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Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

Book IV The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups

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Report of the Royal Commission
on Bilingualism and Biculturalism
Volume 4

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Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

To His Excellency
The Governor General in Council

We, the Commissioners appointed
as a Royal Commission, beg to submit
to your Excellency
Volume 4 of our Final Report

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Ottawa, October 23, 1969

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Catalogue No. Z1-1963/1-5/4

QUEEN'S PRINTER FOR CANADA
Ottawa, 1970

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It would be presumptuous for us to try to study all the questions raised by the existence in Canada of "other ethnic groups," that is those whose ethnic origin is neither French nor British, in a single volume. Rather, we shall concentrate on examining the part played by these groups in the country's history and the contribution they make to Canadian life.

We are aware of the difficulty of this task. It is not easy—if possible—to distinguish clearly between an individual's cultural contribution resulting from his membership in a cultural group and his contribution resulting from deliberate integration with one of the two official linguistic communities. An individual's activity is often doubly motivated—by a desire to retain the cultural heritage of his forebears and a desire to feel that he is participating in the development of his adopted country. Should we interpret "the contribution made by the other ethnic groups" to mean the sum of the individual contributions, or the acceptance by Canadians as a whole of certain cultural characteristics that belong to a particular group? These are some of the basic questions, to which we cannot claim to have found final answers.

Hopefully, in the near future the field of sociological research in Canada will be enlarged to include a systematic study of such questions. There are historical essays and numerous monographs on one group or another, but very few attempts have been made to consider these problems as a whole. The Commission carried out research on various aspects of the ethnic question in Canada, and we have made use of these studies along with the information available in the various general and special studies at our disposal.[1] Our regional public hearings and the briefs we received have also been most useful. However, the fact remains that we have not been able to study these questions as fully as they deserve, and we admit that certain parts of this Book are far from complete. As a result, although it was prepared with considerable care, this Book may leave some readers unsatisfied. Rather than yield to facile generalizations, we have chosen to cast our Book within the perspective of our terms of reference, and have studied the cultural contribution

[1] *See below* for a Bibliography of the works consulted.

made by the other cultural groups by examining the patterns of their integration, as groups or individuals, into the life of the country.

The Introduction discusses certain concepts basic to an understanding of the Book and defines our use of certain terms; Part 1 gives an historical outline of the various phases of immigration to Canada; Part 2 considers the economic, political, and social role of the non-British, non-French cultural groups; in Part 3 we review their language patterns, education, the media of communications, and arts and letters. The Book includes 16 recommendations, and an appeal in the Postscript for further research on ethnic questions. The appendices contain the Commission's terms of reference, and much of the relevant statistical data on which this Book is based. Finally, the bibliography contains the titles of works used in the preparation of the *Report,* which readers may wish to consult for further information.

1. The terms of reference instructed the Commission "to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races, *taking into account the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution.*"[1] The Commission was further directed "to report on the role of public and private organizations, including the mass communications media, in promoting bilingualism, better cultural relations and a more widespread appreciation of the basically bicultural character of the country and of *the subsequent contribution made by the other cultures.*" The two passages in italics call attention to the key terms of our mandate concerning the "other ethnic groups." The subject of this Book, the fourth of our *Report,* is the "contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada."

2. It will be noted immediately that while the terms of reference deal with questions of those of ethnic origin other than British or French, they do so in relation to the basic problem of bilingualism and biculturalism, from which they are inseparable, and in the context of the coexistence of the Francophone and Anglophone communities. Also, the terms of reference do not call for an exhaustive study of the position of those of non-British, non-French origin, but rather an examination of the way they have taken their place within the two societies that have provided Canada's social structures and institutions. We will look at their contribution to Canadian life, and especially to the enrichment that results from the meeting of a number of languages and cul-

[1] *See* Appendix I for the full text of the terms of reference.

tures. This contribution is seen, within the Canadian reality, in the active participation of those whose mother tongue is neither French nor English in various facets of community life. The resulting exchange of values—particularly those relating to language and culture—is beneficial to the country provided that it is carried out in a spirit of understanding and with a view to mutual enrichment.

A country of heavy immigration

3. Canada, like the United States, is a country of heavy immigration and can be called an "open" country. Its demographic make-up therefore differs from that of older European countries—such as Spain, Germany, or Poland—where one generation succeeds another with no substantial change as a result of waves of immigrants.

4. Canada, a vast territory inhabited in the beginning by Indians and Eskimos,[1] was first colonized by the French, beginning early in the 17th century, and then by the British. Late in this century, immigrants of different ethnic origins began to arrive; variations in the later flow of immigrants almost always depended on political and economic conditions. The first Germans arrived towards the end of the 17th century. One of the first Jews to come to Canada was Aaron Hart, who settled in Montreal in 1759. In the last half of the 18th century, among other immigrants, two Poles whose names were to become familiar came to Canada: Dominique Barcz around 1750 (his name was later spelled "Bartzsch" and "Debartzch") and Auguste-François Globenski in 1776. After 1870, the Danes, Dutch, Icelanders, and others made their way to the prairies in ever-increasing numbers. In 1891, Wasyl Eleniak and Iwan Pylypiw symbolically initiated Ukrainian immigration to Canada. Even these few examples demonstrate that Canada's population of non-British, non-French origin, often termed "New Canadians," has a long history.

5. Immigration continues today with far-reaching effects on the two main linguistic communities, and the population of Canada is still undergoing changes whose future extent it is impossible to foresee with any certainty. It is highly desirable that newcomers to Canada receive full and clear information about their new country. It is not enough to assure an immigrant work and material comfort; he must also be made aware of certain fundamental principles that will bear upon his citizenship in his adopted country. In particular, he should know that Canada recognizes two official languages and that it possesses two predominant cultures that have produced two societies—Francophone and Anglophone —which form two distinct communities within an overall Canadian context.

[1] Since the terms of reference contain no mention of Indians and Eskimos, we have not studied the question of Canada's native population. See *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, General Introduction (Ottawa, 1967), §§ 21-3.

Integration and the two societies

6. On the other hand, being Francophone or Anglophone does not necessarily mean that one is of French or British origin. Immigrants, whatever their ethnic or national origin or their mother tongue, have the right and are at liberty to integrate with either of the two societies. Those of French and British origin—who have the definite advantage of having colonized Canada—share with all Canadians the rights and obligations arising from the fundamental duality of Canada, as it should be, in the name of equality and the democratic spirit. The process of integration, which contributes to the development of the two societies, should therefore be guided by three conditions: the good of the individual, the good of the society he chooses, and the good of the country as a whole.

7. Every Canadian should be able to enjoy all his natural and civil rights, within one of the two societies. Those of neither French nor British origin should have the same opportunities as citizens who belong to the two societies by birth. In keeping with the spirit of our times, the process of integration should be equally beneficial to the receiving society and to the individual joining it. The individual must have complete freedom of choice in his integration; the receiving society must, through its institutions, assure him equal opportunities for personal fulfilment.

Integration and assimilation

8. Integration, in the broad sense, does not imply the loss of an individual's identity and original characteristics or of his original language and culture. Man is a thinking and sensitive being; severing him from his roots could destroy an aspect of his personality and deprive society of some of the values he can bring to it. Integration is not synonymous with assimilation. Assimilation implies almost total absorption into another linguistic and cultural group. An assimilated individual gives up his cultural identity, and may even go as far as to change his name. Both integration and assimilation occur in Canada, and the individual must be free to choose whichever process suits him, but it seems to us that those of other than French or British origin clearly prefer integration.

Integration and the imbalance in Canadian society

9. We have said that there must be a free choice; but it is not easy for members of the other cultural groups to choose between the Francophone and the Anglophone societies. The economic factor exercises an important influence and the English language, with its unquestionable dominance in North America tips the scale strongly in its favour. Since economic, social, and linguistic factors all play a part, the Francophone community, being economically weaker than the Anglophone, cannot easily attract immigrants. This is evident in Montreal and elsewhere in Canada. Because of this imbalance between the two societies, most members of non-British, non-French

groups gravitate almost instinctively to the Anglophone side. The reprecussions of this are felt in many fields, some of which lie within provincial jurisdiction, particularly in social and educational spheres. We caution readers against forming the impression, in reading this Book, that the Francophone group is on an equal footing with the Anglophone; in fact its position is inferior in all sectors in Canada, and in a number of sectors in Quebec.

10. During our public hearings, we were told a number of times, in Quebec and also in certain western cities, that it is possible for an immigrant to integrate with both the Francophone and the Anglophone societies at once and with equal satisfaction. We should like to believe this is so, but in fact such cases are exceptional. Those who make such claims appear to have in mind the mastery of the two official languages rather than a two-fold integration. It is a fact that members of non-British, non-French cultural groups, or at least most members, tend to accept the Canadian duality with reluctance, preferring by far a concept which could be designated as simply "Canadian." When they must choose between the two societies, with all that the choice implies, they lean quite naturally towards the stronger, namely the Anglophone.

Acculturation

11. The process of integration goes hand in hand with what anthropologists call "acculturation."[1] Anyone who chooses Canada as his adopted country adopts a new style of life, a particular kind of existence. This phenomenon is easily visible in the immigrant's experience in the work world, in his social contacts with other people, in the schools, where children acquire a major part of their preparation for life, and in all his contact with other citizens and public institutions. In office and factory, train and plane, in court and Parliament, the process of acculturation can be seen, despite the obstacles facing an individual as he becomes acquainted with his new environment, in which he is exposed to so many influences. Acculturation is the process of adaptation to the environment in which an individual is compelled to live as he adjusts his behaviour to that of the community.

12. Acculturation is inevitable in a multi-ethnic country like Canada, and the two main societies themselves are open to its influence. The integration of immigrants into the life of the country, with the help of its institutions, is surely the road to their self-fulfilment. But in adopting fully the Canadian way of life, sharing its advantages and disadvantages, those whose origin is neither French nor British do not have to cast off or hide their own culture. It may happen that in their determination to express their desire to live fully in this mode, their culture may conflict with the customs of their adopted society. But

[1] See *ibid.*, § 41 for a discussion of this term.

Canadian society, open and modern, should be able to integrate heterogeneous elements into a harmonious system, to achieve "unity in diversity."

Ethnic origin and "ethnic group"

13. We have already stressed in our General Introduction the danger of using ethnic origin as the basis for a simplistic distinction between the two "founding peoples" and the members of "other ethnic groups."[1] On the basis of such a distinction, the members of non-British, non-French cultural groups may feel that they are denied access to the country's spheres of influence, or that they are considered "second-class citizens." We repeat that we accept the words "race" and "people" only in their traditional sense—meaning a national group, with no biological significance—and we prefer to emphasize the facts of language and culture rather than the concepts of "race," "people," or even "ethnic group."

14. What counts most in our concept of an "ethnic group" is not one's ethnic origin or even one's mother tongue, but one's sense of belonging to a group, and the group's collective will to exist. Ethnic origin, be it French, British, German, Italian, or any other category implies only biological affiliation and ancestry; an individual's loyalty to a group should, as we have said before, depend far more on his personal identification with it. To stress ethnic origin as a basic principle for shaping society would create closed groups based on accidents of birth. An "ethnic group" is consequently much more than a statistic based on one's ethnic origin; much more than the total number of individuals of the same origin; it is a force which draws its vitality from its members' feeling of belonging to the group.

The Canadian situation

15. In Canada, where some 30 ethnic origin categories are identified by the 1961 census,[2] the position of the various cultural groups is far from clear; in fact it is very complex, especially if we are attempting an objective study of their will to exist. Some groups draw together and develop, while others break up and disperse. For example, many Canadians of German and Dutch origin no longer have any connection with the German or Dutch cultural groups. On the other hand, a Canadian of Ukranian origin whose family has been in Canada for three generations and who no longer speaks his ancestral language, or of Jewish origin who speaks neither Yiddish or Hebrew, may participate with great enthusiasm in the activities of his respective cultural group. Measuring the vitality of any cultural group by taking as a criterion the individual's sense of belonging to a particular culture is as difficult as determining the extent of the group's integration with one of the two societies.

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[1] *Ibid.*, §§ 4-15.

[2] *See* Table 2.

16. According to the 1961 census, the Canadian population was distributed by ethnic origin categories as follows: 44 per cent were of British extraction, 30 per cent of French extraction, and 26 per cent of various other ethnic origins.[1] These figures may be useful in providing information on the ethnic background of the Canadian population, but they can also lead to misinterpretation if it is concluded from this evidence that there are two classes of citizens in Canada. We have rejected, for moral and practical reasons, a concept of the Canadian population based on ethnicity. It would be both illogical and discriminatory to see the two founding peoples as a privileged caste, transmitting their heritage from father to son, with the "other ethnic groups" forming an inferior order. It would also be inaccurate to characterize one of these groups, simply on the basis of ethnic origin, and ignoring other equally important factors such as a sense of belonging and a will to exist as a group. In short, one must not confuse ethnic origin and ethnic group.

17. In spite of these statistics, it would be difficult to say exactly how many Canadians identify themselves with the cultural groups corresponding to their ethnic origin, whether they arrived in Canada recently or long ago. No one can tell exactly how many individuals have integrated with either the Francophone or Anglophone society, or how complete the process of integration has been. It is also impossible to determine how strong an individual's identification remains with his ancestral language and culture. Each of these two phenomena—integration with one of the dominant societies and affiliation with the original culture—exists to some degree in both individuals and groups. The situation is further complicated by such factors as the generation gap, intermarriage between members of different cultural groups, geographic distribution, and other social and economic factors.

The will to exist of cultural groups

18. With these reservations, we can still state that there are a number of cultural groups in Canada with a clear sense of identity. They want, without in any way undermining national unity, to maintain their own linguistic and cultural heritage. They have their own associations, clubs, parishes, and religious organizations; they maintain their own schools and express their collective views through their own press. Some have formed highly active organizations—for example, the Canadian Jewish Congress and the Canadian Polish Congress. These organizations act as spokesmen for the group, may use the group's ancestral language, and create, as far as possible, a climate propitious to the maintenance of the group's own culture. To deny their existence would be to shut one's eyes to the Canadian reality. The

[1] The question asked in the census to determine ethnic origin was: "To what ethnic or cultural group did you or your ancestor (on the male side) belong on coming to this continent?"

fear that their growth might foreshadow the balkanization of Canada perhaps had some foundation 50 years ago. Today such a thing is out of the question. Although the last great wave of immigration to Canada was fairly recent, only 1 per cent of the Canadian population speaks neither English nor French.

Discrimination

19. When an established population is joined by waves of newcomers, a human problem results and Canadians have not always resolved this problem with the greatest generosity. A country like Canada must admit diversity within unity, show itself hospitable, and refuse to tolerate any kind of discrimination. Its citizens are called upon to live side by side with people whose surnames, accents, traditions, and attitudes may differ from their own. They cannot be told that they are taking away the livelihood of other Canadians. Some have been here for many years; others, more recent arrivals, must learn one—and sometimes both—of the official languages, earn their living (often at jobs that do not suit them), find a place for themselves in their new environment, and adopt new customs; in short, they must adapt themselves to their new country. We have been told of many signs of hostility towards immigrants and even towards Canadians of various ethnic origins whose ancestors arrived in Canada two or three generations ago. Yet some Canadians inflict this totally undeserved suffering upon others. It is particularly deplorable when it occurs in schools, not only because the victims are children, but also because of the risk of implanting long-lasting prejudices in other children. We do not believe that such behaviour is common; on the contrary, we feel that xenophobia has diminished in Canada. But a few cases of this kind of injustice are enough to spoil otherwise harmonious relations. Moreover, there are forms of discrimination that are too subtle to be controlled by law, but that are none the less damaging to their victims, sometimes seriously so. An individual—or a group—who finds himself ostracized must either withdraw within his own cultural group or be prepared to fight this type of injustice.

Semantic problems

20. The whole topic of the non-British, non-French cultural groups raises great difficulties of semantics. Terms such as, "other ethnic groups," "New Canadians," and "the Canadian mosaic" are often used in reference to the "ethnic" question in Canada. The adjective "ethnic" is ambiguous at best, and often appears to be more or less synonymous with "foreign." The phrase "the other ethnic groups," which is used in the terms of reference, involves less risk of misinterpretation because it implies that Canada's two dominant groups, the French and British, are also "ethnic" groups. We have already pointed out that when we speak of the Anglophone group or the Francophone group, or of any group, how misleading an ethnic attribution can be. The sense of

belonging is the determining factor. Any term which implies "foreignness," such as "New Canadian," is not only misleading but incorrect when it applies to a person whose forebears arrived in Canada 50 or 100 years ago. The idea of the "Canadian mosaic" is a picturesque and appealing metaphor and may describe the ethnic diversity of a country stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, but it does not really provide a satisfactory designation for the sociological or cultural phenomenon in question.

A "third force"

21. In the last few years, attempts have been made to emphasize the importance of the non-British, non-French cultural groups by using the terms "third force" or "third element" to embrace all such groups. Since, in 1961, 26 per cent of the Canadian population was of neither French nor British ethnic origin, these terms have been used by some to distinguish this section of the population from the Anglophone and Francophone sections. This concept is too simplistic to reflect adequately the Canadian reality for it encompasses vast numbers of people whose only common feature is not being of either British or French ethnic origin. Can the aspirations of those of Chinese origin in Vancouver be amalgamated with the aspirations of those of Ukrainian origin in Winnipeg? What are the tendencies among people of Dutch or German origin to integrate? How extensive is assimilation among those of Scandinavian origin? How strong, in fact, is the will to exist on the part of certain apparently well-organized groups? The other cultural groups are scattered all across the country, and not one of them—even the biggest and most active—represents as much as 20 per cent of the population of any of the ten provinces.[1] While some cultural groups are concentrated in considerable numbers in Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, and Vancouver, and account for as much as 10 per cent of the population in certain western cities, they are not sufficiently concentrated to contemplate the institution of other official languages, or the expansion of the concept of two societies to include four or five. It is clear that this "third force" does not exist in Canada in any political sense, and is simply based on statistical compilations. All the available evidence indicates that those of other languages and cultures are more or less integrated with the Francophone and Anglophone communities, where they should find opportunities for self-fulfilment and equality of status. It is within these two societies that their cultural distinctiveness should find a climate of respect and encouragement to survive.

[1] In 1961, Canadians of German origin accounted for 17 per cent of the population in Saskatchewan, 14 per cent in Alberta, and 10 per cent in Manitoba. Those of Ukrainian origin represented 11 per cent of the population in Manitoba, 9 per cent in Saskatchewan, 8 per cent in Alberta, and 2 per cent in British Columbia. *See also* Appendix II, Tables A-3—A-22.

"Cultural contribution": an overall view

22. Consequently, we would rather regard the "other ethnic groups" as cultural groups. Their role in Canadian society, seen in this light, has been our principal concern in the preparation of this Book. Fortunately their cultural contribution, stressed by our terms of reference, corresponds to the sociological facts. In our General Introduction, we examined the different meanings of the word "culture." We set aside both excessively broad definitions and those that limit the word to its strictly humanistic sense and settled on a definition that is not restricted exclusively to creative works. For us, "culture is a way of being, thinking, and feeling. It is a driving force animating a significant group of individuals united by a common tongue, and sharing the same customs, habits, and experiences."[1] It is a style of living made up of many elements that colour thought, feeling, and creativity, like the light that illuminates the design of a stained-glass window. This definition is applied essentially to the two dominant cultures of Canada, those of the Francophone and Anglophone societies; to a certain degree it also fits the other cultures in this country, particularly if they have brought enrichment to one of the two dominant cultures and continue to flourish and benefit through their integration with one of the two societies. Thus, streams empty into a river and their waters mix and swell the river's flow. For a group as well as an individual, culture cannot be measured by the pound.

"Cultural contribution": a sociological view

23. Our analysis will examine the following questions: to what degree have Canadians whose origin is neither French nor British integrated with Francophone or Anglophone society? To what degree do they remain attached to their original cultures and languages? This procedure is intended only to help distinguish the subtleties of the problem under consideration. There are those who are perfectly integrated with one of Canada's two main societies and who are at the same time profoundly attached to the language of their forbears—even if they are not able to speak it in some cases—and who wholeheartedly support the culture that goes with it. However, there are no statistics on which to base an accurate estimate of such cases. Given our present knowledge, we must be satisfied with approximations. In effect, it is nearly impossible to officialize culture, which is made up of varied influences and expressions which depend on the individual as much as on the group.

"Cultural contribution": an historical view

24. For many years immigrants of widely differing origins have been taking an active part in the development of the country, particularly in western Canada. Here the cultural contribution to Canadian

[1] *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, General Introduction, § 38.

life on the part of people of other than French or British origin first became apparent. Each year, as their numbers have increased and they have become better integrated, they have brought their strength, skills, and traditions to this country. Particularly since the end of World War II, immigrants from different parts of the world, representing different cultures, have been arriving in great numbers. They include teachers, doctors, engineers, and artists. They contribute experience acquired over long years of study and practice to Canadian life. Their energies benefit universities, hospitals, factories, conservatories, laboratories—every field where society is being built. Society shares the fruits of these labours and discovers in the process that these newcomers have their own traditions. Their distinct characteristics may be difficult to measure but are nonetheless valid cultural influences.

Cultural heritage

25. Nothing should prevent those of other than French or British ethnic origin from keeping their attachment to their original culture once they have been integrated into Canadian life. This should be encouraged, for society as a whole can only benefit from it. However, to those Canadians of the Anglophone and Francophone societies who consider such affiliation only a pleasant manifestation of traditional folklore which, for example, lends a touch of quaintness to the celebration of Christmas or Easter, we wish to say that this concept is quite out of touch with reality. A person's original culture affects him deeply, and often over several generations; there are deep personal attachments no one can explain, customs firmly rooted in a man's being. What happens to those who have left their mother country and adopted another? Having arrived in Canada, they can appreciate more keenly all they had to leave behind in their country of origin. On contact with new values and new customs, their cultural heritage assumes greater value in their eyes. That heritage is composed of a variety of ideas, feelings, and artistic expressions, and folklore is only one aspect of it.

Facing biculturalism

26. Among those of non-British, non-French origin, some accept official bilingualism without hesitation but categorically reject biculturalism. They consider Canada to be a country that is officially bilingual but fundamentally multi-cultural. In reply to this objection we wish to repeat that "in our view the term 'biculturalism' covers two main realities. The first is the state of each of the two cultures, and the opportunity of each to exist and flourish. The second is the coexistence and collaborations of these two cultures. . . ."[1] On the other hand, our terms of reference mention the "basically bicultural nature of our country and the subsequent contribution made by the other cultures." It is thus clear that we must not overlook Canada's cultural diversity,

[1] *Ibid.*, § 46.

keeping in mind that there are two dominant cultures, the French and British. It is in this perspective, that human relations attain more significance through encounter, collaboration, and enrichment, that we shall study the contribution of various other cultures to the life of the country.

Culture and language

27. Culture and the language that serves as its vehicle cannot be dissociated. Language allows for self-expression and communication according to one's own logic. The vitality of the different languages spoken in Canada, other than French or English, varies from one cultural group to another, and even within these groups, where many people speak their ancestral language poorly or not at all. On the whole, however, those who care about their cultural heritage also care about their ancestral language. Here again, the phenomenon of cultural identification and a feeling of belonging are firmly rooted.

28. We have already stressed the ties between language and culture. In Book I of our *Report*, on the official languages, we proposed a new version of section 133 of the British North America Act, whose subsection 5 would read:

> Nothing in this section shall be taken to diminish or restrict the use, as established by present or future law or practice, of any other language in Canada.[1]

This text is followed by a commentary that underlines certain basic ideas.[2] In it we state, in particular, that the guarantees accorded the official languages—English and French—should not in any way restrict the right to use other languages, whether such rights already exist or might be established in the future. Other languages are in fact used in Canada in personal relations and group activities. It is perfectly reasonable that they should be taught as academic subjects in the schools and used for instruction in private institutions and in religious services. Certain languages, among them German, Ukrainian, and Italian, have already received some form of local or regional recognition. In future, whenever a sufficient number of Canadians ordinarily use a language other than English or French—Ukrainian, for example—and obviously wish to maintain it, this recognition might be broadened and even confirmed by law or regulation.

29. We have not seen fit to extend the scope of our recommendation regarding the section of the British North America Act dealing with the other languages spoken in Canada for three reasons. First, with the exception of our colleague, Commissionner J. B. Rudnyckyj,[3] we interpret our terms of reference as limiting constitutional change exclusively

1 *Ibid.*, I, § 418.
2 *Ibid.*, § 424.
3 See *ibid.*, Separate Statement, 155-69.

to the country's two official languages; hence the title of the first Book of our *Report*. We also consider that subsection 5 of the new version of section 133 will suffice to preserve the languages of the other cultural groups. A broad interpretation and reasonable application of this section will assure the protection needed for the cultural heritage of each to flourish. Finally, we are convinced that measures adopted at the provincial level in the spheres of administration and education will be more appropriate for meeting the linguistic requirements of the various cultural groups than a constitutional formula advanced by federal authorities.

The "other ethnic groups": a positive factor

30. The presence in Canada of many people whose language and culture are distinctive by reason of their birth or ancestry represents an inestimable enrichment that Canadians can not afford to lose. The dominant cultures can only profit from the influence of these other cultures. Linguistic variety is unquestionably an advantage, and its beneficial effects on the country are priceless. We have constantly declared our desire to see all Canadians associating in a climate of equality, whether they belong to the Francophone or Anglophone society. Members of "other ethnic groups," which we prefer to call cultural groups, must enjoy these same advantages and meet the same restrictions. Integration, with respect for both the spirit of democracy and the most deep-rooted human values, can engender healthy diversity within a harmonious and dynamic whole.

31. Finally, the presence of the other cultural groups in Canada is something for which all Canadians should be thankful. Their members must always enjoy the right—a basic human one—to safeguard their languages and cultures. The exercise of this right requires an extra effort on their part, for which their fellow Canadians owe them a debt of gratitude. Their presence facilitates communications between Canada and the rest of the world. Their cultural values find expression not only in popular traditions but also in arts and letters. In our opinion, these values are far more than ethnic differences; we consider them an integral part of the national wealth. We are, therefore, justified in our concern for "the cultural contribution of the other ethnic groups," and having studied it in some detail, proposing ways in which the cultural, social, economic, and political institutions of the country can respond to the legitimate aspirations of the members of the other cultural groups and provide them with opportunities for full development in a dynamic and prosperous Canada.

32. The arrival in Canada of people drawn from a wide variety of ethnic origins can be followed through four distinct phases. The first of these lasted until approximately 1901. In that year the immigration policy of Sir Clifford Sifton, who became Minister of the Interior in 1896 and was determined to see the Canadian West settled, showed its results in the sharply rising census figures. This second phase, which lasted from 1901 until the outbreak of World War I, saw the greatest flow of people into Canada that the country has ever experienced. This influx was halted abruptly by the war, and the level of immigration only began to rise again in the early 1920's. This third phase was in turn halted by the Depression and immigration lapsed until a fourth phase began after World War II and has continued since then.[1] Each of these four phases attracted different types of immigrants to the country. Thus over the years the ethnic background, class, and educational levels of the newcomers have differed widely, as have the geographic areas in which they chose to settle.

