

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

ETHNIC MINORITY REPRESENTATION IN THE
POLITICAL PARTY STRUCTURE OF ALBERTA

BY

Naheed Israeli

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled, "Ethnic Minority Representation In The Political Party Structure Of Alberta", submitted by Naheed Israeli in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master Of Arts.



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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the role of ethnic minorities within Alberta's three major political parties, the Liberal, New Democratic and Progressive Conservative. In particular, the thesis focuses on the representation of ethnic minorities within the established party structure. Data obtained from a questionnaire distributed in Calgary to the provincial constituency association executive of the three political parties is examined in relation to social, political and economic factors which affect participation levels. Furthermore, the effect of Canada's multiculturalism policy on ethnic minority groups and their members is examined in relation to the political dimension of Canadian life.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

There has been a proliferation of studies on ethnicity in the last two decades. Political scientists in Canada, however, have been relatively slow to do research on ethnic minority involvement in the political process. The political dimension of ethnicity has received little scholarly attention compared to the considerable popular attention focussed on the political behaviour of minority ethnic groups and their members.

Despite increased media attention, the more general role of ethnic minorities within Alberta's political parties remains imperfectly understood. Of particular importance is the role played by political parties in mobilizing ethnic minority groups during the provincial and national elections. A discussion of the relationship between ethnicity and political behaviour in Canada must consider several questions: (1) have ethnic minority groups or individuals established a role for themselves within the established party structure?, (2) do they remain a force to be mobilized externally?, (3) have any of the political parties taken steps to include ethnic minorities in their provincial executives and have any minorities

responded?, and (4) what are the most important factors encouraging or inhibiting the participation of ethnic minorities?

POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF MINORITY STATUS

Research to date on political parties in Canada suggests that ethnic minorities are likely underrepresented in the decision-making structure or executive positions of these parties.

Ethnicity has been one of the principal barriers to power in Canadian society.(1) Canadian census data and contemporary research show that ethnicity is not an irrelevant criterion in analysing systematic disadvantage. The demographic shift that has occurred in the Canadian population since Confederation has reduced the British element from 60.5 percent to 40.1 percent in 1981. The French decline has been less severe, from 31 percent to 26.7 percent. In contrast, the 'other' ethnic groups have increased their proportion of the population during this period from 8.3 percent to 33 percent. These demographic shifts are not reflected in the composition of the economic and political elite. Porter demonstrated that noncharter

(1) David Millet, "Defining the 'Dominant Group'". Canadian Ethnic Studies, XIII, 3, 81, p. 65.

group members are underrepresented in political and economic decision-making positions. He argued that there was a clear preference for "English-speaking people of British origin" for recruitment to the economic elite.(2) This resulted in the "exclusion of minority groups from the main loci of decision making within the corporate sector of the economy".(3)

Porter (1971) and Olsen (1980) provide statistical verification of this situation over a period of thirty-three years from 1940 to 1973. Both authors document the connection between the corporate sector and the political elite. Porter gave primacy to the corporate elite over the highest echelons of the political elite in decision-making; he felt that the actions taken by corporations have more impact on the country than do the actions of government.(4) Olsen succinctly stated the relationship which exists between the political and economic elite,

in an advanced capitalist society, the corporate structures of the private sector and those of the state are complementary in their functions; together they constitute the core institutions of the political economy.

(2) John Porter, Vertical Mosaic. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), p. 287.

(3) IBID.

(4) IBID., pp. 22-24.

The fit between them, in the case of Canada, includes a clear ethnic division of labour in the top positions in the state...(5)

This exclusion of ethnic minorities is paralleled in the political sphere, for as Porter noted, the Canadian political elite "has scarcely been representative of Canada's ethnic composition".(6)

Canadians of British origin totalled 68 percent of the political elite in Olsen's study (1961-73) and comprised 45 percent of the Canadian population in 1971.(7) This group was clearly overrepresented and held the dominant positions in the political structure. French Canadians made up 24 percent of the political elite with a population proportion of 28 percent. While French Canadians were slightly underrepresented, the noncharter groups in Canada comprised 27 percent of the population and held only 8 percent of the elite positions. Olsen's study showed that while these noncharter groups increased their representation by 4 percent from Porter's previous study (1940-60), their share of the population had increased by more than 5 percent

(5) Dennis Olsen, The State Elite. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1980), pp. 25-26.

