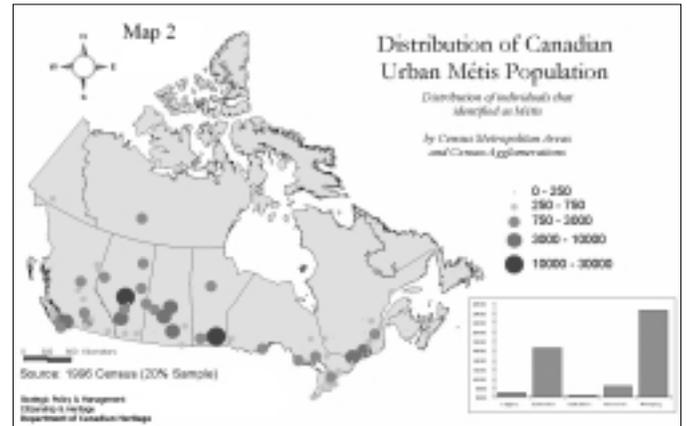
Aboriginal self-identification

On the 1996 Census a new question on Aboriginal self-identity was introduced, helping researchers hone in on those people who reported themselves as Aboriginal. This question was similar to one posed on the 1991 post-censal Aboriginal Peoples Survey. (Graph 2)⁴

Graph 2
People Reporting Metis Identity, 1991
Aboriginal Peoples' Survey and 1996 Census



The identity population is centred in the Prairie provinces as illustrated by the top 6 Métis provinces: Alberta (24%), Manitoba (22%), Saskatchewan (17%), British Columbia (13%), Ontario (11%), and Quebec (8%). Approximately 64% of the Métis identity population resided in CMA and CA in Canada and the top five cities were : Winnipeg, Edmonton, Vancouver, Calgary and Saskatoon. (Map 2)

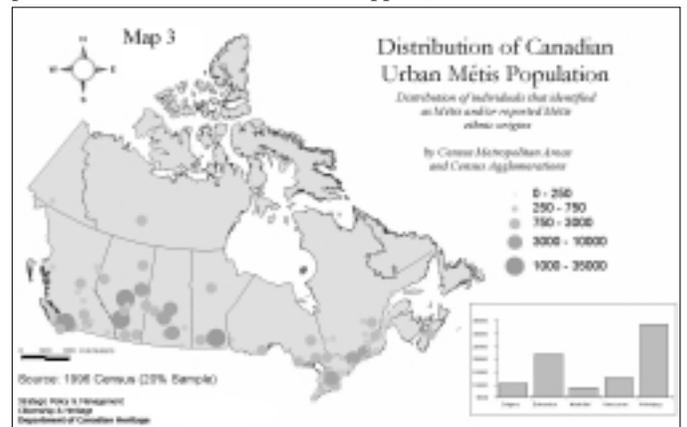


Total Métis - Combining Origin and Identity

The case of Métis reporting on the Census in Canada is unique and it is only because of this uniqueness that data from these two different concepts, ethnic origin and Aboriginal identity, can be melded into a “Total Métis” count. Totalling all people reporting Métis provides a concept with which to work towards a more complete understanding of Métis in urban centres.

According to the 1996 Census approximately 303,000 (Diagram 1) people reported Métis on the Census and 64% of this population resided in CMA and CA. The remainder of this paper will apply the “Total Métis” concept to the top four Métis CMA (Winnipeg, Edmonton, Vancouver, and Calgary) since it may provide insight into the geographic situation of Métis in cities and provide a base for future research on Métis in urban centres. (Map 3)

A geographic overview of people reporting Métis on the census will provide the basics to complete analysis of this population and help determine whether some of these urban Métis live in the same area of a city. Here a 250-person cut-off at the CT level will be applied, a cut-off that

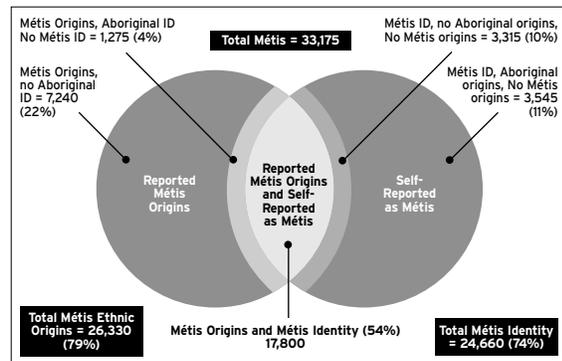


Statistics Canada often applies when deciding whether a geographic unit has a sufficient population to apply socio-economic indicators.⁵ If people are living in similar regions within a particular CMA, this may indicate numerous different scenarios, two of which are that people are moving to this region of the city due to discrimination in the form of housing and labour force (Olson and Kobayashi, 1993) or that people move there because of the perceived benefits of close proximity, such as similar values, norms and ethnic identity (Balakrishnan and Hou, 1999).