Limitations of sources

33. The history of these four phases can be traced through the Canadian census records but they give less than the full story. The questions asked in the censuses about ethnic origin have differed over the years and thus the information available is often not comparable for different periods. For the census of 1891 the only classification by origin was between French and all others. Other difficulties are that many people have been unable to answer the questions about their ethnic background accurately and at various times people have had reasons to wish to conceal or change their ethnic origin.[2] Nor are the figures

1 *See* Appendix II, Tables A-1 and A-2.

2 N. B. Ryder, "The Interpretation of Origin Statistics," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, XXI, No. 4 (November, 1955), 466-79.

of arriving immigrants very detailed, particularly in the earlier phases. For example, there are no figures available as to the ethnic origin of immigrants other than the three categories of "British," "others," and "from the United States" for the years 1896-1900. An additional problem is that considerable numbers of immigrants either returned home or moved on, often to the United States, so the change in the number of a particular group between two censuses results not only from natural increase and immigration but also from emigration. There are no official Canadian records of emigration, although broad estimates can be made by examining official United States reports[1] of immigrants who give Canada as their birth place or as their last place of permanent residence.

A. Immigration before 1901

Early ethnic diversity

34. Although the French and British have been predominant both in their number and in their cultural influence, the population of what is now Canada has always been ethnically diverse. People of many different origins entered British North America during the 18th and 19th centuries as fishermen, farmers, merchants, traders, soldiers, adventurers, slaves, and fugitives. For example, the Jewish community celebrated its national bicentenary in 1959 on the grounds that Aaron Hart, a commissary officer in General Amherst's invading army and the first permanent Jewish settler in Canada, arrived in Montreal in 1759.[2] The Poles can also point to several notable figures of Polish background in Canadian history during the 18th and 19th centuries. These include Frederic Globenski, born in 1790, a judge at Rivière-du-Chêne, Quebec; Sir Casimir Gzowski, born in 1813, a civil engineer and contractor, and builder of the International Bridge at Niagara; and Alexandre Edouard Kierzkowski, born in 1816, a member of the first Parliament after Confederation.

Slow rate of growth

35. Yet, until 1901, the pace of immigration was slow. By 1871 only 8 per cent[3] of the population was of ethnic origin other than British, French, or native Indian and Eskimo. By 1881 the percentage had risen to nearly 9 and by 1901 to nearly 10 (*see* Table 1). Emigration to the United States was one reason for this slow rate of growth. In his report on British North America in 1839, Lord Durham noted a tendency for immigrants to Canada to move on to the United States and placed the level of emigration at 60 per cent for the decade

[1] From the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the United States Department of Justice.

[2] B. G. Sack, *History of the Jews in Canada* (Montreal, 1945), I, 51, discusses Jewish contacts with New France and Nova Scotia which occurred much earlier than 1759.

[3] Except in a few cases, percentages in the text have been rounded to the nearest whole number.

Table 1. Ethnic Variations in the Canadian Population

Distribution (in numbers and percentages) of the population, by ethnic origin—Canada, 1871–1961[1]

Year	British		French		Indian and Eskimo		Others and not stated		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1871	2,110,502	60.5	1,082,940	31.1	23,037	.7	269,282	7.7	3,485,761	100
1881	2,548,514	58.9	1,298,929	30.0	108,547	2.5	368,820	8.6	4,324,810	100
1901	3,063,195	57.0	1,649,371	30.7	127,941	2.4	530,808	9.9	5,371,315	100
1911	3,999,081	55.5	2,061,719	28.6	105,611	1.5	1,040,232	14.4	7,206,643	100
1921	4,868,738	55.4	2,452,743	27.9	113,724	1.3	1,352,744	15.4	8,787,949	100
1931	5,381,071	51.9	2,927,990	28.2	128,890	1.2	1,938,835	18.7	10,376,786	100
1941	5,715,904	49.7	3,483,038	30.3	125,521	1.1	2,182,192	18.9	11,506,655	100
1951	6,709,685	47.9	4,319,167	30.8	165,607	1.2	2,814,970	20.1	14,009,429	100
1961	7,996,669	43.8	5,540,346	30.4	220,121	1.2	4,481,111	24.6	18,238,247	100

Source: Censuses of Canada.
[1] 1891 omitted because of insufficient data.

1829-39.[1] It has been estimated that more people left the country than entered it in each decade from 1861 to 1901.[2]

Early German immigration

36. Over half the immigrants to Canada of ethnic origin other than British or French before and during the 19th century were German. Small numbers of Germans settled in New France in the late 17th century. Several thousand German Protestants went to Nova Scotia between 1750 and 1753; about 1,500 of them founded the Lunenberg settlement. There were also Germans among the discharged soldiers and immigrants from New England who settled in the Maritimes and what was then the Province of Quebec after 1760, and among the United Empire Loyalists of the 1780's. After 1780 German sectarians—such as Mennonites, Moravians, and Tunkers—entered the British provinces, especially Upper Canada, coming primarily from the United States. Between the 1830's and 1870's immigrants from Germany settled in Upper Canada, many in Waterloo County (particularly the Mennonites), and to a lesser extent in the Maritime Provinces and Lower Canada. Pioneer settlements of German Mennonites who came from eastern Europe were established on the prairies between 1874 and 1878, and were joined by other Germans of different religious groups from Europe and the United States. German settlers also reached British Columbia after 1850. By 1901 residents of German origin were second in number only to the British in Ontario and Manitoba, and were the third largest group in Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. They made up the fourth largest category in British Columbia and the fifth largest in Quebec.

The Dutch and Scandinavians

37. The only other origin categories listed in the 1901 census which constituted over one half of 1 per cent of the population were the Dutch and Scandinavians. Like the Germans, many Dutch immigrants entered British North America as discharged soldiers and United Empire Loyalists. It seems probable that some were also Pennsylvania Dutch, who should really be considered part of the German group. In New Brunswick, a Danish settlement was established in the 1870's. In 1875 and 1876, about 1,000 Icelanders set up farming communities on the west shore of Lake Winnipeg, after earlier attempts in Nova Scotia and Ontario had failed. Norwegians, chiefly from the United States, settled near Brown in Manitoba, near Calgary in Alberta, and at several places in British Columbia.[3] Finns also came to Canada in the 1870's, settling in the Port Arthur area.

[1] *Lord Durham's Report on the Affairs of British North America*, C. P. Lucas, ed. (Oxford, 1912), II, 216-18.

[2] *See* Nathan Keyfitz, "The Growth of Canadian Population," in *Population Studies*, IV, No. 1 (June, 1950), 62.

[3] W. J. Lindal, *The Icelanders in Canada*, Canada Ethnica II (Ottawa, 1967), 89–94, 102–43.

Other Europeans

38. The vast tide of immigration to Canada from central and eastern Europe in the early 1900's was preceded by a settlement of Poles at Wilno in Ontario and by the beginning of Hungarian settlement on the prairies through the activities of Count Esterhazy. He was responsible for several hundred Hungarian families moving to the Canadian West from the United States, and a smaller number directly from Hungary, to settle near Minnedosa in Manitoba and at what was to become Esterhazy and Kaposvar in Saskatchewan. He also persuaded Slovaks, Ukrainians, Germans, and Czechs to come to Canada.[1]

Asians on the west coast

39. On the west coast, Asians were a significant proportion of the population, although after 1878 they were subject to special restrictions. There were 4,400 Asians in Canada in 1881, mainly Chinese who had entered from California during the gold rush. Between 1881 and 1884, 15,700 more Chinese were brought in from Canton and Hong Kong as contract labourers to work on the Canadian Pacific Railway. It has been said that a Chinese is buried beneath every mile of track of the railway through the mountains of British Columbia. On completion of the railway, the CPR. disclaimed all responsibility for the Chinese workers and neither the provincial nor federal governments provided assistance.[2] By 1901 the number of Asians had risen to 23,700 including 4,700 Japanese and some 1,700 East Indians. Most Asians settled in British Columbia, where they made up 11 per cent of the population and, since they were almost all adult males, a much larger proportion of the labour force.[3]

Negro immigration

40. Negroes came to New France and to the provinces of British North America in the 18th century chiefly as slaves. In the 19th century, they formed sizable settlements as freedmen and fugitive slaves in the Maritimes, in southwestern Ontario, and in Victoria. Many returned to the United States in the 1860's, during and after the Civil War. The 1871 census figure of 21,500 for Canada probably represents a drop in the Negro population from an earlier peak. The 1881, 1901, and 1911 censuses record further declines.[4]

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[1] Norman MacDonald, *Canada: Immigration and Colonization, 1841–1903* (Aberdeen, 1968), 224-8 and J. M. Kirschbaum, "Slovaks in Canada," in *Slavs in Canada*, I, Proceedings of the First National Conference of Canadian Slavs (Edmonton, 1966), 25-7.

[2] *See* Charles J. Woodsworth, *Canada and the Orient: A Study in International Relations* (Toronto, 1941), chap. II for a description of Chinese immigration, 1858–1903.

[3] It has been estimated that in 1907, 25 per cent of the labour force of British Columbia was of Asian origin. *See* Mabel F. Timlin, "Canada's Immigration Policy, 1896–1910," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, XXVI, No. 4 (November, 1960), 524.

[4] The number of Negroes in Canada in 1860 was estimated at 50,000. Citizenship Branch, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, *Notes on the Canadian Family Tree* (Ottawa, 1960), 106. Perhaps 15,000 to 16,000 entered between 1850 and 1860. *See* Fred Landon, "Negro Migration to Canada," *Journal of Negro History*, V (1920), 22.

B. The Settlement of the Prairies

41. The tide of emigration from Europe between 1880 and 1914 has been described as "the mightiest movement of people in modern history."[1] Because of conditions in Europe—the collapse of the social structure, the transformation of agriculture and industry, the precipitous increase in population—millions moved to the United States and Latin America, particularly Argentina and Brazil. Canada received very few of these settlers until the late 1890's, when several factors combined to begin mass immigration to this country. The Yukon gold rush, the completion of the first continental railway and the building of other lines, the closing of the American frontier, new developments in dry land farming, and the Canadian government's first concentrated policy to promote immigration all combined to attract more than three million immigrants to Canada between 1896 and 1914. The number of immigrants arriving in 1913 was over 400,000, the highest it has ever been. Thus Clifford Sifton's immigration policy achieved its major goal, "to settle the empty West with producing farmers."[2] Of those who immigrated in this period, 1,250,000 came from the United Kingdom, and about one million from the United States. Thousands more came directly from continental Europe. Between the censuses of 1901 and 1921 there was an increase of over 800,000 among those whose origin was neither British nor French in the Canadian population, and by 1921 they made up 15 per cent of Canada's population.

Increased European settlement

42. Those that were already established in the West increased their numbers greatly during this period. For example, the Germans increased in the three Prairie Provinces from 46,800 in 1901 to 148,000 in 1911, many of the newcomers being sponsored by German Catholic organizations. In 1921, the census showed that those of German origin in the three Prairie Provinces had decreased to 123,000 but this decrease can probably be attributed to temporary denials of German origin during and after World War I. In 1931, the census listed 242,000 Canadians of German origin in the Prairie Provinces. Those of Scandinavian origin also increased considerably. Norwegian and Danish farmers migrated from the United States as homesteaders and many Swedes came to Canada as railway workers. The census figures give 17,300 persons of Scandinavian origin in the prairies in 1901, and 130,000 in 1921.

43. The outstanding feature of this period, however, was the influx of immigrants from central and eastern Europe—Ukrainians, Poles,

[1] G. M. Craig, "The Canadian Setting," in *A People and Its Faith: Essays on Jews and Reform Judaism in a Changing Canada*, A. Rose, ed. (Toronto, 1959), 8.
[2] J. W. Dafoe, *Clifford Sifton in Relation to His Times* (Toronto, 1931), 131.

Hungarians, Roumanians, and Russians. National boundaries had been fluid in eastern Europe in the years immediately preceding this period, and the peasants who immigrated were often uncertain as to their exact ethnic designations. Therefore, the census is an unreliable guide to the numbers in any one of these categories. It is particularly unreliable for Ukrainians, since there was no Ukrainian state during this period. An independent Ukrainian state existed between 1917 and 1921.[1] In the late 1940's some Ukrainian immigrants still had difficulty in persuading Canadian immigration officials to accept Ukrainian as an ethnic origin. Between 1901 and 1921, the census recorded an increase in Ukrainians from 5,600 to 96,000 in the three Prairie Provinces, and an increase in Poles from 2,800 to 32,000. Hungarians were not enumerated separately until the 1921 census when their total was 13,200.

Ukrainian immigration

44. The symbolic "first" Ukrainian immigrants to Canada are Wasyl Eleniak and Iwan Pylypiw, who arrived in 1891. The mass movement of Ukrainians began in 1896, under the direction of Joseph Oleskow and in response to Clifford Sifton's urgent invitations. Oleskow, an agriculturalist, was disturbed by the plight of Ukrainian immigrants to Brazil and other South American countries, and therefore studied the possibility of emigration elsewhere. He felt that Canada was extremely promising and the Department of the Interior sponsored a tour of the country for him in 1895. This tour and his contact and correspondence with Canadian officials increased his enthusiasm. On his return to Lviv, he published a brochure promoting immigration to Canada and this had a tremendous influence on the Ukrainian peasants. He also personally organized groups of immigrants. The first group of 107 arrived in Quebec City on May 1, 1896. This initiated a flow of Ukrainian immigrants that continued until the outbreak of war in 1914.[2]

Arrival of the Doukhobors

45. By 1901 the number of settlers of Russian origin in Saskatchewan was exceeded only by those of British, Indian and Eskimo, and German origin. Among the Russians were between 7,000 and 8,000 Doukhobors, who had arrived in 1899 and settled in Saskatchewan before it became a province. A few more Doukhobors arrived in Saskatchewan before the next census in 1911, but many also emigrated to British Columbia during that period.[3] British Columbia had only 27 settlers of Russian origin in 1901 but had 4,400 by 1911 and 7,800 by 1921.

1 Vladimir J. Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada, 1895–1900* (Toronto, 1964), xxiii-vi and O. Woycenko, *The Ukrainians in Canada*, Canada Ethnica IV (Ottawa, 1967), 15-17.

2 Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlements.*

3 Harry B. Hawthorn, "The Contemporary Picture," in Harry B. Hawthorn, ed., *The Doukhobors of British Columbia* (London, 1955), 7-8; *see also* J. F. C. Wright, *Slava Bohu: The Story of the Doukhobors* (New York, 1940) and George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic, *The Doukhobors* (Toronto, 1968), especially chaps. 6 and 10.

The growth of Winnipeg

46. For these thousands of immigrants, the city of Winnipeg was the gateway to the promised land. Most only passed through the city but some stayed.[1] The settlement of the prairies was reflected in Winnipeg's growth between 1881 and 1911 and in its increasing ethnic heterogeneity. In 30 years Winnipeg changed from a town of 8,000 residents to a prairie metropolis of 136,000. The proportion of those of British origin in the population declined from 84 to 59 per cent. By 1921 the population had reached 176,000 and 67 per cent reported British as their ethnic origin. This proportion was probably inflated, however, as a result of strong anti-alien sentiments after World War I and the Winnipeg general strike in 1919.[2] In 1931 the British proportion was 61 per cent, and it has declined at each succeeding census.[3]

Further urban growth

47. Like so many others who came to Canada, the Italians were forced to emigrate by unsettled economic and political conditions at home, and were attracted to Canada by the demand of the railways and other construction enterprises for labourers. The number of Italians in Canada rose from 11,000 in 1901 to 46,000 by 1911 and 67,000 by 1921. The number of Jews also increased from 16,100 in 1901 to 76,200 by 1911 and 126,000 by 1921. Many of these were refugees from eastern Europe. Most immigrants of both groups settled in the towns and cities of Ontario and Quebec, although some Italian labourers worked on western railway construction and some Jews settled in Winnipeg and in pioneer farming communities in Manitoba. By 1921 the Jews in Toronto were second only to the British in number. Although many fewer immigrated to Canada, the Greeks, Syrians, Lebanese, and Armenians resembled the Italians and Jews in their preference for settling in the cities of central Canada.

Increased Asian immigration

48. Clifford Sifton disapproved of the immigration of Asians but on the west coast the Chinese population continued to increase in spite of the imposition of a "head tax" of $100 on entering Canada in 1900, and $500 in 1903. Japanese also began to immigrate in large numbers. In the first ten months of 1907, over 8,000 Japanese arrived. Anti-Asian sentiment and the demand for tighter immigration restrictions increased in British Columbia, finally resulted in racial riots in Vancouver in September 1907, and drew the country's attention to the problem. The outcome was what is known as the "gentlemen's agreement" by which Japan agreed to limit emigration of labourers

[1] For a description of the immigrants in Winnipeg in this period, *see* J. S. Woodsworth, *Strangers within Our Gates or Coming Canadians* (Toronto, 1909).

[2] *See* D. C. Masters, *The Winnipeg General Strike* (Toronto, 1950), 103-6, 113, for a description of the amending of the Immigration Act during the strike to allow the government to deport anyone not born in Canada. The legislation was never used against the strike leaders.

[3] M. S. Donnelly, "Ethnic Participation in Municipal Government—Winnipeg, St. Boniface, and the Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

to Canada unless specifically requested by the Canadian government.[1] The Japanese already in Canada were largely rural settlers, engaging in farming, fishing, logging, boat-building, and mining, and they stayed near the west coast. By 1921, there were 40,000 Chinese in Canada, 24,000 of them in British Columbia, and 16,000 Japanese, 15,000 of them in British Columbia. There were also about 5,000 East Indians, chiefly Sikhs, who came to British Columbia between 1905 and 1908 and found work mainly in railroad construction and in the logging and lumbering industries.[2]

C. Immigration between the Wars

49. World War I cut off the movement of people to Canada, and post-war readjustments impeded it for several more years. However, by 1923 another phase of rising immigration was in progress, although the numbers never reached those of the peak years of 1902-13. This phase continued until the Depression caused an abrupt decline in immigration, starting in 1931. The United States developed restrictions on immigration which reduced the total number of immigrants entering the United States each year and particularly the number coming from southern and eastern Europe. Canada therefore replaced its southern neighbour as the favoured destination. Canada also restricted immigration to some extent, although a formal quota system was not adopted as it was in the United States. The Canadian government established a list of "preferred" and "non-preferred" countries from which to select immigrants, virtually excluded the Chinese, and severely limited other Asians. However, the proportion of the Canadian population that was not of British, French, or native Indian and Eskimo origin still rose to more than 18 per cent by 1931.

Attraction of the cities

50. Fewer immigrants went west in this period than in the early 1900's. The wheat lands were filled, the wheat boom was faltering, and the new arrivals were more interested in settling in urban communities than the earlier immigrants had been. They tended to stay in the industrial and commercial centres of Ontario and Quebec, or to go to the booming mining and pulp and paper towns in the northern part of central Canada. The populations of these centres were also increased by people moving from farms to urban areas. In 1928 a committee of the House of Commons expressed concern that the immigrants who

1 Woodsworth, *Canada and the Orient*, 44-5, 72-99, Appendix E.

2 Adrian C. Mayer, "A Report on the East Indian Community in Vancouver" (unpublished working paper, Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of British Columbia, n.d.), 2. After 1908, East Indians, although they were British subjects, could be refused entry if they had not come to Canada by a continuous journey from their country of origin.

had been intended to provide a labour force for agriculture were instead gravitating to the cities, and often ending up in slum areas.[1] However, no plans to change this situation were implemented.

51. Between 1920 and 1939 the number of new arrivals giving their ethnic origin as Ukrainian was 67,000. In addition, awakening ethnic self-consciousness during this period now led many earlier immigrants to identify themselves as Ukrainian. As a result, between 1921 and 1941 those claiming Ukrainian ethnic origin rose from eighth to fourth place in the origin categories listed in the Canadian census figures.

52. The Ukrainian immigrants of this period were often better educated than those who had come to Canada earlier, and many more of them settled in urban centres:

> Although the reasons for their coming to Canada were basically the same as those of the first settlers (economic and political), they had the advantage of some form of schooling, and many had high school or more advanced education. The war and technological progress had equipped them with more knowledge and skills. Many of them had served with the Ukrainian armies. The rise and fall of the independent Ukrainian State (1917-1921) had developed in them a deep national consciousness; they were well versed in the historical past of their country. Nor were they confused as to their identity, a state of mind not shared by earlier immigrants. They were inclined to urban living, and only a small number settled permanently on farms. Many looked on agricultural work as a temporary occupation for the transitional period until jobs in the city were available. Others, as soon as some capital had been accumulated, opened their own business establishments.[2]

The influence of this trend can be seen in the spread of Ukrainian communities from the prairies, where they had been concentrated before World War I, to other sections of the country. The number in Ontario doubled and in British Columbia tripled between 1931 and 1941. Higher levels of education and technical skills resulting in greater interest in settling in urban centres also characterized the Poles and Hungarians who arrived in Canada during the 1920's. The number of Hungarians in Canada rose sharply during the decade 1921-31.

Russian immigration

53. The census figure for those of Russian origin was 100,000 for 1921, which is unusually high compared with 44,400 in 1911 and 88,100 in 1931. The increases were all in the Prairie Provinces. It is possible that many German-speaking people who had once lived in Tsarist Russia claimed Russian ethnic origin because of antagonisms towards them resulting from World War I. Some Russians did, of course, enter Canada after the Russian Revolution.[3]

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[1] Select Standing Committee of the House of Commons on Agriculture and Colonization, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence and Report* (Ottawa, 1928), Appendix 8.

[2] Woycenko, *The Ukrainians in Canada*, 13.

[3] Koozma J. Tarasoff, "Russians of the Greater Vancouver Area," in *Slavs in Canada*, I, 139-41.

Other increases

54. Scandinavians continued to come to Canada and to settle in the farming areas of the West. About 20,000 Swedes, 19,500 Norwegians, and 17,000 Danes entered the country between 1923 and 1930. Those of Scandinavian origin increased from 167,000 in 1921 to 228,000 in 1931. In Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia the population of those of Scandinavian origin increased by 44,000 between 1921 and 1931.

55. In the 1920's about 6,500 German Mennonites, mostly members of the conservative wing of the group, left Manitoba and Saskatchewan for Mexico. In the same period Mennonite Colonization Associations brought almost 20,000 settlers to Canada. Other immigration organizations brought thousands more Mennonites, as well as members of other religious groups, most of whom settled in the West. As with other immigrants, the Mennonites were now more interested in settling in urban centres than earlier arrivals.[1]

56. Many immigrants of this period settled in the mining and mill towns of northern Ontario and British Columbia, including large numbers of Finns. They were from the peasant and working class—losers in the class struggle which followed Finland's achievement of independence in 1917. Many went to the Port Arthur area joining earlier Finnish settlers, and they also developed communities in Sault St. Marie, Timmins, Sudbury, Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver.

Immigration restrictions

57. For the Italians this phase of immigration was of short duration. After 1925 the Fascist government discouraged emigration from Italy, except to North Africa. Canada's economic difficulties and restrictions on immigration reinforced this policy.[2] Immigration and natural increases were not quite sufficient to double the population of Italian origin between 1921 and 1941. Montreal and Toronto continued to be the centres of the Italian population. In 1941, there were 23,800 persons of Italian origin in Montreal, and 14,200 in Toronto.

58. During this period, 20,200 Jewish immigrants settled in Canada, most of them in urban centres. Regardless of their citizenship, Jews were treated separately by Canadian immigration authorities and were required to meet special conditions.[3] There were also campaigns for tighter restrictions against Asian immigrants, similar to those in force in the United States. From 1923 on, the Canadian government admitted only certain specified classes of Chinese, and the 1908 "gentlemen's agreement" was revised in 1928 to limit the entry of Japanese to 150

1 E. K. Francis, *In Search of Utopia: The Mennonites in Manitoba* (Altona, Manitoba, 1955), 192, 204, 209-10.

2 Jeremy Boissevain, *The Italians of Montreal: Social Adjustment in a Plural Society*, Studies of the R.C.B.&B., No. 7 (Ottawa, 1970), 6, and C. W. Hobart, "Italian Immigrants in Edmonton: Adjustment and Integration," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

3 Canada, Senate, *Proceedings of the Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour* (Ottawa, 1946), 172-4 (evidence of Mr. Louis Rosenberg, Research Director, Canadian Jewish Congress).

a year.[1] Campaigns against the "yellow peril" were so successful that the census of 1931 listed only 85,600 residents of Asian ethnic origin, an increase of fewer than 19,000 in the decade, and the census of 1941 showed a decrease to 74,000. The decrease was especially marked among the Chinese, and reflected the dying out of the original immigrant group, which had had an extremely unbalanced sex ratio severely limiting natural increase, and the lack of replacements through immigration. Negroes also suffered from discriminatory measures after 1923, when it was decided that only citizens of Commonwealth countries with predominantly white populations would be considered British subjects.

Decline in arrivals

59. During the Depression of the 1930's the government cut off the flow of immigrants into Canada. A total of 1,804,000 new immigrants arrived between 1911 and 1921, and 1,166,000 between 1922 and 1931. Between 1932 and 1941 the figure fell to 140,000, and emigration is estimated to have exceeded immigration by 100,000.[2] Deportation figures, usually small, rose steeply for a few years in the early thirties, when the provision that those who became total public charges were subject to deportation was invoked against some of the unemployed.[3] Between 1931 and 1941 the number of Canadian residents of German ethnic origin fell by almost 9,000, that of Russian origin by almost 4,500, and that of Asian origin by 10,500. The proportion of the population of other ethnic origins held steady in Canada as a whole, and rose by about 3 percentage points in the three Prairie Provinces, but this increase occurred because the population of British origin decreased by 48,000 in Saskatchewan and Manitoba.

60. The drift to the cities continued during the 1930's. Small concentrations of different cultural groups which already existed in many cities were augmented by people moving away from the drought areas of the West. For example, the Roumanian community in Montreal, which had existed since the turn of the century, grew considerably and a Hungarian community emerged in Toronto.[4]

Policy towards refugees

61. In the late 1930's some of those arriving in Canada were refugees, but economic recovery was slow and the Canadian government was reluctant to admit even the victims of Nazi Germany. The tendency to give economic considerations priority over humanitarian ones was probably buttressed by the anti-semitism expressed by small but noisy and even violent minorities in various parts of Canada in the 1930's.[5]

[1] *See* Woodsworth, *Canada and the Orient*, 111-15, Appendix D.

[2] David C. Corbett, *Canada's Immigration Policy: A Critique* (Toronto, 1957), 148. Keyfitz, "The Growth of Canadian Population," 56, gives an estimate of 112,000.

[3] *See* Woodcock and Avakumovic, *The Doukhobors*, 299.

[4] John Kosa, *Land of Choice: The Hungarians in Canada* (Toronto, 1957), 33-4.