(6) Porter, op. cit., p. 389.

(7) See Olsen pp. 22-23 and Table 1 for these and other figures.

between 1951 and 1971, resulting in an inferior position relative to the population base.(8)

Canadian politics has provided mobility for very few persons outside the charter groups and the pattern of ethnic representation has remained stable, with the two charter groups dominating the elite positions in the Canadian state system. Olsen notes that there has been some representation by noncharter group members at the level of provincial premier.(9) Although this demonstrates the possibility of achievement, it has not been the norm. The continuity of ethnic backgrounds in elite positions is indicative of a structural alliance between the two charter ethnic groups. Furthermore, the association between general social ranking and ethnic origin is closely related to the period and conditions of immigration and will be highlighted in chapters 2 and 3.

Close scrutiny of Canadian society reveals that ethnic groups do not simply reflect cultural diversity, but also have political agendas of their own. The increased importance of ethnic minorities in Alberta and the more

(8) Olsen, op. cit., p. 23.

(9) It should be noted that both Ed Schreyer and Dave Barrett were from European ethnic origin. Olsen, op. cit., p. 24. More recently, Joe Ghiz (PEI), of Lebanese descent and William Van der Zant (BC), a Dutch immigrant, suggest that the barriers to power among non-charter groups may be weakening.

general increase in the salience of multiculturalism in Canada has highlighted the benefits of and the necessity for exerting electoral influence.

The political significance of ethnicity is supported by a number of underlying factors. Vallee demonstrates that the historical processes of differentiation, conquest and migration are the consequences of attempts at political consolidation for economic and other interests.(10) As such, these processes affect the distribution, settlement and stratification of ethnic groups in differential power relations within society. Moreover, the political recognition accorded ethnic concerns in society affects not only inter-ethnic relations but may also influence the ideological framework of a society. For example, the "charter" group status associated with the French and English in Canadian society has led to the definition of Canada as a multicultural nation within a bilingual framework.

Finally, it is possible to identify the political significance of patterns of ethnic adaptation. Gramsci has noted that the dominant ethnic group is able to impose its

(10) Frank G. Vallee, "Multi-Ethnic Societies: The Issues of Identity and Inequality," in Dennis Forcese and Stephen Richers (eds.), Issues in Canadian Society, (Scarborough: Prentice Hall of Canada, 1975) pp. 169-71.

own moral, political and cultural values on a society.(11) As a result, certain ethnic minorities may find it convenient to pass as members of the more dominant group. This raises another significant question. In a context in which the mobilization of identifiable ethnic groups is commonplace, to what extent are the traditional findings about party membership and recruitment valid?

METHODOLOGY

The data for this thesis derive from a questionnaire distributed to members of the constituency executives of the three major political parties in Calgary: Liberal, New Democratic and Progressive Conservative. The category of "executive" was restricted to encompass table officers(12) only in an attempt to obtain a comparative sample from the three different parties being studied. Calgary has eighteen provincial constituencies. Due to the focus on three major parties, fifty(13) separate constituency

(11) Brian M. Bullivant, "Multiculturalism - Pluralist Orthodoxy or Ethnic Hegemony". Canadian Ethnic Studies, XIII, 2, 81, p. 15.

(12) Table officers were comprised of the president, vice-president(s), treasurer and secretary(ies).

(13) Two NDP and two Liberal constituency executives were inactive at the time of distribution, so 50 instead of 54 constituency associations received questionnaires.

associations were studied. A total of 191 questionnaires were distributed of which 91 completed questionnaires (48%) were returned. A copy of the questionnaire appears in Appendix C.

HYPOTHESIS

The central hypothesis examined is that the increased numbers and importance of ethnic minorities in Alberta has led Alberta's political parties to actively incorporate members of ethnic minorities within their organizational structure. Furthermore, it is hypothesized that the participation of ethnic minorities within the constituency executive would be affected by their socio-economic status and their personal political socialization.