Winnipeg

Of all Canadian cities, Winnipeg has the largest Métis population with 26,330 reporting Métis origins, 24,660 people reporting Métis identity and 33,175 reporting Métis as either their ethnic origins and/or their identity. Winnipeg also has the largest proportion of the Métis population that reported Métis origins and identity; conversely Winnipeg has a relatively low proportion of people reporting Métis identity with either no Aboriginal origins or no Métis origins. (Diagram 2)

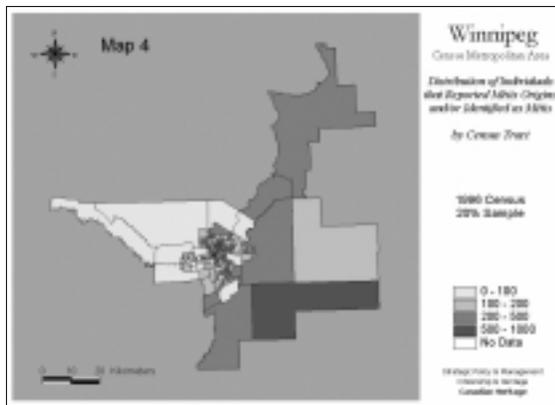
Diagram 2
People who reported Métis in Winnipeg on the 1996 Census (20% Sample)



Total Métis Origins: people who reported "Métis Single Response", "Métis and Others", or a "Multiple Aboriginal Response" to Question 17 (Ethnic Origin) on the 1996 Census. "Multiple Aboriginal Response" was included as 97% of combinations include a Métis response.

Total Métis Identity: people who reported "Métis Single Response", "North American Indian and Métis", "Métis and Inuit", or "North American Indian and Inuit and Métis" to Question 18 (Aboriginal Identity) on the 1996 Census.

When the total Métis calculation is applied there are 50 CTs with over 250 persons reporting Métis, indicating that in these small geographic units there are Métis from both the identity and origin side of the equation living



in the same area. The 50 CTs is higher than the 28 CTs for Métis identity only, and the 29 for the Métis origin population. (Map 4)

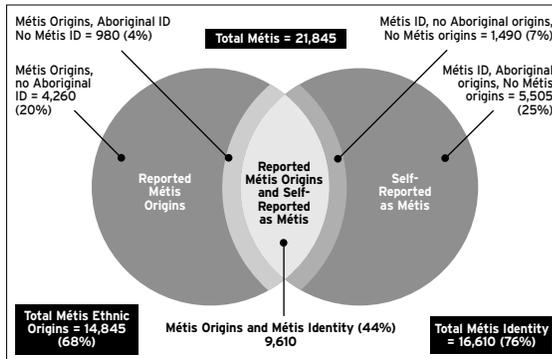
Nine CTs had over 500 people reporting Métis, with identity there were six and with origin there were three, while in one CT 22% (915 people) of the population reported Métis on either the origin and/or identity questions on the Census (Map 4).

Winnipeg not only has the largest Métis population, but it also has the highest proportion of people reporting both identity and origin. Even so, applying a total Métis number provides more CTs with adequate numbers to complete future socio-economic analysis of this population.

Edmonton

Edmonton had the second largest Métis population with 16,600 people reporting Métis identity and 14,845 reporting Métis origins and 21,825 reporting Métis to at least one of these questions. Edmonton was the only city where more people reported Métis identity than those reporting Métis origins. This CMA had the largest proportion of people reporting a Métis identity with Aboriginal origins but no Métis origins (25%), while conversely it also had the lowest proportion of people who reported a Métis identity with no Aboriginal origins (20%). (Diagram 3)

Diagram 3
People who reported Métis in Edmonton on the 1996 Census (20% Sample)



Total Métis Origins: people who reported "Métis Single Response", "Métis and Others", or a "Multiple Aboriginal Response" to Question 17 (Ethnic Origin) on the 1996 Census. "Multiple Aboriginal Response" was included as 97% of combinations include a Métis response.