[5] E. C. Hughes, *French Canada in Transition* (Toronto, 1943), 212-29; Craig, "The Canadian Setting," 10-12; and Dennis H. Wrong, "Ontario's Jews in the Larger Community," in *A People and Its Faith*, 53-4.

D. After World War II

62. Substantial immigration to Canada resumed soon after the end of World War II, and by 1961 another 2,100,000 immigrants had arrived in Canada.[1] A wider variety of ethnic origin categories, social classes, and occupations were included in this final phase, which has also continued longer than either of the earlier phases before and after World War I. The ethnic origins most strongly represented among the new arrivals since 1945—other than British—are Italian, German, Dutch, Polish, and Jewish;[2] those of British origin constituted one-third of the total.

Increase in urban settlement

63. During this same period, Canada has become increasingly urban and industrial, and the vast majority of these immigrants have settled in towns and cities. A substantial number have gone to Montreal, but Toronto has become the immigrant metropolis of Canada. In 1961, nearly 42 per cent of the residents of Toronto and one-third of the residents of the Toronto metropolitan area were not born in Canada. Twenty-nine per cent of the city's residents and 22 per cent of those in the metropolitan area had immigrated between 1946 and 1961.

Refugees

64. This last phase included some 300,000 persons who came to Canada as refugees displaced by political disruptions in their homeland. These disruptions often had a great impact upon persons from all social and economic levels; many of them came from urban centres and were generally well-educated people with professional training, artistic talents, and linguistic skills, along with experience in business, government, the military, or a skilled trade.

65. Immigration to Canada following the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 is perhaps the most obvious illustration of this development, but Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Latvians, Jews, and Poles were also included.[3] Early in World War II, over 2,500 German and Austrian nationals, most of them Jews who had been interned in Great Britain after the outbreak of hostilities, were sent to Canada for internment. About a thousand decided to remain in Canada after their release, and this group included an exceptional number of intellectually and artistically gifted individuals who have since made a notable contribution to Canadian arts, letters, and science. The Jewish refugees who came after the war were mainly from Poland, although there were also small groups among the Hungarian immigrants after 1956 and from Egypt

[1] *See* Appendix II, Table A-1.

[2] The number of persons giving their ethnic origin as Jewish only increased from 170,000 in the 1941 census to 173,000 in 1961, but in 1961 a total of 254,000 persons gave Judaism as their religion; 27,000 persons of Polish origin gave Judaism as their religion as did 23,000 of Russian origin and smaller numbers in other origin categories.

[3] Included among the Poles were approximately 4,500 former soldiers who entered under a special scheme just after the war.

and North Africa after the crises there in the late 1950's. Toronto and Montreal were their usual destinations. Montreal was especially attractive to the French-speaking Jews from the Middle East, as it was for many French-speaking North Africans.

Changing residential patterns

66. As already noted, most groups of immigrants since 1945 have included relatively large proportions of the educated and the skilled, partly because economic and social development made Canada more attractive to these groups and party because government policy made admission easier for those with education and skills. Because of their backgrounds and their familiarity with urban life, these immigrants have not tended to establish heavily concentrated settlements in the cities as the earlier, less skilled groups had done. Instead, they quickly spread out into any parts of the cities where they found other Canadians sharing their educational level, occupations, and tastes.

67. However, most immigrants from the less economically advanced countries such as Italy, Greece, and Portugal still come largely from rural areas, villages, and towns. These groups continued to cluster in specific sections of the cities in which they settled, their residential patterns thus resembling those of earlier peasant groups that settled in Canadian and American cities. Italian immigration has been the heaviest in the post-war period, especially between 1951 and 1960 when over 250,000 Italians entered the country. Immigration from Greece and Portugal had always been light, but in the early 1950's it increased sharply, and has continued since then at a high level. Most immigrants of all these three ethnic origins have settled in cities, especially in Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver. By the 1960's those of Italian origin were second in number only to those of British origin in Toronto.

Dutch farmers

68. In spite of the rapid industrialization of Canada since the war, a large proportion of the Dutch immigrants who had been farmers in the Netherlands have tended to specialize in dairy and truck farming for the urban markets of southern Ontario and, to a lesser extent, southern Alberta.

Uprooting of the Japanese

69. Probably no people in Canada suffered more because of the war than those of Japanese origin. When Japan entered the war, they were uprooted from the west coast and placed in relocation centres. At the war's end about 4,000 were forced to leave the country under a government "repatriation" scheme. More than half of these were Canadian born and two-thirds were Canadian citizens.[1] Most of the Japanese who stayed in Canada did not return to British Columbia. Many went to

[1] Forrest E. La Violette, *The Canadian Japanese and World War II* (Toronto, 1948).

Toronto where, by 1961, there were about 8,000 Japanese in the metropolitan area.[1]

Asian immigration

70. Immigration from Japan did not resume in any volume after the war. Chinese immigration, which had been virtually non-existant since 1923, revived with the removal of some of the government's restrictive measures in 1947. About 25,000 people of Chinese origin entered between 1949 and the end of 1961. Immigration from India, Pakistan, and Ceylon also began to increase in the late 1950's.

Negro population

71. The total Negro population of Canada fell from 22,200 in 1941 to 18,000 in 1951, but by 1961 it had increased to 32,100. The decrease during the war and early post-war years may reflect some tendency on the part of Negro youths to emigrate to the United States for their higher education and for employment. Negro immigration began to rise in 1953 and has continued at a high level since then.

British and French immigration

72. British immigration has always been high; in most years the number of immigrants of British origin has been highest or second highest. French immigration was a slow trickle until 1951, when it showed a slight increase. The natural increase of those of French origin has enabled them to maintain their proportion of the population while the British proportion has declined steadily.

Geographic distribution

73. Those of other ethnic origins are not equally dispersed across Canada. The Atlantic Provinces and Quebec (except Montreal) have remained largely British or French. Residents of other ethnic origins make up 47 per cent of the population of the Prairie Provinces, 34 per cent of that of British Columbia, and 29 per cent of Ontario. All five of these provinces also have a high proportion of residents born outside Canada. The range is from 16 per cent in Saskatchewan to 26 per cent in British Columbia, as compared with 7 per cent in Quebec and even less in the Atlantic Provinces.

74. In the 1961 census nearly one quarter of the population reported their ethnic origin as other than British, French, or Indian and Eskimo. A large proportion of these are in fact Canadian-born. Seventy-seven per cent of those of Ukrainian origin and 73 per cent of those of German, Russian, and Scandinavian origin were born in Canada. The ethnic origin of the Canadian population according to the 1961 census is shown in Table 2. In the chapters which follow we shall examine the part which those of ethnic origin other than British or French have played in the development of Canadian society.

[1] A brief submitted to the R.C.B.&B., by the National Japanese Canadian Citizens Association.

[2] *See* Appendix II, Tables A-3–A-22.

Table 2. Ethnic Composition of the Canadian Population

Distribution (in numbers and percentages) of the population, by ethnic origin —Canada, 1961

Ethnic origin	Number		%	
British Isles (total)	7,996,669		43.8	
English		4,195,175		23.0
Irish		1,753,351		9.6
Scottish		1,902,302		10.4
Other		145,841		0.8
French	5,540,346		30.4	
Other European (total)	4,116,849		22.6	
Austrian		106,535		0.6
Belgian		61,382		0.3
Czech and Slovak		73,061		0.4
Danish		85,473		0.5
Finnish		59,436		0 3
German		1,049,599		5.7
Greek		56,475		0.3
Hungarian		126,220		0.7
Icelandic		30,623		0.2
Italian		450,351		2.5
Jewish		173,344		0.9
Lithuanian		27,629		0.2
Netherlands		429,679		2.3
Norwegian		148,681		0.8
Polish		323,517		1.8
Roumanian		43,805		0.2
Russian		119,168		0.7
Swedish		121,757		0.7
Ukrainian		473,337		2.6
Yugoslavic		68,587		0.4
Other		88,190		0.5
Asian (total)	121,753		0.7	
Chinese		58,197		0.3
Japanese		29,157		0.2
Other		34,399		0.2
Indian and Eskimo	220,121		1.2	
Other origins (total)	242,509		1.3	
Negro		32,127		0.2
Others and not stated		210,382		1.1
Total		18,238,247		100.0

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-545.

75. In the three chapters which follow we examine the economic, political, and social participation of those whose origin is neither British nor French in Canadian life. Our main focus in chapter II is on the integration of those of other ethnic origins into the occupational structure in Canada. Chapter III reviews their role in the political process and in public administration. Chapter IV looks at their familial, religious, and educational characteristics and at ethnic voluntary associations.

76. These chapters are particularly concerned with showing the role played by those of other ethnic origins in Canadian life, and with analyzing the influence of their particular cultural characteristics. Those of other ethnic origin can play a dual role, as participants in the Canadian community and as members of another cultural group. In approaching our subject this way we are not implying the existence in Canada of "third force," made up of all those of ethnic origin other than British or French. It should be remembered that the census lists some 30 different ethnic origin categories and still does not list them all, and that there are great differences in numbers, concentration, time of arrival, and degree of group awareness among the different cultural groups. We have also tried to examine the degree to which our country has accepted immigrants of other ethnic origin and helped their integration into its economic, political, and social structures. In addition, we have looked at how those of other ethnic origin have functioned in the Canadian context and how their contributions have changed Canadian society.

77. Economic factors have always been a primary regulator of the number and kind of people who have come to Canada, of the regions and types of community to which they have gone, and of their later movements. At the same time, these newcomers vitally affected the economy by swelling the labour force, by adding to the country's pool of skills and experience, and by providing additional consumers. Today, those of ethnic origin other than British or French play a substantial and essential role in Canada's economic structure. In spite of the number who are recent immigrants, they do not constitute a lower stratum in the economy which could be considered particularly vulnerable to technological changes or economic recessions, but are distributed throughout all occupation and income levels.

78. Those of ethnic origin other than British or French form a somewhat larger proportion of the labour force than they do of the total population. According to the 1961 census, they comprise 28 per cent of the total labour force 15 years of age and over, 28 per cent of the male labour force, and 27 per cent of the female labour force. Of the total male population 15 years of age and over in Canada, 78 per cent were in the labour force. However, those of both British and French origin were underrepresented;[1] more than 80 per cent of those of German, Italian, Jewish, and Ukrainian ethnic origin were in the male labour force and 78 per cent of all the others taken together.[2]

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1 The words "underrepresented" and "overrepresented" do not imply any judgement concerning a "correct" proportion. The term overrepresented is used when the proportion of those of a particular ethnic origin in a given category is greater than its proportion in the total labour force in that category, and underrepresented when the proportion is less.

2 *See* Appendix II, Table A–23.

Urban-rural distribution

79. Of the total population of Canada, 70 per cent were classified as urban, 19 per cent as rural non-farm, and 11 per cent as rural farm by the 1961 census.[1] Those of British origin were 71 per cent urban, those of French origin 68 per cent urban, other Europeans 70 per cent urban, and Asians 89 per cent urban. However, among the other origin categories the percentage of urban population varied widely, from the Jews (99 per cent) and the Italians (95 per cent) to the Dutch, Scandinavians, Germans, and Ukrainians, who were between 56 and 65 per cent urban and had a comparatively high (18 to 22 per cent) rural farm representation.

Distribution of male workers

80. In the labour force, males of ethnic origin other than British or French have increased—they made up only 22 per cent of the total in 1941. They have also approached a "normal" distribution: the proportion of males of other ethnic origin in each main occupational category has deviated less at each succeeding census from the proportion of the total male work force in each category. In 1941, 46 per cent of those of other ethnic origin were in farming, whereas 38 per cent of the total male force were in farming; by 1951, the overrepresentation had declined to 7 percentage points, and by 1961 to 4.[2] In the other categories they did not deviate by more than 2 percentage points in 1961. Their overrepresentation in labour and service occupations increased slightly after 1941; their underrepresentation as craftsmen shifted to a slight overrepresentation. Their representation also increased in other professional and technical, clerical, sales, and transport and communication categories, although in all they remained slightly underrepresented. Of particular interest is the fact that a higher proportion of those of other ethnic origin are found among the new occupations in the professional and technical category than those of British or French origin.

Occupational concentrations

81. Those in a particular origin category are, in many cases, highly concentrated occupationally.[3] In managerial and professional and technical occupations Jews and Asians are overrepresented, not only in comparison with the male labour force, but also with the British; 53 per cent of Jews and 31 per cent of Asians are in these categories. On the other hand, Italians are greatly underrepresented, with 9 per cent in the managerial and professional and technical classes whereas these categories make up 18 per cent of the male labour force. In the other tertiary

[1] Urban population was defined as the population residing in any community of 1,000 persons or more (whether or not it was incorporated as a city, town, or village), or in a metropolitan area. The rest of the population was classified as rural; this category was then divided into rural farm and rural non-farm. A farm was defined as any holding of one acre or more with a sale of agricultural products valued at $50 or more.

[2] André Raynauld, Gérald Marion, and Richard Béland, "La répartition des revenus selon les groupes ethniques au Canada," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

[3] *See* Appendix II, Tables A–24 and A–25.

occupations—clerical, sales, and service—Jews and Asians are again overrepresented, with 35 per cent of Asians and 23 per cent of Jews falling in these categories compared to 21 per cent of the male labour force. This overrepresentation is largely a result of a high concentration of Asians in certain service categories and of Jews in sales. Italians, Hungarians, Germans, and Scandinavians are markedly underrepresented in these categories.

82. In the transport and communication categories, Jews are noticeably underrepresented, as they are in all primary and secondary occupations. Forty-four per cent of the Italians are craftsmen, 35 per cent of the Poles and Hungarians, and 33 per cent of the Germans. The Dutch and Germans are overrepresented in the food trades, Italians, Germans, and Scandinavians in wood, and Jews and Italians in the needle trades. Italians make up 16 per cent of the skilled construction workers although they make up only 3 per cent of the total male work force.

83. Ukrainians, Scandinavians, Dutch, Germans, and Hungarians are overrepresented in farming occupations; Italians, Jews, and Asians are greatly underrepresented. As labourers, Italians are overrepresented; one Italian in five is a labourer, and in construction one labourer in five is an Italian. In other primary occupations, Scandinavians are slightly overrepresented in logging, Asians in fishing, and Poles and Hungarians in mining.

Distribution of female workers

84. Data for women in the labour force are much less reliable than those for men. The proportion of women in the labour force appears to be rising. The proportions in different occupations vary considerably among the different origin categories.[1] In the female labour force, Jews are again overrepresented in managerial occupations; 10 per cent of Jewish women are in this category. Italians are considerably underrepresented with only 2 per cent in these occupations. No single ethnic origin category is predominant among the women in the professional and technical occupations, but again Italians are greatly underrepresented with 4 per cent. In other tertiary occupations within the female labour force, Jews and Scandinavians tend to be overrepresented. Jews are relatively numerous in clerical and sales occupations and relatively few in service occupations while Scandinavians are proportionally represented in clerical jobs and a little more than proportionally represented in the sales and service categories. As skilled workers ("craftsmen" in the Appendix Tables), Italian women are highly overrepresented with 43 per cent in this category. Hungarians and Poles are somewhat overrepresented (16 and 15 per cent), and Scandinavians grossly underrepresented (5 per cent).

[1] *Ibid.*, Tables A–26 and A–27.

Income levels

85. Average total incomes have been calculated for the British, the French, those of German, Italian, Jewish, and Ukrainian origin, and all others taken together for Canada, using a 1 per cent sample (Table 3), and for the metropolitan census areas of Montreal, Toronto, and Ottawa, using a 20 per cent sample (Table 4).[1] The rank order of the origin categories is remarkably consistent. The Jewish rank first, followed by the British; then come the Germans and the miscellaneous "others," with the Germans ahead in Montreal and Toronto and the "others" ahead in Ottawa; then follow, in descending order, the Ukrainians, the French (ahead of the Ukrainians in Toronto), and the Italians. The section of the labour force that is neither British nor French in origin is, if taken as a whole, distributed in close to the same proportions as the total population between rural farm, rural non-farm, and urban areas, and throughout the occupational structure. However, differences among the separate origin categories are large and are reflected in differences in income.

Table 3. Average Total Income

Average total income of the male non-agricultural labour force and of the total male labour force, by ethnic origin—Canada, 1961

Ethnic origin	Male non-agricultural labour force		Total male labour force
	Dollars	Index	Index
All origins	4,414	100.0	100.0
British	4,852	109.9	109.8
French	3,872	87.7	85.8
German	4,207	95.3	103.1
Italian	3,621	82.0	81.0
Jewish	7,426	168.2	166.9
Ukrainian	4,128	93.5	86.8
Others	4,153	94.1	98.2

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Béland, "La répartition des revenus."

86. Ethnic origin obviously affects the individual's position in the economic structure, not only for those of British or French origin but for all the peoples of Canada. However, so little research has been done on Canadians of ethnic origin other than British or French that it is difficult to be precise about the factors involved in their different

[1] See *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, III (Ottawa, 1969), chap. I.

economic positions. Some factors are obviously important: these include patterns of settlement, time of arrival, immigrant and ethnic occupations, ethnic values, the incidence of discrimination and exploitation, and the problems created by language barriers. These factors are examined below.

Table 4. Average Total Income—Montreal, Toronto, Ottawa

Average total income of the Canadian male labour force, by metropolitan area and ethnic origin, 1961

Ethnic origin	Montreal		Toronto		Ottawa	
	Income	Index	Income	Index	Income	Index
British	$ 6,216	131.7	$ 5,557	109.4	$ 5,862	114.9
French	4,243	89.9	4,381	86.2	4,281	83.9
German	5,040	106.8	4,770	93.9	4,694	92.0
Italian	3,379	71.6	3,189	62.8	3,624	71.0
Jewish	6,996	148.2	6,658	131.1	9,370	183.6
Ukrainian	4,341	92.0	4,086	80.4	4,612	90.4
Others	4,790	101.5	4,542	89.4	5,100	99.9
Total	4,720	100.0	5,080	100.0	5,103	100.0

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Béland, "La répartition des revenus."

A. Patterns of Settlement

The American model

87. The archetype of the knitting of members of different cultural groups into a modern industrial economic structure is the experience of the 12 million immigrants who entered the United States from south, central, and eastern Europe between 1880 and 1914. Most of them were uprooted peasants who settled in the country's urban centres and entered the economic system at the bottom, as unskilled, non-unionized labour, tending to push into better jobs the earlier immigrants who had now acquired some knowledge of the English language and some understanding of American society. If they found opportunities in the legitimate structure—and opportunities were abundant in the developing economy—they rose through education and initiative into business and the professions. If they did not find such opportunities, some climbed by means of organized crime and legitimized their position later. Some, of course, stayed at or near the bottom, often ignored by believers in the American dream.

Differing Canadian experience

88. This pattern does not apply to all cultural groups in the United States (for example, the Germans and Scandinavians who settled in the Great Plains and political refugees of various eras). It is even less true

in Canada for four reasons. First, Canada's early development was so slow that some groups entered not in a flood but a trickle. Second, this country had land for those who wanted it long after the frontier in the United States was closed. Third, by the time agriculture was losing its expansionist force here, many of the new immigrants were sophisticated urban residents who arrived with education and skills. Fourth, no sizable cultural group in Canada has stopped receiving substantial additions of immigrants long enough ago for it to have completed a life-cycle as an immigrant group. The diversity in the occupational distributions of the ethnic origin categories listed in the 1961 census reflects all these factors.

89. Three separate patterns of background and settlement may be traced among Canada's ethnic groups: rural immigrants who settled in rural areas; rural immigrants who settled in cities; and urban immigrants who settled in cities. A fourth possible pattern, urban immigrants who settle in rural communities, is unimportant in practice.

Rural settlement

90. The pattern of those with a rural background establishing themselves in rural parts of Canada was dominant throughout the 19th and early 20th century. Outside what is now Quebec, the towns tended to be British, and were generally the centres of the government, the military, and the church. The merchants and industrialists were often Americans of British ethnic origin, and the most turbulent part of the urban proletariat was Irish. Members of other cultural groups were found in the towns, of course, and even among the élite of the towns, but they were frequently people who had immigrated as individuals.

91. The early arrivals, such as the Germans, Dutch, and Scandinavians, often settled on some of the best land. Their high agricultural income is probably related to this fact. Their continued concentration in farming may also be related to it, although some groups, such as the Mennonites and Hutterites, have ways of life and systems of values that provide for the continuation of rural communities. Their emphasis on hard work, frugality, and asceticism, and their practices regarding the socialization of the young and the inheritance of farms, have kept a substantial number of the young in rural communities. In particular, the Hutterites, who have a high birth and low mortality rate, find their problem is not to hold their young people from the attractions of the city but to find new farm lands for their colonies.[1] Their difficulties with the provincial governments in Alberta and Manitoba have resulted from this problem.

92. The central and eastern Europeans who homesteaded on the prairies between 1896 and 1914 were also rural migrants to rural

[1] A. M. Willms, "The Brethren Known as Hutterians," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, XXIV, No. 3 (August, 1958), 398–9.

communities. As Clifford Sifton put it in 1903, "While the United States is getting thousands of *labourers* from Southern Europe who are flocking to their cities and towns, we are getting *agriculturalists* almost without exception who are going directly upon the land."[1] Towns were growing in central Canada at the time, but immigrants were looked upon as desirable in proportion to their readiness to go on the land. Since some of the best land had already been taken (by immigrants from the eastern provinces and from the United States, Great Britain, and western and northern Europe) the Ukrainians, Poles, Roumanians, and other immigrants from eastern Europe, were placed on land of uneven quality, some of it marginal.[2] Like the Germans, the Ukrainians of this period had a rural way of life. Today, 77 per cent of Canadians whose ethnic origin is Ukrainian are native-born, but they are still disproportionately numerous in agriculture.

93. Sometimes rural migrants were able to develop poor land into prosperous farms by planting new crops and using new farming methods. In Ontario, for example, the counties of Norfolk, Oxford, and Elgin had sandy soil and were depressed areas until Belgian immigrants established tobacco farms there in the 1920's Even in the Depression these farmers prospered; in the 1950's a local priest estimated that there were about 3,000 tobacco farms, 1,000 of the best of them owned by Belgians, 1,000 more by Hungarians, and the remainder by "Slovaks, German, Poles, Lithuanians, and Canadians."[3]

Shift to the cities

94. As Canada has become increasingly industrialized, people of every ethnic background have moved to the cities. Thus the increase in the proportion of Canadians of Ukrainian, German, Dutch, Polish, Russian, and Scandinavian origin who are now urban residents is only partly the result of postwar immigrants settling in the cities. Much of the increase is the result of the native born moving to urban centres.

95. This pattern developed in Canada with the construction of the railways and roads necessary to open up the prairie agricultural lands. Immigrants who originally intended to go on the land on their arrival took unskilled or low-skilled labouring jobs, and drifted from work on the railways into construction or factory work in the towns and cities of central Canada. The Irish Roman Catholics established this pattern in the 1840's and 1850's,[4] but few others followed it until much later, except for some Italians about the turn of the century, chiefly those from the southern part of Italy.

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1 Quoted in Norma E. Walmsley, "Some Aspects of Canada's Immigration Policy," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

2 *See* Charles H. Young, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A Study in Assimilation* (Toronto, 1931), 54–5.

3 Kosa, *Land of Choice*, 32.

4 Kenneth Duncan, "Irish Famine, Immigration and the Social Structure of Canada West," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, II, No. 1 (February, 1965), 19–40.

Italian settlement

96. The Italians had probably become mobile and accustomed to wage labour long before their emigration, and their gravitation toward urban centres resulted from a desire to maintain their previous way of life. Having few skills and few resources with which to establish themselves at any but the lowest occupational levels, they entered the urban economic structure at the bottom as factory workers and unskilled or low-skilled labourers, as did the classic immigrants to the United States. Many of them entered construction trades; some went into mining in the West or northern Ontario; their wives took low-skilled and low-paid jobs in the needle trades. Both men and women also went into service occupations. Most post-war Italian immigrants have also been of rural background and have entered the same sorts of occupations as their predecessors.

Hungarian experience

97. The Hungarians studied by John Kosa in Toronto in the 1950's were rural people who had moved to the city, although most had had a brief sojourn on a farm in Canada. They were of "the poor classes" of Hungary, especially the landless peasantry, and came to Canada as adults prior to 1939. Kosa hints that they started in the lowest occupational levels. They gravitated towards business enterprises such as rooming houses, lunch bars, grocery stores, and plumbing and gardening concerns. These enterprises did not require perfect English or much capital and could use the spare-time labour of the family. They gained the financial resources that they required for these enterprises by being thrifty and by not competing for status in housing, food, clothing, and other goods. Once they achieved middle-class incomes, however, they assumed both the occupation and spending patterns of the rest of the community.

98. Other Hungarian immigrants were members of the titled aristocracy who arrived in Canada after World War II. They had been land owners in Hungary, and they despised commerce and industry as unfit for gentlemen. Some of them tried farming in Canada but most were drawn to the cities. They often found their education of little use, and had to work as caretakers, janitors, watchmen, or labourers. In time some found employment with the provincial and federal governments and a few entered specialized occupations as riding instructors or fencing masters. Their economic adjustment was slow, however, compared to that of middle-class immigrants whose past experience and mode of life were more relevant to Canadian urban conditions.[1]

Jewish immigration

99. The Jewish group is outstanding among those that came from urban backgrounds in Europe and entered urban communities in Canada. There have been few farmers among Canada's Jewish immigrants. In a letter to John A. Macdonald about the victims of Russian

[1] Kosa, *Land of Choice*, 29–36, 39.

pogroms in the 1880's, Alexander T. Galt noted that they were "partly farmers, but generally trade people."[1] The *shtetl* (small Jewish town or village communities) of eastern Europe, from which Jewish immigrants came in great numbers in the late 19th and early 20th centuries were not urban by North American standards and during the days of western settlement a number of schemes to place Jews on the land were planned and a few carried out. Jews also established themselves in agricultural centres as merchants and professionals, providing the European farmers with services that they had been accustomed to receiving from Jews at home.[2] Jewish immigration has otherwise been almost entirely to urban centres.

100. During the first three-quarters of the 19th century, small Jewish communities existed in Montreal, Toronto, and Victoria. These were made up of German and English Jews who seem to have been men of substance, who participated actively in every sphere of industry and commerce (including the fur trade, the clothing industry, banking, and insurance), medicine, law, and academic life. There must also have been poor Jews since the records of early philanthropic societies mention them, but their occupations are difficult to determine.