Political parties have been an evolving component of Western democracies since the 18th century. They have played a central role in the democratization of Canadian society. It is relevant to examine party organizations as a means to further understand the liberal democratic state. This study provides a useful examination of the representation of ethnic minorities within the provincial party structure at the constituency level. Chapter Two will provide an historical perspective of Canada's immigration policy and outline the changes in the ethnic

composition of the Canadian population. The circumstances affecting the Federal government's announcement of the multiculturalism policy will also be discussed. The next chapter focuses on the emergence of the 'new' concept of ethnicity in the 1960s. This refers to the evolution of ethnic groups from marginal subgroups to major elements of society. Chapter Three also considers the institutional processes of ethnic stratification and integration affecting ethnic minorities in modern societies. Chapter Four will briefly contrast historic and contemporary political activity by ethnic minority groups. The changing relationship between ethnic groups and an increasingly interventionist state will also be considered. Chapter Five will focus on the methodology used. Chapter Six presents an overview of citizen participation in Canada, with reference to the socio-economic, demographic, attitudinal and family background characteristics which influence individual political participation. A descriptive profile of the constituency association's executive is presented with specific focus on ethnic minority representation. Chapter Seven will present a summarization of the study and discuss the implications of the findings for better understanding the nature of political involvement in contemporary Canada.

CHAPTER TWO

IMMIGRATION AND MULTICULTURALISM POLICIES

The social, economic and political activities of a nation reflect the cumulative effect of the nation's historical record. In order to examine the political participation of ethnic minorities in Canada it is important to briefly examine the history of immigration in relation to the arrival, recognition and adjustment of immigrants. In The Vertical Mosaic, John Porter attributes the hierarchical ordering of the various ethnic groups in Canadian society, in part, to immigration.(14) The close inter-relationship between immigration and multiculturalism issues necessitates the consideration of these two issues concurrently.

The 1971 Census revealed that 26 percent of the Canadian population was of non-British and non-French ethnic origin.(15) As a result, the announcement of Canada's multiculturalism policy in October of that year seemed a somewhat belated official recognition of the nation's cultural heterogeneity. This does not suggest

(14) John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965).

(15) Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1971.

that multiculturalism as a sociological phenomenon was new to the Canadian scene.(16) On the contrary, since the turn of the century speakers, writers and politicians had contrasted the Canadian "mosaic" in which ethnic groups could retain their distinctiveness, with the American "melting pot" image of immigrant adaptation. In doing so, they "vied with each other in proposing visual and gustatory metaphors, such as flower garden, salad and stew, ..." (17) with which to describe the Canadian situation. Yet, no tangible aid was extended to ethnic groups to preserve their respective heritages and considerable pressure was exerted on ethnic groups to assimilate.

The historical recognition of the conceptual legitimacy of ethnic survivalism in Canada did not prevent criticism and debate of the multiculturalism policy. In introducing the policy, Pierre Trudeau stated: "Canadian identity will not be undermined by multiculturalism. Indeed we believe that cultural pluralism is the very essence of Canadian identity".(18) The policy was

(16) Morton Weinfeld, "Myth and Reality in the Canadian Mosaic: 'Affective Ethnicity', Canadian Ethnic Studies, XIII, 3, 1981, p. 81.

(17) Alan B. Anderson and James S. Frideres, eds., Ethnicity in Canada: Theoretical Perspectives (Toronto: Butterworth and Co. (Canada) Ltd., 1981), p. 100.

(18) House of Commons debates, October 8, 1971.

articulated as an attempt to "break down discriminatory attitudes and cultural jealousies" thus ensuring the "cultural freedom of Canadians".(19) Additionally, the right of every ethnic group to "preserve and develop its own culture and values within the Canadian context" was recognized.(20)

Arguments in favour of and opposed to the policy have focussed on a variety of concerns; (1) pluralists have debated the meaning of multiculturalism, (2) French-Canadian opponents have criticized the policy for undermining their "charter group" status, and (3) assimilationists have questioned the desirability of cultural pluralism as a means for ethnic integration of Canadian society.(21) The historical context from which the multiculturalism policy emerged and its subsequent implementation reflect the difficulties encountered in developing a basic framework for the policy. Much of the conflict can be understood against the contextual background of Canadian immigration policy and the concerns that shaped it.