Total Métis Identity: people who reported "Métis Single Response", "North American Indian and Métis", "Métis and Inuit", or "North American Indian and Inuit and Métis" to Question 18 (Aboriginal Identity) on the 1996 Census.

When applying the total Métis calculation, there were 14 CTs with over 250 people reporting Métis while there were 8 and 4 CTs for Métis identity and Métis ethnic origin respectively. Varied reporting patterns help to increase the size of the population in selected CTs and provide a broader base for analysis (Map 5). Comparison of the results of these two surveys is questionable, especially since the questions were not exactly the same and the Census is based on proxy responses. However, these are the only benchmarks currently available.

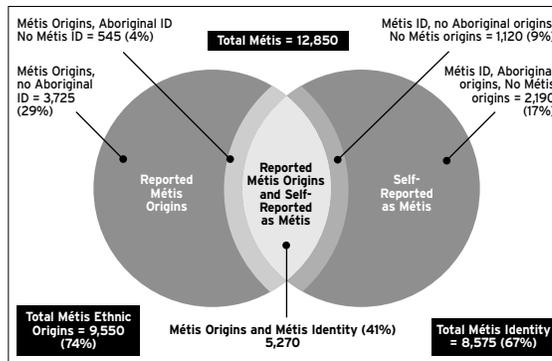
Vancouver

In Vancouver there were 8,580 reporting a Métis identity, and 9,550 people reporting Métis origins, for a



total Métis count of 12,855 people. This CMA had a relatively high proportion of people reporting Métis origins with no Aboriginal identity (29%) and an 8% gap between the proportions of its population reporting origins (74%) compared to identity (67%). (Diagram 4)

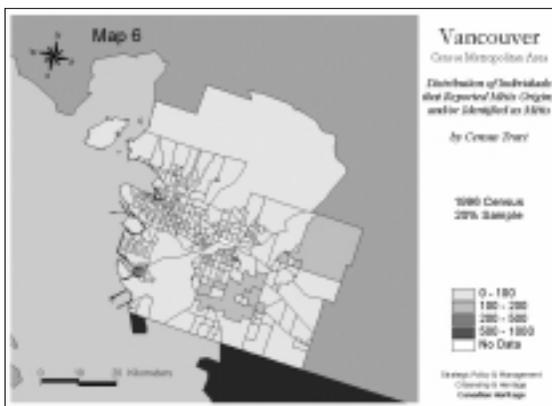
Diagram 4
People who reported Métis in Vancouver on the 1996 Census (20% Sample)



Total Métis Origins: people who reported "Métis Single Response", "Métis and Others", or a "Multiple Aboriginal Response" to Question 17 (Ethnic Origin) on the 1996 Census. "Multiple Aboriginal Response" was included as 97% of combinations include a Métis response.

Total Métis Identity: people who reported "Métis Single Response", "North American Indian and Métis", "Métis and Inuit", or "North American Indian and Inuit and Métis" to Question 18 (Aboriginal Identity) on the 1996 Census.

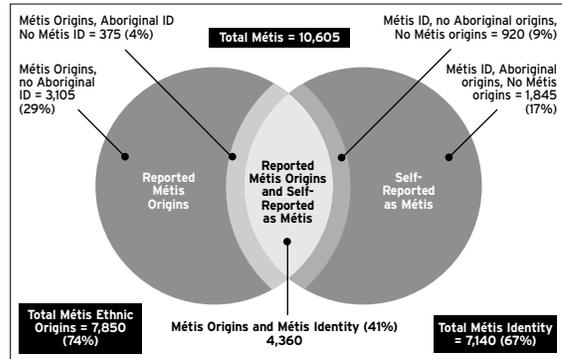
No CT in Vancouver had a Métis population over 250 people and this may reflect the fact that this larger origin population with no identity is not living in the same neighbourhood as people reporting Métis identity (Map 6)