101. The first large movement of Jewish people to Canada came about the end of the 19th century. In spite of the skills, business experience, and education that some of the eastern European Jews possessed, they entered the occupational structure at the lowest level. The refugees from Russian pogroms who arrived in Winnipeg in the early 1880's found no shops or factories in which they could work, and had to work in railway, sewer, and building construction. In Montreal and Toronto the garment industry and bakery shops offered many their first employment, while others became peddlers until they could set up small shops. In Canada, as in the United States, they rapidly spread into many other occupations. In Toronto, the 100 candidates whose names were on the ballot of the Canadian Jewish Congress's first plenary session in 1919 "included students, pressers, Hebrew teachers, one *shochet,* a dentist, cloakmakers, small merchants, labour organizers."[3]

Other urban immigrants

102. Large numbers of post-war refugees and immigrants of many ethnic origins with urban backgrounds have settled in urban communities in Canada. Some have had difficulty in resuming their previous occupations or entering the occupations for which they were trained. The knowledge, skills, and experience of judges, lawyers, and civil

1 Quoted in Sack, *History of the Jews in Canada,* I, 262.

2 Woycenko, *The Ukrainians in Canada,* 53–5.

3 Ben Kayfetz, "The Jewish Community in Toronto," in *A People and its Faith,* 24. A *shochet* is a ritual slaughterer.

servants are not easily transferred from one society to another. Attaining the necessary proficiency in English or French has been difficult for some immigrants, particularly older ones. Many professional bodies have imposed highly restrictive conditions on immigrants wishing to resume practice on the grounds that maintenance of standards of service must be ensured. In most cases immigrants must spend from two to five years in training and pass qualifying examinations.[1] On the whole, however, the post-war immigrants have fitted quickly into trades, businesses, and professions. Those who brought capital with them have started a considerable number of new enterprises, which have provided employment for thousands of workers.

B. Time of Arrival

103. The pattern of settlement in Canada has to a large extent been governed by the time at which immigrants arrived in the country. Until the beginning of the 20th century, immigrants tended to come from rural backgrounds and to establish themselves on the land; later arrivals tended to come from cities and to settle in Canada's urban centres. According to the 1961 census, those born in Canada had a lower proportion of urban residents than immigrants in every sizable origin category. The immigrants who have come since the end of World War II have an even higher proportion of urban residents than immigrants who arrived earlier (Table 5). The pattern of settlement has also been influenced by the fact that different areas of the country have been developed at different times and new immigrants tend to go to whichever section is expanding when they arrive.

Relation of region to income

104. Region has a strong influence on income in Canada, with low average incomes in the Atlantic Provinces and Quebec (outside metropolitan Montreal), higher incomes in Montreal and the prairies, and highest incomes in Ontario and British Columbia.[2] It has been noted elsewhere that it is probable that the economic dominance of Ontario and the western provinces and of the non-French component of the labour force is attributable in good part to the tendency of immigrants to affiliate with the Anglophone rather than the Francophone community, and to the heavy flow of immigrants to Ontario.[3] The fact that Ukranians are still concentrated heavily in the prairies, thus, affects their income level. Yet it is certainly possible not to prosper in regions

[1] The arrival in Canada of Czechoslovakian refugees in 1968, many of them professionals, led to discussion of this matter and to special concessions to some Czechoslovakian professionals.

[2] Raynauld, Marion, and Béland, "La répartition des revenus."

[3] *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, III, § 112.

Table 5. Urbanization and Ethnic Origin

Urban percentage of total population, Canadian born, and immigrants, by ethnic origin—Canada, 1961

Ethnic origin	Total population	Canadian born	Immigrated before 1946	Immigrated 1946-1961[1]
British	71.2	69.2	81.0	86.9
French	68.2	68.0	73.0	84.3
Dutch	55.6	52.3	54.5	62.7
German	61.8	56.8	55.9	83.5
Italian	94.7	92.3	91.8	97.0
Jewish	98.8	98.6	98.9	99.4
Polish	76.0	71.8	75.0	88.3
Russian	65.1	60.7	71.7	88.9
Scandinavian	59.9	58.9	55.4	77.7
Ukrainian	65.2	63.3	61.2	90.3
Other European	76.7	69.8	70.8	88.9
Asian	89.3	87.7	88.7	92.8
Not stated	48.7	46.9	79.7	86.6
All origins	69.6	67.5	75.7	86.4

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 99-516.

[1] Includes only the first five months of 1961.

with high income levels. Most Italians have settled in high income regions, but have not shared in the general prosperity because of their lack of skills and education or the fact that they are recent arrivals.

105. The first arrivals of any origin category have, of course, faced a different situation from those who immigrated later. The pioneers had to shift for themselves. Their successors could expect shelter, guidance, protection, and even jobs from relatives already established. They could fit into a set of community institutions, or at least use them before creating new ones.

Effects of the economic climate

106. The economic climate in Canada at the time when the immigrants arrived has also affected their prosperity. Immigrants who arrived immediately before a recession, particularly the great Depression of the 1930's, often fared less well than those who have arrived during the long period of prosperity and expansion that has followed World War II. Kosa concluded that the economic struggles of Hungarians in Toronto were prolonged by the Depression although their peasant culture, with its stress on thrift and industry and lack of concern with status symbols, enabled them to weather bad times better than some other Canadians.[1] The Depression certainly affected the economic advance of other cultural groups:

[1] Kosa, *Land of Choice*, 33-4.

As a very large part of the Italians in Montreal occupied positions at the lowest levels of the socio-economic hierarchy, they were among the first to be affected by the depression. . . .

In retrospect, and judging from the rate at which the postwar immigrants have been able to forge ahead economically as well as socially, I think that one must say that the depression effectively prevented the prewar generation of Italian immigrants from gaining a larger slice of the Montreal economic and social pie. Many of those who have arrived since the war criticize the prewar immigrants for lack of ambition and failure to make the most of their opportunities. . . . But they overlook the smothering effect the depression had on those who had just begun to establish themselves in their new country.[1]

During the post-war period new forms of social security, which many immigrants had been accustomed to receiving at home, were introduced in Canada. Immigrants could now benefit from unemployment insurance and family allowances.

Wartime discrimination

107. Members of cultural groups from countries on the other side in the two wars suffered economically, especially if they had arrived recently enough still to be highly visible when hostilities began or if they were not self-employed. Urban wage-earners of German origin were greatly affected during both wars, as were urban wage-earners of Italian origin during World War II. Those of Japanese origin were even more affected during World War II through relocation and confiscation of property, for which they were inadequately compensated—and only after many years.[2]

Sex distribution

108. Until recently immigrants have tended to be predominantly male. Any ethnic origin category with many recent immigrants thus tends to be overrepresented in the labour force because of the distribution by sex and age of immigrants.[3] The early Doukhobor arrivals were an exception: they were disproportionately female, because many of the Doukhobor men were in prison at the time of departure. After 1910 Japanese immigration was also marked by a high percentage of women, which served to reduce, although not eliminate, the earlier male surplus among the Japanese. Since Canada has become more urban there has been a trend towards a balanced sex ratio, or even a surplus of females (offset to some extent by an excess of female emigrants to the United States). Virtually all the larger origin categories except the British, French, Jewish, and German still showed a considerable male surplus in 1961. In the population aged 15 years and over, the number of males per 100 females was 189 for those of Chinese origin and over 120 for many European origin categories, including Hungarian, Czech and Slovak, Italian, and Asians other than

[1] J. Boissevain, *The Italians of Montreal*, 7.

[2] A brief submitted to the R.C.B.&B. by the National Japanese Canadian Citizens Association.

[3] *See* Appendix III, Table A–27.

Chinese and Japanese. For Poles, Russians, and Scandinavians the number of males per 100 females was slightly over 115.

109. The overrepresentation in the labour force of the ethnic origin categories other than British or French is not limited to males. Immigrant women are overrepresented as compared to native-born women, because of the drive of immigrants to establish themselves economically.[1] In Montreal in 1965, 35 per cent of the wives of Italian immigrants worked, as opposed to 24 per cent of Canadian-born wives of Italian descent. A survey carried out in Toronto found that 24 per cent of a sample of Italian immigrant women worked full-time (the remainder included some who refused to answer as well as those who said they did not work).[2] In Edmonton, where most of the Italians were immigrants, 46 per cent of the married women in a sample were working either full- or part-time, a large number of them in the garment industry.[3]

Age distribution

110. Immigrants generally arrive in the prime of life, so the economic position of a group containing a large proportion of immigrants is affected by its low average age. Among Italians in 1961, for example, only one person in six was over 45, while among Jews one in three was over 45, and among Ukrainians and in the population as a whole one in four was over 45. The percentage of Italians over 65 was even lower. It was 3 per cent, as compared to 8 per cent for Jews, 6 per cent for Ukrainians, and 8 per cent for the total Canadian population. The low level of income of the Italians is thus partly related to their youth.

Comparative income levels

111. The average personal income of Canada's non-farm population aged 15 years and over did not differ greatly in 1960 for native-born, pre-war immigrants, and post-war immigrants. However, the overall figures included those who came from the United States and the United Kingdom, and these groups achieved the highest average incomes.[4] Even overall figures indicate that it takes several years for immigrants to achieve incomes equalling the Canadian average. There are also important differences between the different non-British origin categories.

112. Thus time of immigration certainly affects the extent of economic differences between the dominant groups in Canadian society and those of other ethnic origins. These differences are greatest at the time of arrival. With the passage of years they diminish, at greatly differing rates for different groups. For example, many people of German and Dutch origin who immigrated before Confederation are

1 A. H. Richmond, "The Standard of Living of Post War Immigrants in Canada," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, II, No. 1 (February, 1965), 43–45.
2 Toronto *Globe and Mail*, September 28, 1966.
3 Hobart, "Italian Immigrants in Edmonton."
4 Richmond, "The Standard of Living of Post War Immigrants in Canada," 43–6.

now in all respects indistinguishable from Canadians of British origin. There are, however, some people of German and Dutch origin who immigrated at the same time but who were isolated, either geographically or because of a sectarian religious faith. These are still distinguishable, though less so than originally. Further research concerning the relationship between economic position, cultural difference from the dominant groups, and ethnic identification will be of great interest and value.

C. Immigrant and Ethnic Occupations

Entrance status occupations

113. The occupational distribution within an ethnic origin category is often related to what has been called "entrance status."

> Entrance status implies lower level occupational roles and subjection to processes of assimilation laid down and judged by the charter group. Over time the position of entrance status may be improved or it may be a permanent caste-like status as it has been, for example, with the Chinese in Canada. Thus most of Canada's minority groups have at some time had this entrance status. Some, but not all, have moved out of it.[1]

Some immigrants have been recruited and admitted to Canada for specific, and usually lower level, occupations. The occupations that new arrivals enter but later try to avoid are generally those which require little or no skill, have low wage levels, and make few linguistic demands, for example certain jobs in construction, mining, logging, the needle trades, the restaurant industry, and domestic service. If an ethnic origin category has a considerable foreign-born component, it will tend to be overrepresented in the occupations associated with entrance status. The high representation of Italian men among labourers in construction, of Italian, Portuguese, and Greek women in the needle trades, and of Italian, Portuguese, and Negro women in domestic service are all examples of entrance status. Other immigrants have passed through these occupations at varying speeds, depending on their background and the range of other opportunities open to them. For example, Japanese women shunned domestic service after World War II because of their unhappy memories of working in households in British Columbia, and their discovery that they could obtain light factory work.[2] Until World War II the Japanese seemed to be stuck in entrance status occupations but this situation has since changed dramatically.

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[1] John Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada* (Toronto, 1965), 63–4.

[2] E. D. Wangenheim, "The Social Organization of the Japanese Community in Toronto—A Product of Crisis" (unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1956), 26–7.

High status occupations

114. Paradoxically, a number of professions and skilled occupations of relatively high status have been filled largely by immigrants, particularly since World War II. Among them are some medical and scientific fields, drafting, architecture, and electronics. Native-born Canadians seem to have avoided these occupations, or have been unable to get the training required for them, or else have emigrated to the United States after receiving training. In 1965, one very large Montreal engineering firm had 182 Canadians of French origin and 26 of British among its professional workers, besides eight of Italian origin and five of Jewish origin. In addition it employed 133 professionals drawn from 29 different countries as follows:[1]

France	28	India	4	Turkey	2	Lithuania	1
Latvia	19	England	3	VietNam	2	Portugal	1
Hungary	13	Holland	3	Algeria	1	Spain	1
Germany	12	Russia	3	Belgium	1	Trinidad	1
Poland	8	Austria	2	Czecho-		Tunisia	1
Estonia	6	Egypt	2	slovakia	1	Ukraine	1
Yugoslavia	6	Greece	2	Israel	1		
Switzerland	5	Lebanon	2	Jamaica	1		

Migrant occupations

115. Some of the occupations requiring a high degree of talent and training and having high prestige attract short-term migrants rather than immigrants. "There is an international market for their occupational skills, they enjoy travel for its own sake, they find little difficulty making friends wherever they go, and they lack strong family or community ties that might impel them to become sedentary."[2] Increasing numbers of performing artists, scientists, skilled technicians, and executives in business and industry come to Canada for a few years while pursuing careers to which national boundaries have little relevance.

Ethnic specialties

116. In addition to immigrant occupations, there are also what may be called "ethnic specialties": occupations for which those of a particular ethnic origin are thought to have a special affinity and in which they thus have an advantage in attracting clients or customers and in developing skills and connections. Unskilled construction work is an immigrant occupation; skilled construction work is not. It has become an ethnic specialty of the Italians, just as *haute couture* and *grande cuisine* are for the French, and the restaurant business is for the Chinese and Greeks. Italians tend to specialize even within the construction industry:

> They [the Italians] have brought from their homeland certain skills in which they have been leaders, probably for centuries, and their leadership is still

[1] P. C. Briant, "Ethnic Relationships in the Construction Industry on the Island of Montreal," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

[2] A. H. Richmond, *Post-War Immigrants in Canada* (Toronto, 1967), 252.

> in evidence today. This applied particularly to the "trowel" trades; terazzo work, tile setting, cement finishing, plastering and bricklaying.... By contrast, Italians have made virtually no mark at all on the mechanical trades, for which a different and more North American-oriented type of training is required, and which also require greater capital investment.[1]

Because the construction industry is not only an immigrant occupation for many Italians but also an ethnic specialty it has played a large part in drawing Italian immigrants to Toronto. Virtually every aspect of the life of the Italians who came to Canada between 1951 and 1956 was intertwined with the construction industry. Not only their work but the fact that they immigrated, where they settled, and many of their social activities were all influenced by the industry.[2]

117. Within such an ethnic specialty, members of one ethnic origin category work both for and with members of other groups. For example, the Italians in construction in Montreal work with members of other origin categories who are entrepreneurs, financiers, professionals (such as architects and consulting engineers), technicians, and inspectors.[3]

Ethnic enterprises

118. Often a substantial portion of a cultural group is employed in serving the particular wants of that group. They may provide goods and services that only members of their own ethnic group desire (such as Matzos and Kosher wine); or that the host society is hesitant to supply (such as haircuts for Negroes); or that the members of the group do not want to receive from strangers (such as religious or medical services); or that are especially related to immigration (such as travel agencies that help immigrants bring their relatives to Canada). Those who supply such goods and services often also furnish jobs for other members of the same group and teach them skills in the process, so that while they rise to middle-class status they also help others to rise.

119. Ethnic enterprises of this nature require a sufficiently large group to serve in order to survive, but they do not necessarily require residential concentration, as long as the business and institutional centre of the group is known and accessible.[4] Although many post-war immigrants have not formed concentrated areas of settlement, they have sometimes supported established ethnic enterprises or helped start new ones. Ethnic enterprises also depend on the habits of saving and on the investment preferences of the group being served.[5]

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[1] Briant, "Ethnic Relationships in the Construction Industry on the Island of Montreal."

[2] Samuel Sidlofsky, "Post-War Immigrants in the Changing Metropolis with Special Reference to Toronto's Italian Population" (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1969).

[3] Briant, "Ethnic Relationships in the Construction Industry on the Island of Montreal."

[4] John Kosa, "Hungarian Immigrants in North America: Their Residential Mobility and Ecology," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, XXII, No. 3 (August, 1956), 363.

[5] Nathan Glazer and D. P. Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting-Pot* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), 33–4.

120. Both the Italians and the Jews, the two most highly urbanized of the larger cultural groups in Canada, have developed many ethnic enterprises to serve their own people. In Italian neighbourhoods in Montreal there are clusters of specialty food shops, cafés, and small businesses such as photographers, tailors, and cobblers all run by Italians, largely for an Italian clientele. In Toronto they have been described as not only the most concentrated and most segregated of the ethnic origin categories but the most institutionally self-sufficient except for the British. "It is possible to undertake almost any activity and to meet practically every need, without resort to English."[1] Italians in Windsor have also developed an elaborate service structure.[2]

121. The Jewish communities, especially in Montreal, Toronto, and Winnipeg, have many members who make their living filling the special wants of the group, such as rabbis and teachers of Hebrew, and operators of meat, poultry, and fish shops, bakeries, delicatessens, and restaurants. The Jews have had notable success in expanding ethnic enterprises into major business concerns serving the general population, so that, for example, a small family bakery has become a sizable chain, or a restaurant-delicatessen has grown into a large smoked meat business.

122. The Negroes in Canada have not developed an extensive system of businesses serving their own ethnic group. In Toronto in the 1950's, Negroes were accepted as clients and customers by white professionals and businessmen, and as professionals and businessmen by white clients and customers. Negro professionals or those operating businesses did not operate exclusively or even primarily within the Negro community. The one exception was two Negro barber-shops which had a considerable Negro clientele.[3]

123. Before World War II the Japanese in Vancouver had a "tightly integrated, economically interdependent community with a densely concentrated population and with facilities designed to provide for all the economic, social, cultural and religious needs of the group." But even then Canadian-born Japanese had fewer distinctive wants and less pronounced loyalties than did the new arrivals. Since the crises of relocation, there has been almost no re-establishment of specifically Japanese residential and business areas.[4]

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1 A. H. Richmond, "Immigrants and Ethnic Groups in Metropolitan Toronto: A Preliminary Study" (multilithed, 1966), 20.

2 Rudolf A. Helling, "The Position of Negroes, Chinese and Italians in the Social Structure of Windsor, Ontario," Report submitted to the Ontario Human Rights Commission (December, 1965), 36–7.

3 D. G. Hill, "Negroes in Toronto: A Sociological Study of a Minority Group" (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1960), 117, 122, 125.

4 Wangenheim, "The Social Organization of the Japanese Community in Toronto," 4, 23–4.

D. Ethnic Values

124. Little research has been done in Canada on what has enabled some groups to rise faster and further in the economic hierarchy than others, but it seems likely that cultural characteristics have a considerable influence on the diversity in economic status among different groups. Ethnic identity[1] often affects behaviour and values that influence occupational choices, work habits, and spending, saving, and investment practices.

Influence of religion

125. It has already been demonstrated that there is a significant relationship between economic behaviour and certain religions.[2] What evidence there is indicates that this relationship between religion and income also applies in Canada. For example, John Porter found by examining the 1951 census tracts of Halifax, Ottawa-Hull, Windsor, and Winnipeg that higher incomes were related to Protestantism and lower incomes to Catholicism, and that French origin could not explain the whole disadvantage of Catholicism.[3] This predominance of Protestantism is particularly interesting since, although urbanism is usually associated with high average incomes, several strongly rural ethnic groups, such as the Germans, Dutch, and Scandinavians, are Protestant, whereas the highly urban Italians are Roman Catholic. Of course some of the Protestant sects, within the German and Dutch ethnic origin groups, are largely rural because of their strongly isolationist beliefs but are still wealthy. The Amish[4] and Hutterites are two examples.

126. The great variety among the Protestant denominations in Canada is reflected to some extent in the economic attitudes and behaviour of their members. Some of the more evangelical branches of Protestantism, in addition to motivating their believers to hard work, asceticism, and investment, disapprove of certain very lucrative forms of enterprise such as tobacco-growing, the liquor industry, the arts, professional sports, and the entertainment field.

127. Some of the cultural groups that are largely Roman Catholic have not been in Canada long enough for anyone to know how great or rapid their economic mobility will be. The Italians appear to rise quickly in the economic scale. In Montreal, for example:

Almost 50 per cent of the immigrants were small farmers or agricultural labourers in Italy. Once in Canada they have moved into jobs as labourers

[1] *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, General Introduction. §§ 7–8.

[2] Max Weber, "Die Protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus," *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, XX and XXI (1904-5); English translation by Talcott Parsons, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (London, 1930).

[3] Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic*, 101.

[4] E. C. and H. M. Hughes, *Where Peoples Meet: Racial and Ethnic Frontiers* (Glencoe, Ill., 1952), 24.

and factory workers. Many of their children, however, leave manual occupations for white-collar work, becoming businessmen and shop owners (24 per cent), professional and technical specialists (10 per cent), clerical workers (14 per cent), and salesmen and shop attendants (9 per cent). Thus, while only 14 per cent of the immigrant generation work in white-collar occupations, 57 per cent of the second and third generation Italians do. . . . Almost without exception, teachers, lawyers, doctors, specialists, leading industrialists and business executives of Italian descent are the sons of Italian peasants who worked as unskilled and semi-skilled industrial and construction labourers in Montreal.[1]

Although the rise of the Italians was hampered by the Depression, sons of immigrants who arrived during the early years of the century in some cases became owners and managers of businesses and industries and thus major employers of post-war Italian immigrants in Montreal and Toronto.

128. The role of the Jews in the arts and entertainment deserves special mention. In a country where the arts have not yet attained full maturity or recognition, a disproportionately large number of Jews are novelists, poets, actors, directors, producers, playwrights, musicians, painters, sculptors, and booksellers. Other cultural and social factors have also contributed to this trend, but it has been observed that, with the breakdown of religious conviction more than a century ago, much of the traditional Jewish reverence for the rabbi and the Talmudic scholar has been transferred to the writer, the creative artist, and the secular intellectual. The arts thus serve as a substitute for the ethical instruction of religion. This applies particularly to literature, but it also carries over to other art forms.

129. Since World War II many immigrants have come from countries and milieux in which there has been a marked breakdown in religious conviction. Some immigrants, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish in background, have begun to practise their religion in Canada, although they had previously not done so. They appear to feel that religious practice is required in Canada either by their cultural group or by society at large. The extent to which secularization has diminished the differences in the economic behaviour of members of different faiths would be an interesting subject for research.

Role of education

130. Religion affects economic position in another way because of its relation to education. Occupation and income levels are closely related to educational levels. While access to schools and ability to pay for education dictate the educational level of a cultural group to some extent, so does the value set on learning or on particular types of education. These values are in turn related not only to religion, but also to class position and other factors.

[1] Boissevain, *The Italians of Montreal*, 14–15.

131. In the past, particularly during the early periods of agricultural expansion, some cultural groups were not greatly concerned about raising their educational level. For example, lower-class British immigrants in the 19th century often shared the view of their upper-class compatriots that education was a class prerogative. Sectarian groups, such as the Mennonites, Amish, and Hutterites, believed in limited education. They wished their children to be literate, for literacy was essential for the preservation of their faith and language, but they were suspicious of the English language and of higher education, fearing that both would expose their young people to the temptations of the world.

132. Those of Icelandic origin were exceptional in their high regard for education. Lord Dufferin, reporting on his visit to the first permanent Icelandic settlement in Canada, Nyja Island in Manitoba, noted: "I have not entered a single hut or cottage in the settlement which did not contain, no matter how bare its walls, or scanty its furniture, a library of twenty or thirty volumes." In several Icelandic communities, schools were among the first buildings erected and sometimes teaching began even before the school was built. It is also interesting to note that the Icelanders agreed to send their children to public schools where English was the language of instruction before provision was made in 1897 for instruction in a second language in the public schools of Manitoba.[1]

133. Since the turn of the century, but particularly since World War II, most cultural groups seem to value education highly. The emphasis placed on education by the Jews is well known, and is found in Canada as elsewhere. Respect for learning is an important element of Jewish culture, and has possibly been reinforced by discrimination. One result is that Jews enter the labour force at a later age than members of other cultural groups. Only 47 per cent of Jewish males between 15 and 24 years of age are in the labour force, compared to 61 per cent of the male labour force.[2] The Japanese have demonstrated a similar interest in education.

134. It appears that cultural groups with no tradition of placing a high value on education have in Canada shown interest in it as a means to economic and social advance. For example, the Ukrainians who came to Canada before World War I had little education themselves and belonged to faiths which had not demonstrated much interest in education, particularly scientific education. However, they had been influenced by an increased interest in education in the Ukraine:

A mass movement for "enlightenment", which meant striving for knowledge and education in general, was initiated in 1868 by the formation of a

[1] Lindal, *The Icelanders in Canada*, 154, 171–4.
[2] *See* Appendix II, Table A–23.

cultural-education institution *Prosvita* in Lviv [Lvov]. A net of branches spread throughout the villages and towns of Western Ukraine. Although at first it was restricted in its activities to folk-craft and folklore, the seed for knowledge and self-development was implanted in the minds and hearts of the masses. This organization had a great influence on succeeding generations, broadening their intellectual horizons. Many Ukrainian organizations in Canada patterned their program of activities after this parent body, even attaching the name *Prosvita* (which means "enlightenment") to their community halls.[1]

135. In Manitoba and Saskatchewan in the early years of the 20th century, Ukrainian teachers were recruited from among young immigrants to teach in schools in Ukrainian communities. Many also encouraged adult education, and continued their own studies to qualify for occupations other than teaching. Although the general level of education of those of Ukrainian origin is still comparatively low it is rising quickly.

136. Italians also have shown considerable interest in education, and there is ample evidence that the motivation has been largely economic, at least in Montreal:

> As most Italians are Roman Catholic, most send their children to schools run by the Roman Catholic School Board [*sic*] of Montreal. Immigrants, however, are faced with a choice as to which language they wish their children to be educated in . . . three out of four Italian Canadians send their children to English schools. . . .
>
> What accounts for the popularity of English as opposed to French schools? This is a question which we asked many informants. Their answers were usually unequivocal. They told us that it was only natural for immigrants to send their children to English schools because if they knew English it would be easier for them to get jobs. Moreover by knowing English they could more easily move to other parts of Canada, or to the United States for that matter, in their search of better job. . . .
>
> Fully two-thirds gave economic reasons for their choice of English: 31 per cent said that English facilitated moving to ohter parts of Canada; 24 per cent said that it was easier to get jobs with a knowledge of English; 9 per cent said English is the most important language of North America; and 1 per cent noted that English is the language of most influential businessmen in Montreal.[2]

137. Post-war immigrants have not only had higher levels of education than the earlier arrivals but have tended to come from groups within their societies that valued education. Those from central and eastern Europe have frequently been members of the intelligentsia. An increased emphasis on education and training as a requirement for immigration and employment has also contributed to this trend.

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1 Woycenko, *The Ukrainians in Canada*, 18 n.
2 Boissevain, *The Italians of Montreal*, 37–8.

Other influences

138. Cultural differences also appear to influence economic advancement in other ways. Since there is little information about these factors we can only suggest some that may be important. For example, in the modern Canadian economy geographical mobility seems to be positively correlated with social mobility. Members of some cultural groups are more reluctant to move than others. Cultural factors such as how important familial and extra-familial relationships are, how distinct the group's wants are, and what their goals are, all exert some influence on the individual's willingness to move. Risk-taking seems to be another cultural variable, and one crucial to economic attainment in the modern world. Jews appear to accept the risks of expansion and speculation while members of certain other groups appear reluctant to take the chances involved in expanding a small but secure enterprise into a larger one.