(19) IBID.

(20) IBID.

(21) Howard Palmer, "Reluctant Hosts: Anglo-Canadian Views of Multiculturalism in the Twentieth Century", in Multiculturalism as State Policy: Conference Report, Second Canadian Conference on Multiculturalism, Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1976), p. 100.

Recent historical and sociological research dispels the myth that Canada has always adopted the "mosaic" as opposed to the American "melting pot" approach.(22) There has been a long history of racism and discrimination against ethnic minorities in Canada. Nonwhite Canadians have frequently been subjected to deportation, segregation, harassment, and discriminatory immigration practices.(23) The predominance of the assimilationist viewpoint in Canada was evident, despite political rhetoric to the contrary, until World War II. It is widely accepted that the Second World War was a major turning point for Canadian attitudes towards ethnic diversity. As a result, changes in immigration policy will be considered in two separate time frames: from 1867 to 1945 and from 1945 to 1971.

IMMIGRATION: 1867-1945

The 1871 Census figures showed that 91.6 percent of the Canadian population was of British and French ethnic origin. In this first census after Confederation, 0.7 percent of the population was of Native and Inuit origin

(22) Allan Smith, "Metaphor and Nationality in North America", Canadian Historical Review Volume 51, No. 3, September, 1970.

(23) Anderson and Frideres, eds., op. cit., p. 106.

and 7.7 percent of 'other' ethnic origin.(24) The British North America Act of 1867 sought to accommodate this cultural homogeneity by explicitly recognizing the linguistic and religious rights of the British and French. There was virtually no recognition of the ethnic diversity of the remaining portion of the population between 1867 and 1945.

Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier's remarks, made at the turn of the century,

I have visited in England one of those models of Gothic architecture which the hand of genius, guided by unerring Faith, has molded into a harmonious whole. The Cathedral is made of marble, oak and granite. It is the image of the nation I would like to see Canada become. For here, I want the marble to remain marble; the granite to remain granite; the oak to remain oak; and out of all these elements I would build a nation great among nations of the world.(25)

are generally unsubstantiated by the historical record. Increased immigration by the Liberal government in the 1890's, as a means of settling the West, marked the first large influx of non-British and non-French European immigrants. However, as Palmer has noted, this influx was

(24) Jean Burnet, "Ethnicity: Canadian Experience and Policy." Sociological Focus Volume 9, No.2, April, 1976.

(25) Weinfeld, op. cit., p. 82.

not unconditional; "a group's desirability as potential immigrants varied almost directly with its members physical and cultural distance from London, (England...) and the degree to which their skin pigmentation conformed to Anglo-Saxon white".(26) It is not surprising that an ethnic "pecking order" for immigrant groups existed. Those considered most desirable and assimilable were the British and American immigrants, followed by northern and western Europeans, central and eastern Europeans, Jews, southern Europeans, Hutterites, Mennonites and Doukhobors; the Chinese, Japanese, East Indians and lastly the Blacks.(27) A more accurate portrayal of the predominant ideology of assimilation is reflected in the statement made by a west coast senator in 1886:

My main objection to the Chinese is that they are not of our race, and cannot become part of ourselves. We cannot build up a homogeneous race in Canada with races of that description, a population totally alien to ours.(28)

The government's immigration policy was concerned primarily with population growth and economic development.

(26) Palmer, op. cit., p. 85.

(27) IBID., pp 85-86. France joined the British and Americans on the list of "preferred nations" in 1949.

(28) Catherine Christopher, "Multiculturalism and Nation-building". (Unpublished MA thesis, University of Calgary, 1983), p. 57.

In contrast with the United States, there was comparatively little rhetoric picturing Canada as a home for oppressed minorities who would be able to pursue their identities in Canada.(29)

During the years between Confederation and 1895, there were virtually no controls on entry into Canada. Asians and Blacks, however, were not granted "free entry". An illustrative case is the treatment of Chinese immigrants in Canada. The Chinese had been allowed entry into Canada primarily for work on the Canadian Pacific Railway. With the completion of the railway in 1885, the Chinese became surplus laborers and found that the concept of "free entry" was no longer applicable to them. British Columbia imposed a \$50.00 'head-tax' on every new Chinese immigrant. This tax was gradually increased until the passage of the Chinese Immigration Act in 1923 secured their exclusion from Canada.(30)

Similarly, the government's treatment of the Doukhobors attests to the unsatisfactory result of a government immigration policy which ignored the impact of ethnic minorities in Canadian society and concentrated on short-term economic aims. During Wilfrid Laurier's

(29) Palmer, op. cit., p. 87.