Calgary

In Calgary 7,135 people reported Métis identity and 7,850 people reported Métis origins, 10,600 people reported Métis in general on the 1996 Census. The distribution of identity and origin populations in Calgary is similar to that of Vancouver, with a larger Métis origin population; 29% of the total Métis population reported Métis origins with no Aboriginal identity. (Diagram 5)

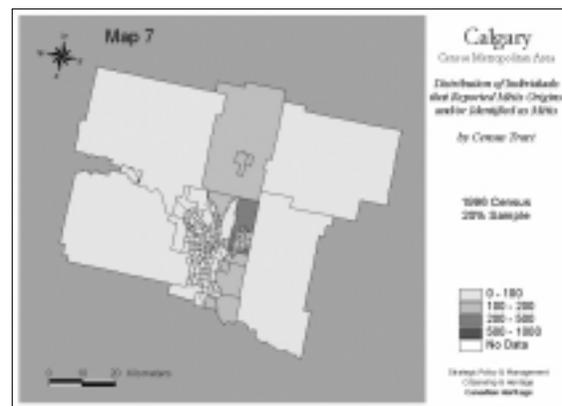
Diagram 5
People who reported Métis in Calgary on the 1996 Census (20% Sample)



Total Métis Origins: people who reported "Métis Single Response", "Métis and Others", or a "Multiple Aboriginal Response" to Question 17 (Ethnic Origin) on the 1996 Census. "Multiple Aboriginal Response" was included as 97% of combinations include a Métis response.

Total Métis Identity: people who reported "Métis Single Response", "North American Indian and Métis", "Métis and Inuit", or "North American Indian and Inuit and Métis" to Question 18 (Aboriginal Identity) on the 1996 Census.

Calgary unlike Vancouver has two central CTs with a total Métis population of over 250 people, something the identity CTs and origins CTs did not provide. In this city, combining the Métis identity and origin populations provides an improved opportunity to understand this population and further analysis needs to occur within these CTs or by using Census information so as to provide a more complete understanding of the situation in this rapidly growing centre. (Map 7)



Conclusion

The case of the Métis in urban centres across Canada needs to be more closely examined from a different perspective and a total Métis perspective provides researchers with a more holistic understanding of how this population is integrating into the urban landscape. The case of the Métis is different from any other origin on the Census since the

definition of Métis is still being discussed in numerous circles, there is a high degree of ethnic mobility, and someone could report as Métis in a variety of ways. For these reasons the melding of these two concepts should be considered.

It is apparent that in three of the four cities examined here, Métis who self-identify and have Métis origins often reside in the same residential area, thereby helping researchers to understand where this population is located and where the overlap occurs. When using the combined Métis variable more socio-economic and residential segregation analysis could be completed to attain a fuller understanding of what is happening in these areas and why these people have chosen to reside in the same region of the city. When this new total Métis variable does not produce Census tracts, then this also provides useful information. The fact that in many cases the origin and identity populations may not be reporting the same way and they may not have exactly the same socio-economic standing, but they do in each of these cities reside in similar neighbourhoods. This is something that needs to be explored more fully to help researchers, community groups and governments more fully understand the circumstances of urban Métis in Canada.

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- ¹ Census Metropolitan Area or a Census Agglomeration is formed by one or more adjacent municipalities centred on a large urban area. The census population count of the urban core is at least 10,000 to form a census agglomeration and at least 100,000 to form a census metropolitan area (2001 Census Dictionary).
- ² Census Tracts are small, relatively stable geographic areas that usually have a population of 2,500 to 8,000. They are located in census metropolitan areas and in census agglomerations with an urban core population of 50,000 or more in the previous census.
- ³ The idea for totalling the Aboriginal origin and identity populations emerged from a lively debate at the Aboriginal Peoples' Survey's Implementation Committee on which I was a federal representative. Several of the Aboriginal organizations represented at the Committee suggested that total combining origin and identity was a more inclusive and realistic count than one that focused purely on Aboriginal identity.
- ⁴ Comparison of the results of these two surveys is questionable, especially since the questions were not exactly the same and the Census is based on proxy responses. However these are the only benchmarks currently available.
- ⁵ This issue has been discussed at the Aboriginal Peoples' Survey Implementation Committee.

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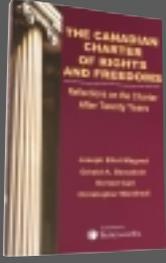


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