Concepts of property

139. Another cultural characteristic which influences economic status is the value placed upon property ownership. Italians place great importance on owning their homes, and members of Italian families perform almost incredible feats of saving in order to purchase a house and pay off the mortgage. It appears that the less the acculturation of Italians in Edmonton, the more likely they were to own property in Canada.[1] Kosa found that the Hungarians he studied in Toronto also valued owning property, but usually bought rooming houses or boarding houses which provided income in return for the part-time labour of members of the family. When their income levels improved they bought single-family dwellings.[2] The different attitudes of those of different cultural groups towards property is another area which warrants research.

E. Discrimination and Exploitation

140. Discrimination is sometimes considered the most important factor leading to differences in the economic positions of different cultural groups. However, it is difficult to discuss the influence of discrimination except as a residual factor, for three reasons. First, it is difficult to prove. In Canada discrimination has rarely been directly expressed in laws or by-laws, although it has sometimes been indirectly expressed in general laws that have had a severe impact on particular cultural groups. Several of its more overt forms are now proscribed by law. This has not resulted in the disappearance of discrimination, but has made it assume more covert forms. Second, discrimination is difficult to measure even when its existence seems beyond dispute. Prejudice

[1] Hobart, "Italian Immigrants in Edmonton."
[2] Kosa, *Land of Choice*, 33–4.

may be measured, but while prejudice and discrimination are related they do not always coincide. Prejudiced attitudes do not always lead to discriminatory behaviour, and discriminatory behaviour is sometimes practised by the unprejudiced.[1] Segregation can also be measured, but segregation and discrimination do not always coincide either.[2] Third, the economic effects of discrimination are not the same for all groups; discrimination seems to spur some groups on to outstanding achievement while it limits the economic advancement of others.

Discriminatory immigration policies

141. One reason that there has been little discriminatory legislation in Canada has been the discriminatory nature of our immigration policy. White British subjects and Americans have been preferred,[3] and Asians and Negroes have been restricted, in fact sometimes almost excluded. These policies have been justified on various grounds, such as maintaining the ethnic balance in the population or prohibiting the entry of persons unable to adapt to the Canadian climate. Such policies have become increasingly hard to defend as Canadians have become more sensitive to human rights, and there have been a number of recent declarations that discrimination on racial or ethnic lines will be eradicated, for example the White Paper on Immigration which was tabled in the House of Commons by the Minister of Manpower and Immigration in October 1966.[4]

Legal discrimination

142. The Asians in British Columbia have been the primary victims of legal discrimination in Canada. Until after World War II they were excluded from such professions as law and pharmacy, and denied access to certain occupations, including employment on contracts from the Department of Public Works, because they were not on provincial or municipal voters' lists. The war brought special legal measures directed against those of Japanese origin, including confiscation of their property and evacuation from the coast; a considerable number were also repatriated to Japan after the war.[5] The Hutterites in Alberta have also suffered discrimination through provincial legislation restricting the expansion of Hutterite colonies.

Other discriminatory practices

143. More common than legal discrimination have been such practices as refusal to hire or promote members of a particular group, failure to give equal pay for equal work, and exclusion from a school,

1 Peter I. Rose, *They and We: Racial and Ethnic Relations in the United States* (New York, 1964), 79–83.

2 *See* Leo Kuper, Hilstan Watts, and Ronald Davies, *Durban: A Study in Racial Equality* (London, 1958).

3 Citizens of France were only moved into the same category as British and American immigrants in 1948. However it should be noted that the French government has never encouraged its citizens to emigrate.

4 Canada, Department of Manpower and Immigration, *Canadian Immigration Policy, 1966*, White Paper on Immigration, October 1966 (Ottawa, 1966).

5 *See* Woodsworth, *Canada and the Orient*, pp. 132–143; La Violette, *The Canadian Japanese and World War II*, 295–7.

college, or training programme or restriction of the number admitted, either by requiring particularly high qualifications or by setting a quota. Such practices used to be carried on openly. For example, advertisements in newspapers or signs posted at factory doors stated that no members of a specific cultural group need apply, or applicants were told that they would be happier working among their own kind. Such discrimination has declined and what remains has become covert. Certain groups such as Negroes, Asians, and Jews have frequently been the objects of this type of discrimination, but new immigrants from all groups have had to face it to some extent; for example, there have been cases of signs saying: "No English [or sparrows, or chirpers] need apply."

144. As members of virtually every group have experienced discrimination, so members of almost every group have practised it, even upon those of the same ethnic background. The exploitation of Italian workers in the construction trade, and of Greek workers in restaurants, has sometimes been at the hands of other Italians and Greeks. For example, in the Windsor area:

> Under the padrone system, an employer, usually a sub-contractor in the construction field, imports his workers directly from Italy. Newly-arrived workers are docile and ignorant of wages and working conditions in this country. The padrone has also forwarded the passage money and workers are indebted to their employer. In addition, the padrone frequently runs a boarding house for his workers. This way, workers are in virtual bondage to their bosses. Normally the ignorance of the workers is sufficient to enforce the system; sometimes the "evil eye" of an enforcer gets better results.[1]

Or in Toronto:

> Discrimination against immigrants does not appear to have been widespread, but a provincial Royal Commission reported in 1962 that there was some evidence of exploitation of the Italian immigrants in the construction industry in Ontario. Immigrants were being paid between 85 cents and $1.50 an hour compared with an average for construction workers in all of Canada of $1.94 an hour. The Commission found that some employers were not paying overtime rates or providing statutory holidays with pay and some were defaulting on wage cheques. Other employers and foremen were demanding a "kick-back" from workers as a condition of employment. Some employers were not paying statutory contributions for workmen's compensation and unemployment insurance. Attempts to organize immigrant workers in the construction industry in Toronto into trade unions during 1960 and 1961 resulted in considerable opposition from employers which, in some cases, caused the violent disturbances that led to the setting up of the Royal Commission.[2]

[1] Helling, "The Position of Negroes, Chinese and Italians in the Social Structure of Windsor, Ontario," 35.

[2] Richmond, "The Standard of Living of Post War Immigrants in Canada," 45–6.

145. Some evidence concerning the incidence of alleged discrimination can be obtained from the cases reported to human rights comsions. Tables 6 and 7 indicate the number of formal and informal complaints concerning job discrimination received by the Ontario Human Rights Commission in metropolitan Toronto from June 1962 to November 1966 and the final disposition of the complaint. Formal complaints are those falling within the legal jurisdiction of the Ontario Human Rights Commission; informal complaints are those not covered by the Human Rights Code. In that period of time, in addition to the complaints about job discrimination listed in the two Tables, there were 151 complaints about application forms, advertisements, and oral inquiries. It should be noted that the number of complaints received by the Human Rights Commission from members of a particular religious, political, or ethnic group gives some indication not only of the employment

Table 6. Formal Job Discrimination Complaints in Metropolitan Toronto, June 1962 to November 1966

	Disposition of Complaint			
Identification of the plaintiff	Settled	Dismissed	Conciliation in progress	Total
Negro	12	34	6	52
Jewish	4	12		16
Italian	1	6		7
East Indian	1	5		6
German	3	1		4
Oriental	4			4
Hungarian	1	1	1	3
Naturalized Canadian	2			2
Non-Italian	1		1	2
Ukrainian	1	1		2
American		1		1
Armenian	1			1
Austrian			1	1
Czechoslovak		1		1
English		1		1
Iraqui	1			1
Irish		1		1
Non-Greek	1			1
Plymouth Brethren		1		1
Polish		1		1
Political Creed		1		1
Roumanian		1		1
Total	33	68	9	110

Source: Records of the Ontario Human Rights Commission.

Table 7. Informal Job Discrimination Complaints in Metropolitan Toronto, June 1962 to November 1966

Identification of plaintiff	Disposition of Complaint				
	Settled	Dismissed	Conciliation in progress	Other	Total
Negro	2	6			8
Jewish	1	4			5
Roman Catholic		3			3
Canadian		1			1
Canadian Indian	1				1
Chinese				1*	1
Discriminatory job orders filled			1		1
French		1			1
German	1				1
Nazi		1			1
Non-Canadian	1				1
Polish		1			1
Ukrainian		1			1
Total	6	18	1	1	26

Source: Records of the Ontario Human Rights Commission.

* This case was transferred to the Federal Fair Employment Practices Division since it involved a company regulated by the federal government.

experiences of those in this category but also of their awareness of the existence of the Human Rights Commission and their readiness to call upon it.

146. It has been suggested that discrimination may be a factor in the emigration of those of non-British origin to the United States:

> If second generation Canadians experience barriers to mobility because of their ethnic origins they may be diverted to what they believe to be and, in all probability is, a more mobile society for them. The very small ethnic representation in our elite groups . . . suggests that the chances of achieving the top positions are few. Selections and promotion procedures in the middle levels, governed by Canada's British origin charter group, may impose difficulties for those of European and other "origins."[1]

Jewish experience

147. Two cultural groups that have been the targets for discrimination, although they rank high in occupational status, are the Jewish and the Japanese. The Jews also rank high in income, partly because many are self-employed business owners or professionals, and because

[1] Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic*, 57–8.

members of the Jewish group are generally well educated. These high levels of self-employment and education are to some degree responses to discrimination. Of the Jewish non-agricultural male work force, 42 per cent are self-employed, compared to between 9 and 15 per cent self-employed for the British, French, Germans, Italians, Ukranians, and all other origins taken together.[1] Because they are self-employed, Jews tend to remain in the work force until late in life; 47 per cent of Jewish males 65 and over are in the labour force, compared to 28 per cent of the male population as a whole and 26 per cent of Italians. They also enter the labour force late, because of their concern with education.

148. In the past certain occupations, including engineering and teaching, were considered to be virtually closed to Jews and as a result very few Jews even tried to become engineers or teachers. Since World War II most of these older barriers seem to have broken down, but research suggests that discrimination, or anticipation of discrimination, still influences the occupational distribution of Jews. Jews have specialized successfully as sub-contractors in the mechanical trades in Montreal, because Jewish engineers feel they have difficulty progressing as professionals and therefore turn to other applications of their training, such as mechanical contracting. Their firms then profit from being headed by persons with advanced professional training. The predominance of Jews in real estate development is also due in part to the impression that senior management positions in companies controlled by members of the predominant British or French groups are closed to them.[2]

Japanese experience

149. The Japanese before World War II also had high levels of self-employment and education, but the legal restrictions and prejudice they faced were so severe that they could not flourish and they often found themselves forced to work within the Japanese group. After the war they dispersed to cities in central Canada, where less discrimination was directed against them and they were able to escape their dependence on their group. In pre-war Vancouver the goal of most Japanese families was to operate a small business, such as a grocery or cleaning store, a dressmaking business, or a restaurant, where, through the unpaid labour of all the family, a living could be eked out. Some of these family businesses exist today and, having started out again, built up large businesses. There are also still skilled workers who aim at setting up their own establishments. In addition there are quite a large number of professionals, doctors, and lawyers, who are self-employed. However, the majority of the Japanese are content to remain salaried

[1] Raynauld, Marion, and Béland, "La répartition des revenus."
[2] Briant, "Ethnic Relationships in the Construction Industry on the Island of Montreal."

employees, for it became clear that economic security, middle-class status, and a good standard of living could thus be achieved.

150. It is now possible to detect a different attitude among current university students and older graduates. The older professionals still want to be independent, while the new students are content to work for larger firms. Thus, paradoxically, although it caused so much suffering, the evacuation of the Japanese eventually improved their social and economic position in Canada.

> By breaking up the rigid hierarchy of the integrated ethnic community, by removing the Japanese from a particularly hostile environment and by eventually awakening public opinion to the many forms of legal discrimination aimed against this one minority group, the evacuation indirectly unleashed the positive forces necessary to secure political equality and economic opportunity for the Japanese Canadians. This achievement, for which Japanese and other Canadians worked together, has done much to mitigate, though not yet to erase, the bitterness and sense of injustice engendered by the events in the years following on Pearl Harbour.[1]

151. Whatever its economic consequences for the group as a whole, discrimination is always injurious to the individual against whom it is practised and to the society in which it exists. We have stated earlier that we were not asked by our terms of reference to deal with fundamental human rights;[2] however, we feel it is appropriate to review the steps which have been taken in Canada in this area.

Recommendation 1

152. The Canada Fair Employment Practices Act is more than 15 years old. The Canadian Bill of Rights was adopted in 1960. There is now some legislation in each province prohibiting discrimination because of race, creed, colour, nationality, ancestry, or place of origin, in one or more of accommodation, services, or facilities available in any place to which the public is customarily admitted, in employment, or in trade union membership. In most provinces it has been recognized that the victims of discrimination often need assistance to take action under human rights legislation, and full-time administrators of human rights legislation have therefore been provided. Further, since government is now a major employer of labour and a major purveyor of services, in most provinces the prohibitions against discrimination have been made binding upon the Crown and its agencies. We endorse these steps and **we recommend that all provinces that have not yet enacted fair employment practices, fair accommodation practices, or housing legislation prohibiting discrimination because of race, creed, colour, nationality, ancestry, or place of origin, do so; and that**

1 Wangenheim, "The Social Organization of the Japanese Community in Toronto," 149. See also 26–8,

2 See *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, General Introduction, §§ 65–6.

this legislation be made binding upon the Crown and its agencies. We further recommend that all provinces make provision for full-time administrators of their human rights legislation.

F. Language Barriers

153. Lack of fluency in at least one of the official languages of Canada is obviously a barrier to participation in Canadian life, and one which is often first felt in the economic sphere. Since Canada receives immigrants from many countries where neither English nor French is the language of daily life, they are inevitably handicapped by this lack and it is essential that we attempt to minimize this handicap by making available facilities for learning the official languages of the country. Such facilities should be available both to young people in conjunction with their education[1] and to adults in conjunction with their work.

154. Public and private agencies now sponsor programmes for teaching English and French to immigrants. The federal government enters into agreements with the provinces to reimburse them for the expense of language textbooks used by adult immigrants in programmes of language instruction, and for half the teaching costs of citizenship instruction (including English or French) for adult immigrants. A federal programme of adult occupational training provides living allowances for those taking language training. Applicants may be referred for language training if it is necessary in order to place them in jobs; living allowances are paid if they have been members of the labour force in their own countries prior to emigration, or if they have dependents.

155. Provincial and municipal agencies have also been active in providing instruction in language and citizenship. Churches, social agencies, and industries that employ recent immigrants in considerable number have also sponsored language classes, at times showing considerable ingenuity in reaching women with young children, the elderly, and others who do not have access to other means of instruction.

156. Unfortunately, although the sponsors and teachers of language classes tend to start out with great enthusiasm, they often lose this if their students fail to progress or discontinue their studies. These failures may result from a lack of training in second-language instruction, teaching aids, and up-to-date textbooks. It is imperative that those engaged in teaching the official languages have knowledge of and access to the most effective methods of teaching. The Language Research

[1] *See below*, § 383.

Council, which has already been recommended in our Book on education, will make this possible.[1] The Council's research and development activities related to second-language teaching in Canada will necessarily be concerned not only with the teaching of English to French-speaking students and of French to English-speaking students, but also with the teaching of the official languages to students having other mother tongues. In time we hope the Language Research Council will be concerned with the problems relating to all the languages spoken in Canada.

[1] *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, II (Ottawa, 1968), § 712.

157. Canadians of ethnic origin other than British or French have contributed to Canadian political life in a variety of capacities: as voters, as members of interest groups and political parties, and as participants in governmental institutions and in the public service. In all these capacities, their cultural backgrounds have helped to shape and develop their points of view. Their contribution has been significant, although in some instances it has been limited by their lack of conviction that they have a role to play in the political process, or by the prejudice and discrimination of others.

158. There is no easy way to assess the political activities and achievements of Canadians of any specific ethnic origin or cultural identity. The assumptions underlying our political system are individualist and rationalist, and disregard such matters as background, emotional ties, or group activities. Political scientists have come to recognize the gulf between theory and practice, but in Canada they have just begun to explore the significance of the ethnic factor in the political process. As a result, what little statistical data there is is often unreliable.[1]

[1] John Meisel and Mildred Schwartz are among the pioneers in this area. Some work was also done by Roman March while at Carleton University. We would like to acknowledge our use of his work, that of his students, and his extensive collection of data. Most of the other statistical information used in this chapter has been taken from secondary sources such as Pierre G. Normandin, ed., *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide* (Ottawa, 1968); *Who's Who in Canada* (Toronto, 1968); and *The Canadian Almanac and Directory for 1969* (Toronto, 1969). There were often large gaps in the material available; where possible these were filled by adapting information collected for other purposes. Where statistics for ethnic origin or nationality were unavailable, figures for language or religion were used, although it is recognized that the margin of error is large.

A. Modes of Political Expression

1. Voting patterns

159. Canadians of ethnic origin other than British or French have usually first become involved in the political life of the country as individual citizens by voting in elections. In the early years of mass immigration newcomers to Canada received the right to naturalization and the franchise three years after they arrived. Later the time required was increased to five years.

Franchise limitations

160. Canadian residents have been excluded from the franchise on two grounds, race and exemption from military service. Chinese, Japanese, and East Indians, even if Canadian born, were excluded from the provincial franchise in British Columbia on the basis of race for many years. For part of that time this policy also excluded them from the federal franchise since those who were disqualified because of race from voting in their own provincial elections were also disqualified from voting in federal elections. Japanese veterans were granted the vote in British Columbia in 1931, but other Asians in that province only received federal and provincial voting rights in the late 1940's. The municipal franchise was gained at the same time.

161. The Doukhobors, Mennonites, Hutterites, and other sectarians have at various times and places in Canada paid for their military service exemptions by disenfranchisement. British Columbia did not enfranchise the Doukhobors, except for individuals who had done military service in wartime, until 1957.

Motivation to vote

162. Members of certain cultural groups have been more eager than others to obtain naturalization. This has not always been because of a desire to vote; in many instances it has been in order to obtain title to land, or the right to sponsor relatives as immigrants. Interest in exercising the right to vote has probably been greatest in areas where a particular cultural group has been concentrated, and where members of that group have therefore felt that their votes would carry some weight and would not be submerged by those of voters whose viewpoints were very different. A recent study concluded that a desire to participate in Canadian political life was second only to a desire for a sense of belonging permanently to Canada among the reasons given by immigrants for wanting to become Canadian citizens.[1]

Discrimination

163. Although the feeling that an individual's vote could have little impact has deterred voting, hostility and suspicion on the part of the receiving society has been an even greater deterrent. There was often

[1] Richmond, *Post-War Immigrants in Canada*, 204.

considerable apprehension that immigrants would not employ the franchise well. For example, J. S. Woodsworth wrote in 1909:

> Our democratic institutions are the outcome of centuries of conflict by which to some extent we have been fitted for self-government. It is as absurd as it is dangerous to grant to every newly arrived immigrant the full privilege of citizenship. Just what qualifications should be required cannot be discussed here. The next reform should look to the restriction rather than the extension of the franchise.[1]

164. However, Woodsworth did exempt the members of certain cultural groups from these charges. He praised the Icelanders for being "natural politicians," who only a few years after their arrival were to be found actively participating in elections, belonging to Liberal and Conservative clubs, and discussing Canadian political issues seriously and intelligently. At the time he wrote, there were two Icelandic members in the Manitoba legislature.

165. In 1914 the right to naturalization was suspended for all alien residents and in 1919 the suspension was extended for ten years for aliens from former enemy countries; this suspension was lifted in 1923. In addition to preventing many immigrants from being enfranchised, these suspensions also bred considerable resentment, which was often directed towards the Conservative party which was then in power in Ottawa. The government's suspension of access to naturalization for aliens contributed to a belief that the Conservatives were less hospitable to members of other cultural groups than the Liberal, CCF, and Social Credit parties. This suspicion was very widely held until the late 1950's.

166. Participation in politics by those of ethnic origin other than British or French increased considerably after the limits on naturalization were removed in 1923. This in turn led to a sharp increase in fear of this participation and resulted in heightened activity by the Orange Order, and a brief appearance of the Ku Klux Klan in Canada, particularly in Saskatchewan. These organizations, which coupled suspicions of the more recent immigrant groups with the older fear of French-speaking Roman Catholics, recruited support from residents of British origin and those who identified with them, such as those of Scandinavian origin.[2]

167. These activities and the general animosity towards those of non-British origin declined with the change in the characteristics of immigrants in the 1920's, the onset of the Depression, the coming of

1 Woodsworth, *Strangers within Our Gates*, 288.

2 Patrick Kyba, "Ballots and Burning Crosses—The Election of 1929," in Norman Ward and Duff Spafford, eds., *Politics in Saskatchewan* (Toronto, 1968), 105.

age of second-generation immigrants who were both literate and fluent in English, and the decline of immigration in the 1930's.

Federal election patterns

168. Restrictions of voting rights based on "race" or ethnic origin have disappeared over the last two decades. Higher levels of education and sophistication on the part of both immigrant and native-born Canadians of ethnic origin other than British or French have also led to greater political interest and activity, particularly concerning Canada's role in international affairs. Those who share a particular ethnic origin have often become too differentiated to constitute any kind of united group. There are even greater diversities between the members of various cultural groups who have little in common except their non-British, non-French background. Studies of voting patterns in the federal election of 1962 found it difficult to discern patterns relating to ethnic origin. However, constituencies identified in the 1961 census as having many immigrants who have arrived in Canada since 1946 have tended to support the New Democratic party.[1]

Provincial patterns

169. There have been some studies of ethnic voting in provincial elections in the Prairie Provinces. They indicate that those of origin other than British or French, who make up about half the population, have until recently tended to vote disproportionately for the CCF and Social Credit parties.[2] In the early years of the CCF in Saskatchewan, its rural leaders tended to be drawn from those with superior status in the community, and hence to be British in ethnic origin. "Scandinavians, who are the social equals of Britishers in the West," were also disproportionately represented.[3] The CCF's supporters were also mainly of British and Scandinavian origin, but after 1934 it made great gains among those of Ukrainian origin, and they have continued to give the party strong support.[4] Social Credit apparently also received early support in Alberta from "large numbers of the poorer members of foreign-language groups like the Ukrainians, Scandinavians, and Germans."[5] More recently, it has been shown that those with ethnic origins in central and eastern Europe, who make up about 78 per cent of the non-British, non-French population on the prairies, have been strong and consistent supporters of the CCF and Social Credit parties.[6]

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[1] John Meisel, "Conclusion: An Analysis of the National (?) Results," in John Meisel, ed., *Papers on the 1962 Election* (Toronto, 1964), 284.

[2] Richard Baird, "The Slavic Vote," in *Slavs in Canada*, I, 158–9; *see also* Andrew Milnor, "The New Politics and Ethnic Revolt: 1929–1938," in *Politics in Saskatchewan*, 151–77.

[3] S. M. Lipset, "Leadership and New Social Movements," in A. W. Gouldner, ed., *Studies in Leadership* (New York, 1965), 348–9.

[4] S. M. Lipset, *Agrarian Socialism* (Garden City, N.Y., 1968), 206–9.

[5] John A. Irving, *The Social Credit Movement in Alberta* (Toronto, 1959), 250.

[6] M. Stein and R. R. March, "Ethnicity, Regionalism and Federal Leadership" (unpublished lecture, Centennial Lecture Series, Carleton University, Ottawa, 1967), 8–10.

Municipal politics

170. Studies of ethnic voting patterns in municipal elections are rare. One in Edmonton showed that the amount of support given to the Ukrainian mayoralty candidate in the municipal election of 1963 varied directly with the degree of concentration of Ukrainians in various parts of the city; the higher the concentration of Ukrainians, the greater the support given to the Ukrainian candidate.[1] It is possible that ethnic origin is a stronger factor in voting at the local level, where political parties are less involved, than at the provincial or federal levels.[2] Further research is needed to investigate these possibilities.

2. *Opinion polls*

171. One recent phenomenon in the political process in Canada is the development of public opinion polls. The best known polls, taken by the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion, do not categorize respondents by their ethnic origin or cultural group but only by their mother tongue. They thus can only give a slight indication of the political attitudes of some of those of ethnic origin other than British or French, chiefly those who are first- or second-generation immigrants.

Poll analyses

172. These polls have discovered that those whose mother tongue was other than English or French tended to favour the Liberal over the Progressive Conservative party in federal politics.[3] There was also a significantly higher percentage of those with neither English nor French as their mother tongue who stated before the federal elections of 1962 and 1963 that they intended to vote for the NDP or the Social Credit party. According to analyses of the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion's statistics, those of mother tongues other than English or French expressed a relatively high interest in Canadian politics, but a lower awareness of its substance and nuances than those whose mother tongue was English or French.[4] This apparent lower awareness reflects either short acquaintance with the Canadian scene and linguistic barriers to understanding it, or inability or reluctance to express political views.

173. Another analysis of the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion's data from May 1962 until January 1965 provides additional information. The attitudes of respondents of French, English, and what are called "other" mother tongues towards Canada as a political and social

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1 Baird, "The Slavic Vote," 163–4.

2 *See* L. J. Kamin, "Ethnic and Party Affiliations of Candidates as Determinants of Voting," *Canadian Journal of Psychology*, XII, No. 4 (December, 1958), 210.

3 It should be kept in mind that the population with mother tongues other than English and French is only half as large as the population of the other ethnic origin categories, and that new immigrants predominate among those of other mother tongues; *see* chap. V below.

4 Peter Regenstreif, *The Diefenbaker Interlude: Parties and Voting in Canada, an Interpretation* (Toronto, 1965), 36–7, 90.

entity, governmental policies, international relations, and "French-English" relations were examined. The patterns of attitudes of those in the "others" category differed from those of the Francophone and Anglophone respondents in all four categories.[1]

174. The single most impressive factor in the responses was that those with mother tongues other than French or English had a much larger percentage of "don't knows" or "no opinions" than those with either French or English as their mother tongue in questions which related specifically to Canada, but in questions about more general social questions their response rate was high. Their reticence on political questions thus does not seem to result from a general aversion to expressing an opinion on social issues.

Attitudes towards the future

175. In the questions related to attitudes towards the future as a whole, those in the "others" category showed neither as much optimism as the Anglophones nor as much pessimism as the Francophones, but they did have discernible opinions. However, in questions related to Canada's future, they showed a less clear-cut pattern of response. This may reflect an unawareness of the climate of debate which provoked the questions about Canada's future or a lack of knowledge of specifically Canadian conditions.

176. Concerning their own future within Canada, more of those in the "others" category were uncertain about the long-run conditions facing them and their families than were either the Anglophones or the Francophones. On the other hand, fewer of the "others" than of the Francophones were uncertain or pessimistic about their personal fate in the immediate future. In questions concerning general social problems, those in the "others" category emphasized problems common to all modern industrialized societies rather than those peculiar to Canada. For example, they named social security as the primary problem in Canada.

Attitudes towards government policy

177. In their attitudes towards governmental policies, those in the "others" category generally exhibited a lower political awareness than the two major linguistic groups, although there were a number of policy questions on which they expressed relatively strong opinions. A higher proportion than that of the Anglophones or Francophones would like to see Canada with a much larger population, and fewer declined to answer the question. A high proportion also supported abolition of capital punishment, and here again they had the lowest proportion of "no opinions." Those in the "others" category also seemed to differ from both Anglophones and Francophones in their attitudes towards government intervention. They were, for example, much more willing

[1] Saul Frankel, "Political Orientation and Ethnicity in a Bicultural Society," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B.

to accept a wage and price freeze than were either the Anglophones or the Francophones. More of the "others" and the Francophones than of the Anglophones thought that income taxes were too high.

Attitude towards Anglophone-Francophone relations

178. The Canadian Institute of Public Opinion has occasionally asked questions about what it has called "French-English" relations. The attitudes of those in the "others" category on these questions resembled those of Anglophones more than those of Francophones, although there was considerable regional variation. In April 1963, just before the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism was established, the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion asked, "Do you think today feelings between English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians are better or worse than, say, five years ago?" Like the Anglophones, but unlike the Francophones, a high proportion of those in the "others" category thought feelings were worse. There was a much higher proportion of the "others" undecided or unable to answer than in either of the two major linguistic groups.

179. After the Commission was established attitudes towards "French-English" relations crystallized. However, those in the "others" category did not appear to be affected by the establishment of the Commission as much as the Anglophones and the Francophones. When asked in November 1963, if they had heard or read about the Commission, over one half of those in the "others" category replied that they had not. Only 29 per cent of the Francophone respondents and 31 per cent of the Anglophone respondents had not heard of the Commission by that time. One year later 16 per cent of those in the "others" category said that they did not know whether the Province of Quebec would be likely ever to leave Confederation, and 13 per cent had no opinion about the seriousness of such an eventuality for the rest of Canada. A large number also expressed no opinion on the issues of a new national flag and a national anthem for Canada.

3. The ethnic press

180. Ethnic newspapers fill a dual function by both expressing and influencing the political opinions of the members of different cultural groups.[1] The Ukrainian and Polish cultural groups seem to have the most politically vocal presses. They have many publications, representing different factions or approaches to politics in Canada and in the homeland. They all articulate the demands of nationally self-conscious and politically assertive ethnic communities. The Dutch and Scan-

[1] *See* chap. VII below for a description of the ethnic press. The Citizenship Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State maintains an ethnic press file and carries on a programme of analyzing ethnic newspapers. We are grateful for permission to make use of the file.

dinavian ethnic presses are much less political and thus provide a striking contrast. The German, Italian, and Jewish presses lie in between in the intensity of their interest and the aggressiveness with which they put forward their demands. For example, the Italian press has recently begun to express considerable interest in having Italian candidates nominated for political office.

Political effectiveness

181. It would require very careful research to discover how effective ethnic presses are politically. Those of Ukranian, German, Jewish, and to a lesser extent, Polish ethnic origin are generally well represented in our political institutions. There appears to be some relationship, direct or indirect, between the political articulateness of a group's press and the extent of their representation in political institutions.

4. Interest groups

182. Lobbying is a vital part of the political process, and is carried on by all types of organizations. A recent classification of Canadian interest groups lists economic groups (including agricultural, labour, and business organizations), professional associations, public service groups, associations in the communications field, associations in the field of education, organized veterans' groups, ethnic interest groups, religious interest groups, women's groups, and social action and ideological groups. The only examples of ethnic interest groups given which represent a cultural group other than the British or French are "Ukrainian Canadian Organizations." Other examples given are the Empire Club, the English-speaking Union, the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire, the Loyal Orange Association, the Native Sons, and the Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste; the Canadian Jewish Congress is listed as a religious interest group.[1] However, other ethnic associations and the coordinating bodies of virtually all groups frequently attempt to exert influence on the various sectors of government.

Examples of ethnic interest groups

183. At times cultural groups whose members were disfranchised have pressed the government to adopt policies favourable to their interests. For example, the Chinese worked diligently to secure modification of immigration policies that inflicted hardship upon the Chinese through such spokesmen as the leaders of the Chinese Benevolent Association.

184. Those of Jewish origin have enjoyed full political rights since 1832, when legislation was passed providing that Jews in Lower Canada were to have the same rights and privileges as were enjoyed by other citizens, including the right to hold any public office. Jewish organizations have waged vigorous campaigns against restrictive immigration

[1] F. C. Engelmann and M. A. Schwartz, *Political Parties and the Canadian Social Structure* (Scarborough, Ontario, 1967), 94–6.

policies, such as requirements of landing money and passport restrictions which have presented difficulties to Jewish immigrants, particularly refugees.[1] They have also been actively opposed for 70 years to the teaching of religion in the schools, and have played an outstanding part in defending civil liberties and securing human rights legislation. Other political issues of continuing concern to the Jewish community have been the suppression of "hate literature" in Canada, the treatment of Jews in countries hostile to their faith, and support for the establishment and maintenance of the state of Israel. The Canadian Jewish Congress has coordinated these efforts since its foundation.

A "third force"

185. Since World War II, there have been a number of attempts by members of cultural groups of non-British, non-French ethnic origin to organize these groups into a "third force" capable of concerted political action. These attempts have not succeeded for several reasons, including the inability to define the membership of the "third force" with any precision, the geographic dispersal of potential supporters, and the diversity of interests and circumstances among various groups and individuals.

186. Supporters of the "third force" concept invariably consider as potential constituents all those who by the census count are of ethnic origin other than British or French. As we have already pointed out, many whose ethnic origin is not British or French are by now thoroughly identified with one or the other of the two societies. Alternatively some whose ethnic origin is British or French according to the census are identified with another cultural group, but the number in this category is much smaller.

5. *Political parties*

Party tactics

187. All Canadian political parties have concerned themselves with what is called "the ethnic vote," especially at times and in places where people of other origins are numerous and ethnic associations are prominent. For example, in Saskatchewan the Ukrainian vote warranted close attention:

> Liberals in Saskatchewan were not surprised some weeks before the election to learn there was some talk going around among Ukrainian voters that, though they had always voted Liberal, they had not received due recognition. They did not have a candidate of their own in the campaign. As there are between 40,000 and 50,000 Ukrainian voters in Saskatchewan, this report created a problem requiring the closest attention of the inner circle of the party.... The Ukrainians got one of their own prairie-born sons,

[1] *See* Simon Belkin, *Through Narrow Gates: A Review of Jewish Immigration, Colonization and Immigrant Aid Work in Canada (1840–1940)* (Montreal, 1966) and Joseph Kage, *With Faith and Thanksgiving: The Story of Two Hundred Years of Jewish Immigration and Immigrant Aid Effort in Canada (1760–1960)* (Montreal, 1962).

a Saskatoon doctor, as a candidate in one of the north-eastern constituencies.... A Ukrainian candidate in one constituency would keep the Ukrainian vote in eight or ten other constituencies in line. It did not matter whether or not he was elected. Came the election. The Ukrainian-Canadian candidate not only won the seat, but he piled up a majority of about 2,000 out of only some 6,000 votes in the riding.[1]

188. Since 1957, members of cultural groups, and particularly those who are regarded as their leaders, have been assiduously courted. For example, in the Toronto area, during the 1962 campaign:

While the parties varied in their efforts to contact members of ethnic groups at higher levels of the organizational hierarchy, there were greater similarities at the riding level, at least for those ridings we examined. At nomination meetings, spokesmen for different ethnic groups participated in the ceremonies, adding a short speech supporting the candidate nominated, while pretty girls dressed in national dress were part of the decor. Campaign literature translated into languages other than English was generally available for distribution. Voters' lists were examined and voters separated by supposed origin. Canvassers of the same background were then assigned to contact them.[2]

189. Nominating a member of a cultural group as a candidate is one means of bidding for the support of members of that group, and of groups allied to it. It is impossible to distinguish those who consider themselves representatives of other cultural groups from those of non-British, non-French ethnic origin who regard themselves as full-fledged members of the Anglophone and Francophone societies, but it is worth looking at what is known about the candidates selected.

Federal candidates

190. There were estimated to be 148 candidates of ethnic origin other than British or French in the Canadian general election 1965. They constituted about 15 per cent of the total number of 1,011 candidates, probably the highest proportion in Canadian political history. The increase in the proportion of candidates of origin other than British or French in federal elections has been slow but steady since World War II: there were 50 such candidates in 1949, 88 in 1953, 93 in 1957, 113 in 1958, 121 in 1962, 137 in 1963, and 148 in 1965.[3] All the parties seem to have contributed about equally to this increase, with the Liberals and Progressive Conservatives increasing their proportions most significantly since 1957. The major ethnic origin categories from which candidates were chosen in 1963 and 1965 were German, Ukrainian, and Scandinavian.

[1] Escott M. Reid, "The Saskatchewan Liberal Machine before 1929," in *Politics in Saskatchewan*, 104 n.

[2] Mildred A. Schwartz, "Political Behaviour and Ethnic Origin," in *Papers on the 1962 Election*, 268.

[3] R. R. March, "Political Mobility of Slavs in the Federal and Provincial Legislatures in Canada", in *Slavs in Canada*, II, Proceedings of the Second National Conference of Canadian Slavs (Ottawa, 1967), 11–19.

Provincial candidates

191. During the 1930's a number of important political changes occurred on the prairies and studies of these changes have yielded some information. The CCF arose in Saskatchewan and the Social Credit party suddenly came to power in Alberta. The Depression also resulted in the development of various new parties in Manitoba which led to coalition government. Since 1930, the proportion of candidates of ethnic origin other than British or French in provincial elections has increased rapidly: in Alberta, from 13 per cent in 1930 to 30 per cent in 1959, in Saskatchewan from 20 per cent in 1934 to 41 per cent in 1960, and in Manitoba from 15 per cent in 1936 to 34 per cent in 1959.[1] There was no great difference in the proportion of candidates of non-British, non-French ethnic origin nominated by the different parties during the period examined, although the CCF and Social Credit parties had slightly higher proportions than did the Liberals and Progressive Conservatives.

B. Governmental Institutions

192. Most government institutions are designed to fulfill functions unrelated to specifically ethnic concerns. The explicit criteria for selection or election to most governmental bodies relates to the individual as a citizen rather than as a member of a particular group and the tasks performed by government personnel normally affect a cross-section of the entire society.

193. Nonetheless, the presence in Canada of two societies has led to recognition and acceptance of the principle of representation of the British and French cultural groups in most federal political institutions and in some provincial and municipal institutions in regions where this seems appropriate. Although the result had never been equitable representation, this recognition constitutes a precedent that may be invoked by those who feel they have special interests as members of other cultural groups although they are also part of one of the dominant societies.

1. Federal institutions

194. Only quite recently have significant numbers of those of ethnic origin other than British or French been found in federal government institutions. Many lacked the language and educational skills required for effective participation in government at any level on their arrival. By the 1960's members of various cultural groups had become mem-

[1] Stein and March, "Ethnicity, Regionalism and Federal Leadership."

bers of the House of Commons, the Senate, the federal Cabinet, senior public servants, judges, military officers, and heads of Crown corporations. Their number, while not large, now seems to be increasing at many levels of authority and in many government institutions.

Parliamentary representation

195. Since 1867 about one hundred persons of ethnic origin other than British or French have been elected to the House of Commons.[1] More than one-third have come from Ontario and another third from the three Prairie Provinces. Between November 1965 and June 1968 there were at least 24 members in the House with ethnic origins other than British or French, including some of the country's most noted politicians. This is considerably more than in previous Canadian parliaments.[2] The proportions in the Liberal and Conservative parties have been about the same; the New Democratic party and Social Credit party have each had a somewhat larger proportion of MPs of other than British or French ethnic origin.

196. The ethnic origin categories which have been most heavily represented in the House are German, Ukrainian, Jewish, and Scandinavian. Since 1945 there have been at least seven members of Parliament of German origin, five of Scandinavian origin, nine of Ukrainian origin, and four of Jewish origin. On the whole, the German and Scandinavian members have not been regarded as representatives of their cultural groups, unlike the Ukrainian and Jewish members.

197. Members of Parliament of other than British or French ethnic origin are often selected, or volunteer, to represent their political parties on matters of special interest to the different cultural groups. Thus a recent parliamentary delegation to Poland included members of Polish ethnic origin from the three largest parties. Members of ethnic origin other than British or French have also been assigned to parliamentary committees or special commissions dealing with matters such as immigration and minority rights. Some have regularly intervened on behalf of members of their groups on such questions as deportation cases, the appointment of senators, the awarding of honours, and support of the claims of refugees now living in Canada against their former homelands.

198. There have been about a dozen senators of non-British, non-French origin since Confederation, appointed by both the major parties. Three senators of Ukrainian origin have been appointed since 1945, and one of Jewish and one of Icelandic origin.[4]

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[1] *See* Appendix II, Table A-28.

[2] R. Van Loon, "The Structure and Membership of the Canadian Cabinet," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B.

[3] *See* Appendix II, Table A-28.

[4] These are, respectively, senators William Wall, John Hnatyshyn, Paul Yuzyk, David Croll, and Gunnar Thorvaldson.

199. Members of cultural groups sometimes regard Senate appointments as being awarded not to the individual but to the particular group which he is assumed to represent. Thus they sometimes expect an "ethnic" Senator to promote their interests in federal matters; but the Senator usually regards his mandate as much broader.[1]

200. In making appointments to the federal Cabinet the Prime Minister is now expected to take ethnic origin into account. Both the Liberal and Progressive Conservative governments in recent years, have included ministers of ethnic origin other than British or French. However, since Confederation, there have only been five such Cabinet ministers.[2]

201. Since 1943, parliamentary assistants to ministers and parliamentary secretaries have been appointed according to principles similar to those governing the appointment of ministers. There have been parliamentary secretaries of Scandinavian, Italian, and Polish origin.[3]

Representation in the Public Service

202. In 1961, the federal Public Service[4] included almost 39,000 members of neither British nor French ethnic origin (out of almost 224,000).[5] All provinces were represented in this figure. The average income of those of non-British, non-French origin was slightly below that of those of French origin and both were significantly lower than those of British origin. Public servants of ethnic origin other than British or French constituted 13 per cent of the managerial class, 23 per cent of the professional engineers, and 25 per cent of the physical and biological scientists. Nearly 20 per cent of the civil servants of non-British, non-French ethnic origin were foreign-born. Thus in the Public Service (as in the labour force generally) immigrants appear to be supplying knowledge and skills that are in short supply in Canada.

Predominance of British immigrants

203. However, there are more British-born immigrants than non-British in the Public Service. This may be due both to language difficulties and to unfamiliarity with institutions largely British in character, but discrimination in favour of British subjects has undoubtedly also played a part. Such discrimination no longer exists, except to the degree that recruiting outside Canada for Public Service posts is still more intensive in the United Kingdom than elsewhere.

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1 F. A. Kunz, *The Modern Senate of Canada, 1925–1963: A Re-appraisal* (Toronto, 1965), 51–3.

2 Van Loon, "The Structure and Membership of the Canadian Cabinet."

3 Denis Staris, "Parliamentary Secretaries—Onward to the Cabinet," in Paul Fox, ed., *Politics: Canada* (Toronto, 1966), 217.

3 Defined so as to exclude certain major Crown corporations. *See* W. Klein and D. Ledoux, "Census Analysis of the Public Service of Canada," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B; *see also* W. Klein, "Representativeness of the Federal Civil Service," a working paper prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

5 *See* Appendix II, Tables A–29—A–32.

Judicial and Crown corporation appointments

204. Several judges of non-British, non-French ethnic origin have recently been appointed to the benches of the Appeal and Superior courts in different provinces, and in one case to the presidency of a High Court. The federal government makes all judicial appointments including those to county and district courts. The heads of some Crown corporations are also of origin other than British or French. In most cases, as in judicial appointments, there is no connection between the appointee's ethnic origin and his official duties.

The armed forces

205. The armed services have sometimes been believed to be a preserve of those of British ethnic origin. However, a survey done for the Commission indicates that 16 per cent of those in the armed services are of origin other than British or French; they are distributed through all levels, including high-ranking officers.[1]

2. Provincial and municipal institutions

206. Since those of ethnic origin other than British or French have, like those of British or French origin, generally entered politics first at the municipal or provincial level, their number in various provincial and local government institutions is higher than in federal institutions, but the same trend towards increased representation and participation, especially since the Depression, can be seen.

Legislative representation

207. The number of MLAs of non-British, non-French ethnic origin has increased dramatically in the provincial legislatures in recent years, particularly in the three Prairie Provinces, and some of these have become provincial Cabinet ministers. In Manitoba, it has been estimated that at least 46 members, or 8 per cent of those elected to the provincial Legislature since 1870, have been of ethnic origin other than British or French, but the actual figure is probably considerably higher, since there have been 26 Ukrainian and 19 Icelandic members.[2] A high proportion of them have been elected since World War II. In Saskatchewan at least 14 per cent of the members elected since 1905 have been of non-British, non-French ethnic origin; the majority of them have also been elected since 1945. In Alberta, at least 48, or 12 per cent of the members elected since 1905, have been of ethnic origin other than British or French. In all three Prairie Provinces those of Scandinavian, Ukrainian, and German ethnic origin are most heavily represented. In the Ontario legislature, at least 52, or 6 per cent of the 450 MLAs elected since 1914, have been of non-British, non-French ethnic origin. This is an increase over earlier periods, although not as substantial an increase as in the Prairie Provinces. The German

[1] Pierre Coulombe, with the collaboration of Lise Courcelles, "Carrière militaire et dynamique culturelle," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B. *See also* Appendix II, Tables A–33—A–35.

[2] Citizenship Branch, Department of the Secretary of State, *The Canadian Family Tree* (Ottawa, 1967), 163, 327.

and Dutch ethnic origin categories have contributed the most representatives. In British Columbia, at least 19, or 5 per cent of the 421 MLAs elected since 1871, have been of neither British nor French ethnic origin, but this figure is probably too low since there are 88 British Columbia MLAs whose ethnic origin is unknown. Most of the 19 are of German or Scandinavian ethnic origin and again most have been elected since World War II. In the other provinces the representation of non-British, non-French ethnic origin categories among MLAs does not exceed 1 per cent. A number of the MLAs of non-British, non-French ethnic origin have been appointed to provincial Cabinets, most of them within the last few years.

Provincial civil services

208. In the provincial civil services those of non-British and non-French ethnic origin are again most highly represented in the Prairie Provinces. In 1961, 39 per cent of the members of the civil service in Alberta were of other than British or French ethnic origin; the figure for Saskatchewan was 40 per cent. In Manitoba the proportion of those of non-British, non-French ethnic origin in the civil service was 32 per cent and in both Ontario and British Columbia 20 per cent. In Quebec less than 2 per cent of the civil service was neither French nor British in ethnic origin in 1961.[1] Figures were not obtained for each of the Atlantic Provinces but they are probably lower, because of the small number of residents of non-British, non-French ethnic origin in these provinces.

Municipal representation

209. Figures compiled for the Commission on the municipal civic services of Winnipeg, Ottawa, Hull, Montreal, and Toronto offer some insights into ethnic representation at this level.[2] In the Winnipeg metropolitan civil service, a total of 480 employees (27 per cent) were of ethnic origin other than British or French. A high proportion of these, 72 per cent, had served for less than ten years. Most of them were of Ukrainian origin, although there were also substantial numbers of German, Polish, and Icelandic origin.[3] In Ottawa, 314 employees (12 per cent) were of other than British or French ethnic origin, most of them of German or Italian origin; a mere handful of the employees in the Hull service were of non-British, non-French ethnic origin. In Montreal, 947 employees (7 per cent) of the metropolitan civil administration were of ethnic origin other than British or French, over half of them of Italian origin. In the Toronto civic administration, 1,927 (27 per cent) were of neither British nor French ethnic origin and again those of Italian origin made up the largest single group.

210. It is important to consider not only the extent of participation of those of non-British, non-French ethnic origin in government but

1 *See* Appendix II, Tables A–36 and A–37.
2 *Ibid.*, Tables A–38 and A–39.
3 Donnelly, "Ethnic Participation in Municipal Government."

also the type of position held. In Winnipeg, a Commission study found that those of British ethnic origin are found in the higher positions rather than those of French, Ukrainian, or German origin. Among those 39 years of age and under, the percentage of those of British origin is lower than among those 40 and over. The study concluded that the influence of ethnic origin on the level of participation in the civic administration is changing.[1]

211. No figures were available on the ethnic composition of municipal executives and councils. However, the ethnic presses have noted that mayors of non-British, non-French ethnic origin have been elected in recent years in several municipalities, including Toronto, Vancouver, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Saskatoon, Windsor, Fort William, Waterloo, and Côte Saint-Luc in Montreal.

C. Political Sub-cultures

212. The diversity of political sub-cultures is one of the most important factors affecting political representation and participation among different groups. A political sub-culture means here the set of political orientations and attitudes held in common by the members of a sub-group in a society. It consists of attitudes concerning the society's political system and the role which that particular group plays within this system. These attitudes are acquired over a long period of time and are transmitted from one generation to the next.[2]

213. It is extremely difficult to isolate such political sub-cultures and to measure their impact. In Canada there is no survey in which precise data is provided for each of the non-British, non-French cultural groups. In the absence of such data, one has to rely on secondary accounts of a group's political attitudes and there is even a dearth of reliable material of this sort. However, it is interesting to compare what is known about the political sub-culture of the German and Ukrainian cultural groups which are associated with two of the largest ethnic origin categories in the Canadian population.

1. Canadians of German origin

214. The German ethnic origin category is larger than any except the British and French, and has been represented in the population for more than a century and a half. There were people of German origin in the House of Commons and in the Cabinet before 1900. The German

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Lucian W. Pye and Sidney Verba, eds., *Political Culture and Political Development* (Princeton, N.J., 1965), 7–10, 19–21.

ethnic origin category is at present well represented in government structures. However, Germans have not been active in political life as a cultural group. At least three factors have contributed to this.

Lack of political activity

215. The first is the lack of ethnic self-consciousness among many residents of German origin. Germans were among the earliest settlers in many parts of Canada. The fluid social organization of frontier communities and the similarities between the German and British cultures led to a rapid loss of German ethnic identity, except where groups were geographically isolated. Many people of German ethnic origin have participated and are now participating in Canadian political life with no feeling that they are representing a particular cultural group.

Influence of sectarian groups

216. A second factor is the presence among the German group of religious sectarians who formed, and in some instances still form, strongly isolationist communities. Many of them have been opposed to any participation in provincial or federal politics; some have even forbidden their members to vote.[1] There are, of course, exceptions. For example, a Mennonite was elected to the legislature in Manitoba in 1932, and a Mennonite represented a British Columbia riding in the House of Commons from 1953 to 1962.

Influence of world wars

217. Third, the two world wars have greatly affected the outlook of Canadian residents of German ethnic origin, making them averse to political activity as an organized and visible group. During both wars they have been the object of suspicion and hostility. They have sometimes responded by denying their ethnic origin. In other cases they have tried to avoid criticism by discarding cultural traits and social practices such as use of the German language, membership in exclusive ethnic associations, and group pressure in politics.

New demands

218. Since the Trans-Canada Alliance was founded in 1951, some German associations and spokesmen have become less reluctant to express their views or to try to influence the course of politics. The political achievements of prominent Canadian residents of German ethnic origin are described with pride, and concern is expressed about such issues as citizenship, immigration, and the preservation of the German language. Government assistance in maintaining the German language and culture in Canada is also demanded.

2. *Canadians of Ukrainian origin*

219. Many Ukrainians who came to Canada about the end of the 19th century were illiterate peasant farmers on the poorest land in their homeland. They hoped to enjoy a greater measure of freedom to

[1] Francis, *In Search of Utopia*, 189–90, 215.

pursue their group activities in Canada.[1] At first they were permitted to do so. They were given free homesteads in Manitoba and in what is now Saskatchewan and Alberta, and after a few years they could become British subjects. The immediate incentive was the need for naturalization papers to obtain ownership patents for their homesteads.[2] Politicians often helped the new immigrants to obtain these papers in return for their votes at election time. Corruption and vote-buying were rife among Ukrainian immigrants in the first two decades after their arrival in Canada.

Early political practices

220. In the beginning the Ukrainians voted in blocks for English-speaking Liberal and Conservative candidates, but their leaders soon began to advocate more active participation in politics. They began to try to nominate Ukrainian candidates as early as 1910. At first they met stout resistance on the part of both parties, but gradually their persistence won out. The first Ukrainian was elected to the Alberta legislature in 1913,[3] to the Manitoba legislature in 1915, and to the House of Commons in Ottawa in 1926.[4]

Discrimination

221. The suspension of the right to naturalization of all aliens including the Ukrainians in 1914, and the extension of this suspension to aliens of former enemy countries in 1919, greatly disturbed the Ukrainians.[5] They were not only denied access to citizenship but also the right to vote, and their newspapers were suppressed. They considered that they had been harshly and unfairly treated, especially since some Canadian residents of Ukrainian ethnic origin were in the armed services and one, Philip Konowal of the 77th Battalion, won the Victoria Cross.

222. Another incident that contributed to the shaping of Ukrainian political attitudes was the abolition by the Manitoba government in 1916 of the language privileges that cultural groups had enjoyed within the public school system. Many considered this to be a severe blow to the maintenance of the Ukrainian language.[6]

Nationalist influences

223. Ukrainian nationalism in Canada was intensified by the dissolution of the short-lived republic of the Ukraine after World War I. This political upheaval brought to Canada many Ukrainian political refugees of the middle class and intelligentsia and they reinforced the political self-consciousness of the first-generation immigrants of peasant background. Many of them drew parallels between the withdrawal by

[1] Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada*, 3–4.

[2] Paul Yuzyk, *The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History* (Toronto, 1953), 177.

[3] The 1913 election was annulled, but the same candidate was re-elected in 1915, 1917, and 1921; the last election was also annulled.

[4] Woycenko, *The Ukrainians in Canada*, 110–11; *see also* Young, *The Ukrainian Canadians*, 257–258.

[5] V. J. Kaye, "Political Integration of Ethnic Groups: The Ukrainians," *Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa*, XXVII, No. 4 (October–December, 1957), 467.

[6] Young, *The Ukrainian Canadians*, 243–5.

provincial authorities of the right to educate their children in Ukrainian and the anti-Ukrainian policies of the Polish and Tsarist Russian regimes.

224. During the inter-war years the political nationalism of those of Ukrainian ethnic origin was fanned by discrimination and prejudice. The Ukrainians were not popular among immigrant groups on the prairies and antagonism towards them was expressed in such epithets as "bohunk," "hunkie," and "white nigger." They were also excluded from participation in community social events and were occasionally attacked in the press and on the political hustings.

Political activity

225. When drought and the Depression hit the prairies at the same time, many Ukrainians turned to radical protest both on the right (Social Credit) and on the left (CCF). A prominent minority even joined the Communist party. This led to the adoption of a revolutionary line by the Ukrainian labour temples, which were closed by the Canadian government in 1940.[1]

226. The Ukrainian political refugees who came to Canada after World War II added a strong core of anti-Communist feeling to the Ukrainian political sub-culture. Recently post-war immigrants, along with certain second- and third-generation Canadians of Ukrainian ethnic origin, have emerged as the dominant voice of opposition to certain changes planned or being studied by the federal government in the field of bilingualism and biculturalism.[2]

227. Spokesmen for this cultural group press various governments for recognition as a group and for assistance in the maintenance of their culture and language more than the members of any other sizable cultural group. They boast of the number of Canadians of Ukrainian origin who have held political office at the federal, provincial, and municipal levels, counting each to be a representative of their group and expecting each to work for policies favourable to the group's interests. They take a lead in efforts to organize a "third force."

Internal divisions

228. However, it should not be assumed that the political culture of the Ukrainian cultural group is monolithic; those of Ukrainian origin are divided on both religious and ideological lines. There are, among other factions, a rightist wing opposed to all forms of socialism and strongly anti-Communist, a leftist wing inclined to favour socialism and to support a pro-Soviet foreign policy, and a centre wing favouring more moderate nationalism and greater integration into Canadian society. Those of Ukrainian origin who have been elected to the House of Commons have represented all four of the federal political parties.

1 Yuzyk, *The Ukrainians in Manitoba*, 96.

2 E. Wangenheim, "The Ukrainians: A Case Study of the 'Third Force,' " in Peter Russell, ed., *Nationalism in Canada* (Toronto, 1966), 72–91.

Analysis of the group's voting patterns indicates that at least the native born are like other Canadians in voting according to individual party preference rather than ethnic affiliation.[1] All are united in being conscious of their ethnic identity and proud of their contribution as a cultural group to Canadian political and social life.

D. Conclusion

229. Canadians of ethnic origin other than British or French have steadily increased their degree of participation and representation in Canadian politics, particularly since World War II. Those of some cultural groups have done so to a much greater extent than others in proportion to the size of their group. This can be attributed to a number of factors including time of arrival, level of education, and the relative concentration or dispersal of the group's population. Also important are such cultural factors as ethnic self-consciousness, the degree of intensity of group nationalism, and the desire for group self-assertion. Certain cultural groups have shown determination and persistence in their search for political participation and recognition; others have not.

230. The more vocal groups tend to demand proportional representation in various government institutions. For example, their spokesmen have asked that they be given a proportion of the appointments to the Senate, the Cabinet, or the Supreme Court equal to their proportion in the population. We do not favour such representation and, even if we did favour it in principle, we should still be faced with the fact that there is no effective way of determining either the size and strength of a cultural constituency or the qualifications of a particular individual to represent it.

231. This is as true if the other cultural groups are taken together as it is if the groups are considered separately. The non-British, non-French cultural groups are too diverse in background and characteristics to constitute an effective "third force." We urge that the members of all groups be welcomed into the Anglophone and Francophone communities, and that they participate fully in the political sphere from within one of these communities.

232. We insist that ethnic origin or cultural distinctions should be ignored wherever specific group interests are not involved. Merit and competence should be the only bases for appointment to government

[1] Kaye, "Political Integration of Ethnic Groups: The Ukrainians," 469–70; *compare* Kamin, "Ethnic and Party Affiliations of Candidates as Determinants of Voting."

posts, within the context of the two official languages as we have recommended in previous books of our *Report*.[1]

233. In the Canadian political sphere there is one area where these principles still do not apply at the time of writing. Immigrants who are British subjects receive the right to vote after only one year in Canada, whereas other immigrants do not receive it until they have gained Canadian citizenship and they may not apply for citizenship until they have resided in Canada for five years. It is also slightly easier for a British subject to file an application for citizenship than for an immigrant from a country outside the Commonwealth. British subjects may file an application directly with the Registrar of Canadian Citizenship, whereas anyone else must file an application through his local court or a Citizenship Court, unless he lives more than 50 miles from a court. In the past the familiarity of British subjects with the English language and with political institutions similar to Canada's was at least a partial justification for this distinction. Now, the educational level of many non-British immigrants renders the distinction between British subjects and other immigrants anachronistic. Therefore, **we recommend that the same conditions for citizenship, the right to vote, and to stand for election to public office be accorded to all immigrants, with no regard to their country of origin.**

Recommendation 2

1 *See Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, General Introduction, §§ 15–20 and especially III, chaps. X and XI.

234. Immigrants are under immediate and direct pressure to adjust to the economic, political, and legal structures of the country to which they immigrate but there are some areas, such as family life, religious belief and practice, and social and cultural associations, where society exerts less pressure and permits a wider variety of behaviour. As a result, immigrants may continue to follow traditional patterns in these areas. Society at large has tended to accept and even encourage this retention, but even so life in Canada has inevitably brought changes in the social patterns of all cultural groups, even the most isolated and self-sufficient.

A. The Family

1. Kinship

235. Many of Canada's immigrants came from societies in which kinship ties were very important, and where families were often linked into networks which would assist the young men of the families to emigrate. Once established in the new land they were in turn expected to help their kinsmen to follow them.

The Hungarian sib

236. The role of kinship among immigrant Hungarian peasants provides an illustration.[1] Their basic kinship institution, called the sib, included a wide circle of relatives (aunts, uncles, cousins, sometimes of a very remote degree, in-laws and their families, and godparents and their families). Membership in the sib was not governed solely by blood relationship for some distant relatives might be strongly attached

[1] Kosa, *Land of Choice*, 13-16. Quotations in this paragraph are drawn from this work.

while nearer ones were excluded. Within the sib the separate families maintained independent households which were often scattered over neighbouring villages or, in the case of middle-class sibs, over the whole country. Marriage between members of the sib was common and often encouraged in order to keep the families' resources within the sib. The sib involved many unwritten customs and obligations of which the most binding was to help other members in every way—through assisting with labour, money, or moral support. "The lore of the sib system, its etiquette, customs and genealogy made up a conspicuous part of the education every child received from his family. Such an education, together with certain familistic sanctions, were effective enough to keep up the system for many centuries." The sib played a crucial part in migration for members of the poor classes could never have financed the cost of emigration without the help of their relatives. "Sometimes five to ten families contributed to 'send out' one person to America." In return, the immigrant recognized his obligation to return the aid he had received. As soon as he found a steady job, he would start to send back money to help his relatives and in time to assist them to emigrate. Generally only one son from each family would emigrate, thus the original immigrant would normally not be joined by a brother but by a son of another sib family. This process was continued by each newcomer in turn. "It was a strict obligation upon sib members to guard the newcomer, to teach him Canadian ways and to provide him with quarters and a job."

Kinship among other Europeans

237. The extended family seems to have played a role similar to that of the Hungarian sib for other ethnic groups from Europe. Many immigrants attempted to establish the kinship systems that had been important parts of their lives before migration, but these systems can exist only in a special set of circumstances. Among Polish peasants "the traditional form . . . can evidently subsist only in an agricultural community, settled at least for four or five generations in the same locality and admitting no important changes of class, religion, nationality, or profession."[1]

Asian practices

238. Kinship was also important among Asian immigrants. For example, Japanese families in the late 19th century were not limited to a single household but included the largest possible kin group as part of the family. Thus the Japanese concept of family "takes in the nation, for from a historical point of view the people consider themselves all of one blood."[2] The obligation of "mutual helpfulness" applied to all kin. The family was highly patriarchal and based on the theory of male super-

[1] William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1958), I, 87, 98.

[2] S. F. Miyamoto, "Social Solidarity among the Japanese in Seattle," *University of Washington Publications in the Social Sciences*, II, No. 2 (December, 1939), 60.

iority. Doctrines of filial piety, seniority, masculine superiority, and ancestor worship conditioned the roles of all members. "Marriage was contracted by family action for purposes of family continuity."[1] The family was also important for the Chinese. If a family had no sons to perform the filial duties towards the father, then it was considered necessary to adopt sons.

Diminishing ties

239. Since the 1920's, and especially since 1945, the role of the larger kinship network, as against the conjugal family, has been diminishing in Canadian society and it will probably continue to do so. This change is due to industrialization, urbanization, and increased mobility. These factors are reinforced by the increased proportion of urban, middle-class immigrants and a government policy of selecting immigrants on the basis of skills, education, and training.

Italian kinship

240. There are a few exceptions to this trend, the most notable being among Italians.[2] Although the central institution of Italian society is the "nuclear family," the larger kinship group is still extremely important in present day Italy, particularly southern Italy, and many Italian immigrants continue to maintain their kinship ties in Canada:

> each person stands at the centre of a vast network of individuals to whom he is related through both mother and father, and through marriage. . . .
>
> Thus the southern Italian divides the world around him into kin and non-kin. The former are allies with whom he shares reciprocal rights and obligations of mutual assistance and protection. The latter are either enemies or potential enemies, for each seeks to protect and improve the position of his own family, if need be at the expense of others.

Most Italians in Montreal have immigrated with the help of their kinsmen, and on their arrival they tend to settle near their kin. Many share their houses with close relatives. The ties of kinship are very strong among those of Italian origin born in Canada as well as among new immigrants. In the group studied in Montreal "a full two-thirds had close relatives living within five minutes, including over one-half who had relatives living in the same building, though not necessarily in the same dwelling area. . . ." Italians in other urban centres show similar residence patterns.

2. *Marriage*

241. Some immigrants married before coming to Canada, and either brought their wives and children with them or sent for them within a few years. Others left *fiancées* behind and later sent for them. Still others settled near members of their own cultural groups, and so tended

[1] Leonard Bloom, "Familial Problems and the Japanese Removal," *Research Studies* (State College of Washington), XI, No. 1 (1943), 21.

[2] Boissevain, *The Italians of Montreal*, 9-11. Quotations in this paragraph are drawn from this work.

to meet and marry members of their own cultural group in Canada. Ethnic endogamy, marriage within the cultural group, was highest among the immigrants whose lives and migration were inextricably linked with kinship.

Ethnic endogamy

242. Endogamy was particularly common among the sectarian groups with strong isolationist tendencies, such as the Mennonites in Manitoba.[1] As late as 1947, and in spite of many changes in their economic and community life, their education, and even their religious convictions, "the family remained the foundation and nucleus of the Mennonite group," playing the same role in the social structure as it had in 1877 when they arrived in Canada. The group was bound together by "countless blood ties and intermarriages. . . . The discussion of family trees was still one of the favorite pastimes at social gatherings. . . . A man without an identifiable genealogy was barely considered a true Mennonite."

243. Hungarian immigrants faced considerable difficulty in contracting marriages.[2] Most were not married when they arrived in Canada; some were engaged and when they had saved sufficient money would send for their *fiancées,* but this presented a considerable financial problem for many. "The great depression wrecked many marriage plans and when the economic situation improved, war stopped immigration from Hungary." In one group as many as 40 per cent were estimated to have failed "to establish a normal family life within a reasonable time after immigration because special difficulties faced immigrants in contracting marriages." One solution, marriage outside the cultural group, was hindered by the language barrier and other national peculiarities. As late as 1931, nine out of ten marriages of those of Hungarian origin were within the cultural group, and the percentage was even higher for immigrants.

244. The problem of establishing families was especially acute for the Chinese. Between 1923 and 1947 they were not permitted to bring their wives or unmarried children under 18 years of age into Canada, unless they had obtained citizenship by a very difficult procedure.[3] Some illegal entry occurred, but the Chinese remained a largely male population. In 1931 there were 46,500 Chinese men and only 3,600 Chinese women in Canada. The Japanese were in a different situation. From 1885 to 1910, nearly ten times as many men as women had entered Canada but after 1910 the percentage of female immigrants was high. By 1921 ther were 10,500 males and 5,300 females and, by 1931, 13,000 males and 9,200 females.

[1] Francis, *In Search of Utopia,* 271. Quotations in this paragraph are drawn from this work.
[2] Kosa, *Land of Choice,* 44-7. Quotations in this paragraph are drawn from this work.
[3] This involved obtaining the consent of the Minister of the Interior of China and advertising in two local Chinese papers that one was renouncing one's Chinese citizenship.

Sex distribution

245. In many ethnic origin categories a substantial number of men did not marry. Some of these regarded their migration as temporary, and when they stayed in Canada permanently were unable to bring their prospective wives here because of immigration regulations or financial circumstances. In the Canadian population as a whole, the number of males per 100 females was 105 in 1901, rose after a decade of heavy immigration to 113 in 1911, was 106 in 1921, and 105 in 1941. Among the foreign born the number of males per 100 females was much higher than among the native born. It was 158 for the foreign born in 1911 and for certain groups it was particularly high.

246. Since World War II, the huge male surpluses of earlier years have disappeared. Male immigrants have more often been accompanied by their wives and children, or soon reunited with them. In fact, since 1931, Canada has admitted more women than men. Although in recent years more women than men have emigrated to the United States, the sex ratio in most groups has still tended towards a balance.

Levels of endogamy

247. The degree to which the different origin groups are still endogamous indicates the extent to which they are still bound by their cultural heritages and social networks. In 1961, for eight European ethnic origin categories, the other Eurpean categories taken together, and the Asian categories, the proportion of endogamy was under 50 per cent only for Scandinavians, Russians, and Poles. For the Germans and Dutch the proportion was between 50 and 60 per cent; for the other Europeans and Ukrainians it was between 60 and 65 per cent; for Italians, Asians, and Jews it was over 75 per cent.[1] In making comparisons with 1951, no figures are available for the Italians and Russians. But of the other categories, the percentages for the Dutch and Ukrainians were the only ones showing noticeably different proportions of endogamy. The Dutch had less than 45 per cent endogamy in 1951, the Ukrainians over 70 per cent.[1]

248. Comparable figures are not available for earlier years but, in 1941, 29 "racial" origin groups were ranked according to an index of intermarriage and this ranking is strikingly similar to that noted above. The index was based on the percentage of fathers of legitimate children born in the given year married to mothers of the same "racial" origin.[2] The Scandinavian groups had some of the lowest indices of endogamy; the Polish, Dutch, Italians, Russians, and Germans had indices between 51 and 58; and the Chinese, Ukrainians, Jews, and Japanese had indices ranging from 75 to 99.

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[1] *See* Appendix II, Tables A-40—A-74.

[2] Enid Charles, *The Changing Size of the Family in Canada*, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Eighth Census of Canada, 1941, Census Monograph No. 1 (Ottawa, 1948). *See* Appendix II, Table A-75.

249. The British and French groups appear to act as magnetic poles in the Canadian social structure. These groups are themselves highly endogamous, but they are large enough to account for much of the exogamy among the other origin groups.[1] The British origin category makes up 44 per cent of the population and has great economic power and strong cultural influence. It therefore exerts the strongest attraction for outmarrying members of other ethnic origins. The only exception to this rule is in Quebec, where the French exert a greater attraction for some groups. However, the proportion of immigrants who settle in Quebec is relatively small.

250. The massive post-war immigration to Canada did not result in significant changes in the exogamy/endogamy ratio between 1951 and 1961. The overall proportion of endogamous marriages was almost stable between the two censuses. Two factors have combined to produce this near stability: an increase in second- and third-generation exogamous marriages, and a large number of endogamous marriages involving post-war immigrants. But it appears there is also an increasing tendency for recent immigrants to marry outside their cultural groups. Reasons for this include their education and their dispersion residentially and occupationally, and more cosmopolitan attitudes both among immigrants and among middle- and upper-class Canadians. For example, the Hungarian immigrants who came to Toronto after 1945 showed a tendency to marry those of British origin.[2] In 1962 about 9 per cent of the Italian immigrants marrying in Montreal married those of French origin and the rate was higher among Canadian-born Italians.[3]

251. Marriages outside their cultural group have been increasing even among the groups most strongly endogamous in earlier days, such as the Japanese. "Many Nisei[4] and Sansei favour this trend in principle on the grounds that complete assimilation is impossible without intermarriage. There are some (mostly Kika), however, who join many Issei in deploring the trend because 'it will spoil the purity of the Japanese blood.' "[5] Another argument is the difficulty which may face the offspring of such a marriage. Some Issei parents also fear that a Hakujin son- or daughter-in-law might not assume the traditional obligation of supporting his or her spouse's parents.

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1 *Ibid.*, Tables A-73 and A-74.

2 Kosa, *Land of Choice*, 47.

3 Boissevain, *The Italians of Montreal*, 42.

4 Nisei are the generation born in Canada of immigrant parents; Sansei are the next generation born in Canada; Kika are the first generation born in Canada who were sent back to Japan for their schooling; Issei are first-generation immigrants, born in Japan; Hakujin are non-Japanese.

5 Wangenheim, "The Social Organization of the Japanese Community in Toronto,"32.

3. Generational changes

252. The conditions required for perpetuating the old kinship systems did not exist in Canada, and the rise of a new generation often brought drastic changes. In any differentiated society there are differences and conflicts between generations; in an immigrant group, these tend to be increased. The transmission of a way of life depends upon acceptance of a total system of institutions and such a system can only rarely be transmitted intact to a new land. This transfer is most complete for such sects as the Mennonites and Hutterites, and the generational conflicts are therefore least severe within these groups.[1]

253. To the degree that the transfer of the traditional system is incomplete, the etiquette or ritual that governs relations between generations in the family and the community breaks down. The young may still be taught approved forms of behaviour by their parents, relatives, and other members of their cultural group; but their neighbourhood, school, and church may not reinforce this teaching.

254. The experience of the Japanese cultural group illustrates the effects of generational differences.[2] Whereas in Japan the schools reinforced the training given at home, helping the children "to chart their course properly through the rigid ceremony of every day behaviour," Canadian public schools did not fulfill this function. In fact they did just the reverse by stressing the values of democratic individualism, "which ill accorded with the authoritarian collectivism of the community." Thus the Nisei did not fit easily into the Japanese community. The discriminatory attitude of society as a whole, which failed to recognize "the Canadian orientation of the majority of the Nisei and directed its hostility at all Japanese, irrespective of place of birth," added to the problem. "Unable to prove they were 'good Canadians,' the Nisei were forced back into dependence upon the ethnic community and this made the cultural conflict more obvious."

255. The second generation of those of Ukrainian origin offer an example of generational changes in which a particular immigrant occupation played a part.[3] Young girls would often go into domestic service in the cities and thus come into contact "with new ways of living, new social relationships, a new language—in short, a new world." Some of the girls would marry within the families for whom they worked, and were quickly almost completely assimilated. Many of them returning to visit their families, would find their parent's modes

[1] Francis, *In Search of Utopia*, 272 and Willms, "The Brethren Known as Hutterians," 394-405.

[2] Wangenheim, "The Social Organization of the Japanese Community in Toronto," 36-8. Quotations in this paragraph are drawn from this work.

[3] Vera Lysenko, *Men in Sheepskin Coats: A Study in Assimilation* (Toronto, 1947), 238-9. Quotations in this paragraph are drawn from this work.

of dress, language, food, and general way of life "uncouth and even 'foreign.' " The parents would then reproach their children for having "foresaken the old ways."

B. Religion

256. The relationships between religion and ethnic identity and religion and ethnic origin are complicated.[1] Some religions, for example Judaism, are explicitly ethnic. Christianity is not, although some Christian denominations are. Some cultural groups are almost entirely of one religious affiliation, others are spread among many different faiths. Within every cultural group there are people who practise no religion, although they may profess one to a census-taker, but who adhere to the ethic of the religion they inherited but have abandoned.

257. Many cultural groups shared a single religious affiliation when they first came to Canada. The Italians were almost all Roman Catholics; the Scandinavians Lutherans; the Japanese Buddhists; the Ukrainians either Greek Orthodox or Greek Catholic. The Jewish group in Canada was less divided than in the United States; few Sephardim or liberal German Jews came to Canada. For the Germans and Dutch, who were of many different religious affiliations, religion was not an important part of their ethnic identity.

Lack of clergy

258. Many problems confronted immigrants in setting up their religious organizations. Some religions are much less portable than others. The Doukhobors, Mennonites, and Hutterites had little difficulty maintaining their forms of worship on the Canadian prairies, and Jews could secure their religious accoutrements, at least in the cities. Those of other faiths were often less fortunate, particularly if they were dependent upon a highly trained priesthood. Often they did not bring priests with them to Canada and had little money to pay priests for their services here. For example, the Japanese Buddhist Church was not prepared to send priests to provide for the religious needs of immigrants.[2] Early Ukrainian settlers had great difficulty in transferring their religion to Canada because their attempts to interest priests in emigration failed. Josef Oleskow, who encouraged many early Ukrainian settlers to come to Canada, suggested one novel solution, but with no success:

> Oleskow wrote to the Minister of the Interior, H. J. MacDonald on May 16, 1896, urging that priests of the same faith and nationality as the settlers should be encouraged to emigrate, through provision of a nominal salary

[1] *See* Appendix II, Tables A-76—A-135.
[2] Wangenheim, "The Social Organization of the Japanese Community in Toronto," 65.

for them, until such time as the settlers were in a position to assume the financial responsibility. This was an unprecedented request, the Canadian government was not prepared to cope with it. . . .[1]

As a result the settlers were left very much alone, except for a few visits by guest priests (for example, N. Dmytriew and D. Polyvka), from the United States. This situation left many new immigrants susceptible to the missionary efforts of the more established denominations. The introduction of rival faiths in turn bred quarrels and divisions within the community.

259. Sometimes when clergy did emigrate, for example, Bishop Seraphim who came to Winnipeg to serve the Greek Catholic Ukrainians, they were unable to adjust to the new environment.[2] In other cases where religious leaders did adapt to Canadian conditions, they encountered resistance from more conservative church members or from church functionaries further from the scene. This resistance sometimes provoked one group to split off from the central church organization. Such a secession occurred among the Greek members of the Greek Orthodox Church in Toronto in the 1960's.

260. In cases where a suitable priest was secured, he frequently found that his position was undermined by several factors. The experiences of the laity in setting up a congregation and in seeking out a priest frequently made them more independent than they had been at home and less willing to accept the priest's authority. The necessity of constant fund raising also detracted from the priest's sacerdotal role.

Further difficulties

261. The burden of setting up a religious organization and financing religious services, buildings for worship, and religious objects often presented further difficulties. In the homeland, the financial burden of upkeep was widely shared, especially in the established churches. Immigrants, already under financial stress, found the financial demands of their religion onerous, especially when they compared them to the costs of religions that rejected conventional church architecture and appointments.

262. Many new arrivals also found that earlier immigrants of different ethnic origins had already established churches of their particular religious denomination. In some cases, the new immigrants simply joined the existing parishes; the Dutch Catholics are one example. However, many others were disturbed by differences in belief, ritual, and language. Italian Roman Catholics in Edmonton, for example, had been accustomed to the cult of the Virgin Mary and lost some of their zeal when they encountered Canadian churches which instead

1 Woycenko, *The Ukrainians in Canada*, 76-7.
2 Lysenko, *Men in Sheepskin Coats*, 74-8.

stressed the Trinity and Christ in their services.[1] Where the church was hierarchical in structure, some found the problem compounded by the fact that the higher clergy were of a different background and often unsympathetic to their wants. For example, on occasion Irish bishops assigned Irish priests to Polish congregations, and bitter struggles ensued until Polish priests were provided.

The Jewish experience

263. Sometimes later waves of immigration brought groups who shared the ethnic origin of earlier arrivals but differed markedly from them in their religious beliefs and rituals.[2] The Jews who emigrated at the beginning of the 20th century were more aware of their ethnic, rather than their religious identity. But since World War II the Jewish cultural group has been augmented by small numbers of highly orthodox and Hassidic Jews who have influenced the rest of the Jewish cultural group. These later arrivals have attempted to transfer their traditional way of life, including their mode of dress, to their new home. They pose a threat to some members of the Jewish cultural group for they hinder the process of integration into Canadian society. At the same time other Jews, who have themselves given in to the forces of assimilation, welcome the orthodox arrivals because they seem to guarantee the survival of traditional Jewry in Canada, without demanding any sacrifices on the part of those with less strict devotion to the traditions of their religion.

264. The orthodox and Hassidic Jews make up a small percentage of the total Jewish community in Canada and have little connection with other Jewish groups. Even so, their presence has tended to reverse the normal pattern of integration:

> Canadian Jews were most highly acculturated in the very earliest period of settlement; between 1840 and about 1940 they were differentiated by ethnic characteristics . . . from the surrounding population, but there was much interaction between Jews and non-Jews, and a willingness to assimilate values of the new culture. Only now, in the latest phase of Jewish life in Canada do we have what usually comes at the beginning—enclavic groups, intent upon maintaining in unadulterated form their traditional mode of living.[3]

North African Jews from French and Spanish Morocco, who came to Montreal and Toronto in the late 1950's and early 1960's, also added variety to the Jewish religious community. Their Sephardic form of Judaism set them apart in ritual and custom from most of their co-religionists in Canada. They quickly began to hold services according to the Sephardic rite, and sought aid from the Jewish community in setting up their own synagogues.

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[1] Hobart, "Italian Immigrants in Edmonton."
[2] R. R. Wisse, "Jewish Participation in Canadian Culture," an essay prepared for the R.C.B.&B.
[3] *Ibid.*

Missionary activity

265. The problem of strenuous missionary activity on the part of denominations already entrenched in the community has further confused new immigrants anxious to establish their traditional forms of worship. In downtown Toronto, in the years before World War I, the Methodists campaigned actively to convert Italian Roman Catholics through night schools, nurseries, and Italian-speaking ministers.[1] At the same time the Presbyterians devoted much attention to converting Jews in Toronto. These efforts were centred in the area known as "the Ward," the district bounded by University Avenue, Queen, Dundas, and Yonge streets. Marked by overcrowding, poverty, poor housing, and disease, the area quickly developed the characteristics of a slum and by 1910 was considered a major social problem by the city. It was here that the evangelical sects and established denominations set up their churches and mission houses:

> Through the provision of various social services, some financial assistance, and mid-wifery all neatly packaged with the Gospel, a number of conversions of Jews did occur. By 1911, the members of Holy Blossom Congregation were seriously concerned. . . .[2]

266. While neither the Italian Roman Catholics nor the Jews proved to be ready converts, certain others, for example the Japanese, have joined the Protestant denominations in large numbers.

> During and after the evacuation crisis, missionaries and church groups in both Eastern and Western Canada worked extremely hard to ameliorate the severity of conditions in the camps and to give aid in the resettlement process. Many people, Issei in particular, became Christians quite frankly to express their gratitude for this help. The Buddhist efforts to help in this crisis were hampered by the Government's action in suspending the activities of all priests except the one Canadian. The latter worked very hard, cooperated with community organizations but of necessity his achievements seemed small when contrasted with the efforts of the organized Christian groups.[3]

The Roman Catholic, Anglican, and United churches made strong inroads and conversions have continued since the war.

267. Even without proselytizing campaigns, members of a particular religious or cultural group not numerous or wealthy enough to establish their own neighbourhood church have sometimes begun attending the existing church most congenial to them. Greek Catholic Ukrainians have attended Roman Catholic churches, Greek Orthodox Ukrainians, Anglican churches. In some cases it has later been possible for them to return to an ethnic church; in others, the transfer has become permanent.

1 Sidlofsky, "Post-War Immigrants in the Changing Metropolis," 36.
2 A. Rose, "The Price of Freedom," in *A People and Its Faith*, 73-6.
3 Wangenheim, "The Social Organization of the Japanese Community in Toronto," 70.

Influence of language

268. A desire to preserve their faith has frequently strengthened the determination of members of a cultural group to maintain their language, for people are more ready to use an alien tongue for business or political activity than for worship or confession. Churches have tried to profit from this feeeling and hold their flocks by offering language classes for children. In spite of these efforts transfers to Anglophone congregrations tend to increase in the second and third generations.

Appeal of evangelical sects

269. The Protestant evangelical sects have attracted immigrants as well as the major established denominations. The rapid growth of such groups as the Pentecostals, Christian Missionary Alliance, Jehovah's Witnesses, and Seventh-Day Adventists has been in good part a result of their appeal to immigrants whose own religious faith and religious organizations seemed to fail them in their new land. In Alberta in the 1930's and 1940's such sects surpassed the major denominations in serving immigrants.

For instance, the German Baptists, the Evangelical United Brethren, the Swedish Mission Covenant, and the World Alliance of Missionary and Evangelical Churches, by integrating numbers of German and Scandinavian immigrants into a religio-social community which preserved their old language and many of their old traditions and customs, served to protect these ethnic groups from social disintegration and to cushion the shock of their adjustments to a new culture. On the other hand, sects like the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, the Alliance, and the Prophetic Baptists aided greatly in the ultimate assimilation of people of European background by accepting them on equal terms with Anglo-Saxons.[1]

Religious exogamy

270. A study of inter-faith marriages found that there was a general trend towards increasing religious exogamy between 1922 and 1957 extending in varying degrees to all provinces and to all three of the major religious groups, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish.[2] The continuation of this trend after 1945 gives further evidence of the fact that many post-war immigrants have been more cosmopolitan and hence less exclusive than earlier immigrants.

C. Education

271. The relationship between religion and education is close. In Canada the school one attends, the quality of instruction, the choice of programmes and subjects, and the availability of higher education are all related to the major religious division between Catholics and non-Catholics, as well as the main language division between Anglo-

[1] W. E. Mann, *Sect, Cult, and Church in Alberta* (Toronto, 1955), 154.

[2] David M. Heer, "The Trend of Interfaith Marriages in Canada: 1922-1957," *American Sociological Review*, XXVII, No. 2 (April, 1962), 245-6.

phones and Francophones. Ethnic background is also an important factor.

1. Levels of education

272. The average level of education attained by the population has been rising over the last 80 years, both in Canada and abroad. In addition, Canadian immigration policy, which before World War II tended to give preference to agricultural immigrants and those willing to enter domestic service, has now been altered to give preference to those with education and training. The level of education among immigrants has therefore tended to be high since 1945, except among immigrants who are sponsored and need not meet these requirements.

273. The immigrant population taken as a whole has a lower educational level than the Canadian-born population, but it also has more members with university training. When the immigrant population is classified according to the time of arrival, those who came before 1931 predominate among those with little education; those who came after 1945 include a high proportion with university-training.[1] Some of these immigrants have obtained or completed their education in Canada. The high proportion of recent immigrants who have settled in urban areas is also related to the high proportion with university training.

Differences in retention rates

274. The total immigrant population includes a substantial proportion of British origin, and it is probable that many of them are highly educated. A study of Ontario students showed that more parents of Anglophone students have university training than those of students from homes where the language spoken was neither English nor French.[2] However, students from the "other" language category, taken together, showed the highest yearly retention rate[3] and this could only be partially explained by such factors as the father's occupation, the size of the community, parental education, the geographical location of the school, or the size of the families studied. The future educational plans of the students and their attitude towards attending university seemed to be associated with their retention rate. This "other" language category presumably contained mainly immigrants and children of immigrants.

275. Immigrants from different countries are by no means equal in the area of education. Education levels have not risen at the same rate in all countries, and immigrants from different countries often come from very different strata within their homelands. When these variations are taken along with variations in the socio-economic posi-

[1] *See* Appendix II, Table A-136.

[2] A. J. C. King and C. Angi, "Language and Secondary School Success," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B. by arrangement with the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

[3] The proportion of those starting their school year together in a given year who survive at each succeding grade.

tions of the ethnic origin categories in Canada, the result is a wide variation in the educational levels of members of the different ethnic origin categories.

276. Table 8 compares the educational levels of the members of six specific ethnic origin categories in the Canadian labour force and all others taken together. Jews have the highest average level of education, followed by the British, Germans, "others," Ukrainians, French, and Italians. The average level of schooling for Jews is 10.1 years, for Italians 6.2. The rank order of the groups varies somewhat for the four provinces of New Brunswick, Quebec, Ontario, and British Columbia, and for the three metropolitan areas of Toronto, Montreal, and Ottawa, but the Jewish, British, and German groups were consistently high, the Ukrainian, French, and Italian consistently low.[1]

2. Public schools

277. Private schools are expensive, and for financial reasons many immigrants therefore send their children to the public or separate school systems. In addition, education is a means of upward social and economic mobility, and many immigrants feel that the public schools prepare their children for mobility in the community better than privates ones. Those of Japanese origin, Jews, and most Protestant cultural groups have sent their children to Protestant schools in Quebec or to public schools in other provinces. Some Catholics of German, Ukrainian, Scandinavian, Italian, and other ethnic origins have done likewise. The rest have entered Roman Catholic or separate schools, both French and English.

Language of instruction

278. In the early years, when settlement was chiefly rural and mobility limited, a public school might in fact be an ethnic school if it was located in a community where the population shared one particular cultural background. In several provinces many schools used languages other than English or French as the language of instruction at certain times.[2] In Nova Scotia the School Act of 1840 authorized the payment of public grants to local schools using German or Scottish Gaelic as the language of instruction. In Ontario many schools used German in the early days of the public school system, but because the population was predominantly Anglophone this gradually declined. By 1889, it was reported that German was only used "to give explanations to those pupils who on coming to school know but little English."[3]

Manitoba experience

279. During the last years of the 19th century significant numbers of immigrants settled on the prairies, including many Ukrainians,

[1] *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, III, Table 7.

[2] See *ibid.*, II, chaps. II and III, for more information on the history of education in Canada.

[3] C. B. Sissons, *Bi-lingual Schools in Canada* (Toronto, 1917), 33.

Table 8. Levels of Education in the Labour Force

Distribution (in numbers and percentages) of the labour force, by ethnic origin, sex, and education level—Canada, 1961

Ethnic origin	Sex	No schooling		Elementary school		High school 1–2 years		High school 3–5 years		University training		Total	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
British	Male	5,100	.3	535,500	30.6	442,400	25.2	550.300	31.4	219,000	12.5	1,752,300	100
	Female	600	.1	134,700	18.5	190,300	26.1	337,500	46.3	65,400	9.0	728,500	100
	Total	5,700	.2	670,200	27.0	632,700	25.5	887,800	35.8	284,400	11.5	2,480,800	100
French	Male	7,600	.7	584,300	53.5	233,400	21.4	197,900	18.1	68,900	6.3	1,092,100	100
	Female	900	.2	152,700	39.4	99,900	25.8	116,300	30.0	17,600	4.5	387,400	100
	Total	8,500	.6	737,000	49.8	333,300	22.5	314,200	21.2	86,500	5.8	1,479,500	100
German	Male	800	.4	88,400	40.0	48,100	21.8	62,900	28.5	20,300	9,2	220,500	100
	Female	100	.1	29,100	31.6	22,600	24.5	35,200	38.2	5,200	5.6	92,200	100
	Total	900	.3	117,500	37.6	70,700	22.6	98,100	31.4	25,500	8.2	312,700	100
Italian	Male	1,700	1.3	93,800	71.0	16,900	12.8	15,800	12.0	4,000	3.0	132,200	100
	Female	1,700	3.6	30,900	66.0	6,300	13.5	6,800	14.5	1,100	2.3	46,800	100
	Total	3,400	1.9	124,700	69.7	23,200	13.0	22,600	12.6	5,100	2.8	179,000	100
Jewish	Male	500	1.0	13,400	26.9	7,600	15.2	15,700	31.5	12,700	25.5	49,900	100
	Female	200	1.4	3,100	22.1	2,100	15.0	6,500	46.0	2,100	15.0	14,000	100
	Total	700	1.1	16,500	25.8	9,700	15.2	22,200	34.7	14,800	23.2	63,900	100
Ukrainian	Male	1,100	1.1	44,800	46.7	20,400	21.3	22,100	23.0	7,600	7.9	96,000	100
	Female	1,100	2.6	15,300	35.5	10,300	23.9	14,200	32.9	2,200	5.1	43,100	100
	Total	2,200	1.6	60,100	43.2	30,700	22.1	36,300	26.1	9,800	7.0	139,100	100
Others	Male	8,300	1.5	241,500	42.6	109,100	19.3	145,900	25.6	61,600	10.9	566,400	100
	Female	2,300	1.1	67,100	32.3	43,200	20.8	78,800	38.0	16,200	7.8	207,600	100
	Total	10,600	1.4	308,600	39.9	152,300	19.7	224,700	29.0	77,800	10.1	774,000	100
Total	Male	25,100	.6	1,601,700	41.0	877,900	22.5	1,010,600	25.9	394,100	10.1	3,909,400	100
	Female	6,900	.5	432,900	28.5	374,700	24.7	595,300	39.2	109,800	7.2	1,519,600	100
	Total	32,000	.6	2,034,600	37.5	1,252,600	23.1	1,605,900	29.6	503,900	9.3	5,429,000	100

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Béland, "La répartition des revenus."

German Mennonites, and Poles. Some of these settlers were attached to their languages for religious reasons; others had strong social or cultural traditions and were determined to maintain them. Manitoba, the oldest of the Prairie Provinces, was the first to enact laws concerning public education and these early laws permitted teaching in languages other than English. German settlers, initially, and later other groups, were allowed to organize school districts in which instruction was given in their own language. By the Laurier-Greenway agreement of 1897, which temporarily settled a crisis over religious and linguistic education in Manitoba, the School Act was amended to state: "Where ten of the pupils speak . . . any language other than English as their native language, the teaching of such pupils shall be conducted in . . . such other language and English upon the bi-lingual system."[1] Thus the use of all the different languages of immigrants was officially sanctioned in the expanding school system. In 1916 Manitoba contained 61 school districts in which German was a language of instruction. These districts employed 73 teachers and had 2,800 registered pupils. Polish or Ukrainian was a language of instruction in 11 school districts with 114 teachers and 6,500 pupils. These schools, taken with those in which French was used, were together educating one-sixth of all Manitoba's pupils.

280. This system often failed to operate smoothly:

> Serious conflicts arose in ethnically mixed school districts, particularly in view of the fact that their ethnic composition changed frequently. . . . It was, for instance, found that in five school districts separate minority schools could have been requested by no less than three different minority groups, had they chosen to do so. In 110 school districts, one or more local ethnic minorities had to send their children to schools which were taught in the language of another minority, for instance, Polish children were forced to attend Ruthenian schools, Finnish children Polish schools, and so on. In such districts the arrival or departure of a single family could alter the situation at any time and deprive the majority of its precarious privilege.[2]

281. In 1916 the Manitoba School Act was amended as a result of a special report on bilingual schools in Manitoba prepared by the Department of Education. School attendance was made compulsory from ages seven to 14; the provision for teaching in languages other than English was removed; and the standards for teacher training were made uniform for all candidates.

The other western provinces

282. When Saskatchewan and Alberta became provinces in 1905, their educational authorities were able to use the experience of Manitoba as a guide. In Saskatchewan, local school boards in Ukrainian areas requested Ukrainian-speaking teachers, and the government responded

[1] S.M. 1897, 60 Vict., c.26.
[2] Francis, *In Search of Utopia*, 181-2.

by creating a Ukrainian teacher-training school at Regina. In those public school districts where the local board requested it, Ukrainian was taught during the last hour of each school day.

283. In Alberta, school districts were staffed almost without exception by teachers whose mother tongue was English. To aid immigrants desiring to teach, a special school was opened in 1912 at Vegreville to instruct older students with a limited command of English. The students transferred to regular schools when they were able to do so, and upon graduation they could undertake the standard normal school programme. In the Alberta scheme no languages other than English were taught in the public schools. British Columbia did not make any special arrangements for other-language instruction in its public schools.

284. These different solutions all evolved either before a centralized public school system was set up or during its formative period. The gradual creation and enforcement of common standards throughout each province, coupled with strong anti-German sentiment during World War I, discouraged teaching in languages other than English.

285. The withdrawal of the right to use a language other than English as a medium of instruction led to much bitterness. However, it should be noted that it coincided with the end of the era in which Canadian economic expansion was dominated by agriculture. After World War I increasing industrialization, urbanization, and population mobility made it more and more important for young people to acquire a thorough knowledge of English.

Jews in Montreal

286. In the cities where many immigrants settled, there was for a long time little question of public schools being conducted in languages other than English or French. In Montreal, for example, the chief problem was the position of Jewish students in a school system divided between a Roman Catholic and a Protestant system. The solution was for Jewish children to be treated as Protestants for school purposes, at first by custom and after 1903 by law. They have constituted a substantial proportion of the total enrolment in the Protestant schools for many years. In the city of Montreal, they rose from 2 per cent in 1877 to 44 per cent in 1916, and then fell to 38 per cent in 1923. In Greater Montreal, they constituted 36 per cent in 1924 and 28 per cent in 1962, never having fallen in the intervening years below 24 per cent. Certain Protestant schools have had extremely high proportions of Jewish students. In Baron Byng High School in 1948 the proportion was 99 per cent. Members of the Jewish community pay their taxes to the Protestant School Board. In 1930 they were given the legal authority to establish their own school commission, but they preferred to continue the *modus vivendi* with the Protestant Board. In 1965 the charter of the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal was

amended to permit five Jewish representatives to sit on the 25 member Board.

Quebec situation

287. Nearly all Roman Catholic immigrants in Quebec have sent their children to English rather than French schools. In Montreal in 1962-63, for example, 92 per cent of those of Ukrainian origin who were in Catholic schools were in English rather than French schools. The figures for other cultural groups are almost as high: 88 per cent of Poles, 84 per cent of Portuguese, 83 per cent of Germans, 80 per cent of Hungarians, 77 per cent of Spanish, and 75 per cent of Italians.[1] From time to time attempts have been made to alter this situation. One such attempt, begun in 1961, involved using three languages of instruction, French, English and, in early grades, the mother tongues of the students. French was to be used for the humanities, English for mathematics and science, the mother tongue for "intimate" subjects, such as religion. The programme was never fully implemented but there are still four Catholic elementary schools using three languages, all four attached to Italian parishes. More recently, a few local Catholic school boards have limited their facilities for English-language instruction.[2]

Toronto programmes

288. Children who entered school with little or no knowledge of English were not recognized as a problem in Toronto until after the war; recently they have become a major problem. A 1962 study showed that 15 per cent of the pupils under the jurisdiction of the public schools could be classified as non-English-speaking, with Italian, German, Ukrainian, Greek, and Polish being the most common first languages. To cope with the situation, the Toronto Board of Education has instituted a variety of programmes in the schools and has set up an experimental school entirely devoted to teaching the English language and Canadian culture to immigrant children. About $300,000 is now spent on these programmes but early in 1966 the chairman of the Board of Education estimated that it would require $2,500,000 a year to cope with the situation adequately.

3. Ethnic schools

289. Everett Hughes has said that most parents want to give their own children "the chance that everyone has, plus a little bit more."[3] Parents of non-British, non-French origin have frequently wanted that little bit more to be a knowledge of the language, culture, and religion of their forefathers. In a few cases they have supported private all-day schools at which their children could receive all their

[1] *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec*, IV (Quebec, 1966), § 186, Table V.

[2] *See below*, § 773.

[3] In *Students' Culture and Perspectives: Lectures on Medical and General Education* (Lawrence, Kansas, 1961), 54.

elementary or high school education. More often they have sent their children to part-time schools, meeting after school hours or on Saturday or Sunday. These schools are examined in more detail in chapter VI below.

290. The role of these ethnic schools in the lives of the groups that sponsor them, and in Canadian society as a whole, has been little studied. It is probable that they contribute to a feeling of cultural identity on the part of those who attend by teaching them the language and culture of their parents, as well as by setting them apart from other children. However, this may be resented and may lead some individuals to drift away from their cultural group later on. This was true, for example, of some Japanese in pre-war Vancouver where the part-time schools were often a source of tension between Issei and Nisei.[1]

> The latter resented being compelled to put in a further two hours daily after their regular day at public school. The majority of the teachers were poor ones (though there were a few notable exceptions). Their authoritarian teaching methods were not too successful. Very few of the Nisei had any positive interest in the subjects taught and, in direct consequence, learned and retained very little. Most of them achieved only the minimum of fluency in the language.[2]

As a result some of the students who were polite and industrious in the public schools, behaved poorly and did as little work as possible in the part-time schools.

D. Voluntary Associations

291. Many immigrants had little experience with voluntary associations when they arrived in Canada. The family, the kin group, and the church had provided their social structures in their homelands. Settlers in rural areas established few voluntary associations, but immigrants in towns or cities tended to organize associations, either to fill old wants or to meet new needs created by migration. Many of these voluntary associations were sponsored by the churches; some in turn became sponsors of part-time schools.

292. Ethnic associations are set up to meet those wants that people share with their ethnic fellows but not with the community at large. They are of many types: mutual aid or benefit associations designed to give assistance in crises such as unemployment, illness, accident, or death; philanthropic or social welfare associations through which the more successful and established members of the group may assist the less successful newcomers; associations with political aims, either in the homeland or in the new country; social and recreational associations;

1 *See above*, § 251, n 3.
2 Wangenheim, "The Social Organization of the Japanese Community in Toronto," 83-4.

occupational and professional associations; research institutes and learned societies; women's groups; youth groups and coordinating bodies.[1]

Mutual benefit associations

293. Different types of ethnic associations have usually been characteristic at different periods, because of the different types of immigrants who came in each period and the different state of development of the Canadian communities in which they settled. Mutual benefit associations emerged first. Faced with few resources in a frontier society, immigrants banded together to provide the kind of help that the family or kin group had provided in their homeland. Sometimes these mutual aid societies became the forerunners of flourishing businesses. Often they were short-lived, because their members prospered and had no further need of them, because those who were entrusted with the funds lacked experience, acumen, or honesty, or because economic depressions prevented members from paying their dues while at the same time multiplying the number of claimants for benefits. Those that endured were often responsible for social and ceremonial occasions as well as for material aid. In recent years there has been a decline in mutual benefit associations for at least three reasons: the greater sophistication of many immigrants, the increased economic opportunities in an expanding country, and the growth of public welfare measures. In addition, credit unions established by earlier arrivals have been of considerable financial assistance to newcomers, meeting some of the needs originally filled by mutual benefit associations.

Regional associations

294. Among early immigrants, the sense of ethnic identity often did not extend beyond the kin group, or those from the same town, village, or region in the homeland. Therefore the associations that grew up tended to be small, and to unite only those from a particular region rather than all the members of a linguistic or cultural group. Among the Chinese cultural group, for example, clan and family associations and district associations were numerous. German, Italian, and Greek groups also had many regional associations. The list of *landsmanschaften,* associations of persons from the same place of origin, among the Polish Jews in Toronto was said to read like a gazetteer of the place names of central Poland.[2] Where religious affiliations were important, the associations were often confined to those who shared a faith as well as an ethnic identity; for example, many Ukrainian associations were sponsored by churches, and even nominally secular associations were composed of either Ukrainian Roman Catholics or members of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

[1] *See* John Gellner and John Smerek, *The Czechs and Slovaks in Canada* (Toronto, 1968), a recent study of cultural groups in Canada which pays particular attention to voluntary associations.

[2] Kayfetz, "The Jewish Community in Toronto," 23.

Ideological influences

295. In the inter-war period, ethnic associations tended to reflect the political divisions of Europe, and often to be affiliated with organizations there. The emergence of the U.S.S.R. led to the formation of many associations in Canada among the central and eastern European peoples, some favourable to the Soviet regime and others opposed to it. The Ukrainians in particular were divided into various political camps by the arrival of immigrants who had participated in the struggle for Ukrainian independence and in the short-lived republic of the Ukraine. The upsurge of Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany also influenced ethnic associations in Canada. Italian immigration was drastically curtailed, and through its consulates the Italian government began to play an active role in Italian ethnic communities, setting up a series of political associations that were the counterparts of those in Italy. Anti-Fascist organizations were then founded as a reaction to this activity. Within each ideological grouping consolidation took place, so that organizations tended to include all the members of a particular group who shared a political viewpoint, rather than simply those who came from a particular region.

296. Nationalistic associations that limited their sphere of interest to events in the homeland had particular difficulties in recruiting members. Life in Canada dulled the sharp edge of concern for European or Asian issues. These associations often turned to youth, and devoted considerable attention to building associations for young people. Immediately after World War II, as political refugees joined the various cultural groups already in Canada, concern with political issues related to the homeland reached its peak.

Increasing differentiation

297. In the 1950's and 1960's the increasing social, educational, and economic differentiation, both in Canadian society as a whole and among most cultural groups, led to associations based more on occupational and professional interests, social status, or cultural interests than in the past. The ethnic dimension of social stratification in Canadian society and the social stratification of particular cultural groups are important phenomena meriting extensive research, which we were unable to conduct.

Coordinating associations

298. Cultural groups with elaborate networks of associations have established, or tried to establish, coordinating bodies for the city, province, or country. The initiative in the formation of these congresses or federations has not always come from within the group itself. For example, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, although it had forerunners, was set up in 1940 on the suggestion of the Canadian Department of National War Services. The Canadian Jewish Congress, the Canadian Polish Congress, the Trans-Canada Alliance of German Canadians, the Czechoslovak National Alliance, and the National Japa-

nese Canadian Citizens' Association are other examples of ethnic federations. Such federations may not enlist all the existing eligible organizations for a variety of reasons, including inability or unwillingness to pay the dues. Some of these federations exclude from membership those organizations that they consider to be left-wing or subversive.

Importance of ethnic identity

299. Ethnic associations generally have not been long-lived, although coordinating associations may prove to be an exception to this generalization. Since virtually all of them were founded in 1940 or later, it is too early to know how durable they will be. The individual associations have been composed largely of immigrants, and have not usually been successful in enlisting either the native born or more recent immigrants as members. People who join ethnic associations indicate a sense of ethnic identity, and membership in such associations probably reinforces this sense of identity because participation in the association increases contact with other members of the same cultural group at the expense of contact with others. The fact that ethnic associations are composed mainly of immigrants, and that the ethnic associations with the largest proportion of native born are Ukrainian associations, confirms the important role of ethnic identity in voluntary associations. There are many other indications that those of Ukrainian origin in Canada have maintained a strong sense of ethnic identity.

Commission research

300. In 1965, the Commission conducted a survey of the ethnic associations of the four cultural groups associated with some of the largest ethnic origin categories.[1] The study identified 105 German, 225 Ukrainian, 204 Italian, and 106 Dutch associations: 67 German, 225 Ukrainian, 129 Italian, and 66 Dutch associations finally reported either by mail or through field interviews. Interviews were held in metropolitan areas where there was a large number of associations. The small number of German and Dutch associations should be kept in mind where percentages are given.

301. The number of associations identified and reporting is itself an indication of the intensity of group consciousness among the different cultural groups. Although the Ukrainian ethnic origin category is less than half as large as the German, there were more than twice as many Ukrainian associations as German identified. Italians, too, seemed considerably more group-conscious than Germans. The Dutch associations, exhibited a pattern more like that of the German ones. Both the German and Dutch associations averaged more members who were more widely dispersed geographically than the Ukrainian and Italian associations. Nevertheless, the total membership of all these associations

[1] D. Sherwood and A. Wakefield, "Voluntary Associations among Other Ethnic Groups in Canada," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

still reflected a preponderance of Ukrainians and Italians because of their larger number of associations.

Proportions of immigrant members

302. In only 8 per cent of the Dutch associations were more than 30 per cent of the members Canadian-born, compared to 11 per cent of the German, and 23 per cent of the Italian associations. Even though post-war immigration of Ukrainians was small, only 41 per cent of the Ukrainian associations had more than 30 per cent of their members who were Canadian-born. The Dutch had the highest proportion (56 per cent) of associations with exclusively immigrant membership. Most of these appeared to be local church groups.

303. Members of the executives of the associations frequently act as spokesmen not only for the associations but also for the cultural groups related to them. An even higher proportion of officers than of members were immigrants, particularly post-war immigrants. Eighty-nine per cent of the Dutch associations had no officers who were Canadian-born, and 82 per cent had no officers who had arrived in Canada before 1946. For the German associations the corresponding figures were 64 per cent and 39 per cent; for the Italian associations 39 per cent and 42 per cent; for the Ukrainian associations 36 per cent and 43 per cent.

Ethnic exclusiveness

304. The ethnic exclusiveness of the associations is as important an index of social integration as the proportion of immigrant members. The German associations were the only ones in which such exclusiveness was not predominant. Eighty-five per cent of the Dutch, 82 per cent of the Ukrainian, and 77 per cent of the Italian associations were ethnically exclusive, compared to only 40 per cent of the German associations.

305. Generally, it appears that the more an ethnic group finds its origin a handicap, the more likely it is to form a strong structure of ethnic associations. Thus members of the German cultural group, with a long tradition in Canada and close cultural affinities with the British, do not have as many associations that are exclusively German as do other cultural groups. The Dutch, also well established and sharing a northern European culture with the British, have had difficulty in maintaining and developing an associational structure.

306. The fact that there were few exclusively German associations could well be related not only to the general lack of barriers between those of German and British ethnic origin, but also to hostility towards the German language and culture during and after the two world wars. This provided a strong reason for taking advantage of the ease with which people of German origin could disappear into the population at large. Faced with similar hostility, members of the Japanese community in Toronto after World War II were reluctant to build up an

ethnic association structure such as had existed in Vancouver in the 1930's, because of the resulting visibility of the Japanese cultural group.

Decline in associations

307. A sense of ethnic identity and participation in ethnic associations are positively correlated in many instances. The correlation is not perfect, however, and this is of particular significance for recent immigrants. The tendency of immigrants to form colonies or ghettos has been diminishing as new immigrants have become less exclusive and more sophisticated. These same factors have probably decreased interest in ethnic associations. This may not necessarily indicate that new immigrants have become less eager to maintain their cultural heritage, but only that they wish to maintain it by other means. However, participation in ethnic associations is not purely segregating in its effects. Associations provide opportunities for their members to learn from one another the facts of Canadian life. This is of particular importance for immigrants whose communication with other Canadians is hampered by language and cultural barriers.