(30) Elliott, op. cit., p. 294.

administration, 1896-1911, immigration policy changed from being characterized by a laissez faire attitude to one of actively and selectively seeking immigrants. In 1896, Clifford Sifton, the minister of interior, stated that immigration priority "should be granted to agriculturalists who would populate and farm Western Canada".(31) In spite of Sifton's efforts to attract and keep settlers, Canada registered a negative net migration during the period 1861-1901.(32) It is believed that as inducements to Doukhobor farmers, Sifton may have made promises which were not kept.

The rural, pacifist communal sect of Doukhobors... entered Canada in 1899 on Sifton's invitation... the religious group hoped it could live life in Canada without interference from the government. By 1905, however, Saskatchewan confiscated more than half their land holdings...(33)

The federal government's encouragement of block settlements in the West were for reasons of providing economic and social stability, thereby increasing the chances of settlement by immigrants. Such encouragement was not the result of any belief in the value of cultural

(31) Harold Troper, Only Farmers Need Apply (Toronto: Griffin Press, 1972), p. 294.

(32) Elliott, op. cit., p. 294.

(33) IBID.

diversity nor of any conscious desire to make Canada a cultural mosaic.(34) Canada's selective immigration policy based on the alleged nonassimibility of some groups is reflected in a 1910 statement by the Deputy Minister of Immigration:

...it is the policy of the Department to do all in its power to keep out of the country undesirables...those belonging to nationalities unlikely to assimilate and who consequently prevent the building up of a united nation of people of similar customs and ideals.(35)

The government continued its expansionist immigration policy until the start of World War I. Immigration peaked in 1913 when over 400,000 people entered Canada.(36)

During the war years (1914-1918) and throughout the 1930's, immigration was nominal. By 1931, 18.23 percent of the Canadian population was of non-British, non-French and nonindigenous origin. (See Table 2.1)

(34) Palmer, op. cit., p. 87.

(35) Peter S. Li and B. Singh Bolaria, "Canadian Immigration Policy and Assimilation Theories", in John Allan Fry, ed., Economy, Class and Social Reality. (Toronto: Butterworth & Co. (Canada) Ltd., 1979), pp. 418-19.

(36) Elliott, op. cit., p. 295.

TABLE 2.1

ETHNIC ORIGIN OF THE CANADIAN POPULATION (PERCENTAGES), 1871-1981

	1871	1881	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
British	60.55	58.93	57.04	55.49	55.41	51.86	49.68	47.89	43.85	44.60	40.17
French	31.07	30.03	30.71	28.61	27.91	28.22	30.27	30.83	30.38	28.70	26.74
Dutch	0.85	0.70	0.63	0.78	1.34	1.44	1.85	1.89	2.36	2.00	1.70
German	5.82	5.88	5.78	5.60	3.35	4.56	4.04	4.43	5.75	6.10	4.74
Italian	0.03	0.04	0.20	0.64	0.76	0.95	0.98	1.09	2.47	3.40	3.10
Jewish	*	0.02	0.30	1.06	1.44	1.51	1.48	1.30	0.95	1.40	1.09
Polish			0.12	0.47	0.61	1.40	1.45	1.57	1.77	1.50	1.06
Russian	0.02	0.03	0.37	0.61	1.14	0.85	0.73	0.65	0.65	0.30	0.21
Scandinavian	0.05	0.12	0.58	1.56	1.90	2.20	2.12	2.02	2.12	1.80	1.17
Ukrainian			0.10	1.05	1.21	2.17	2.66	2.82	2.59	2.70	2.20
Other European	0.11	0.13	0.44	1.35	2.44	2.51	2.45	2.47	3.90	3.90	4.03
Asiatic	*	0.10	0.44	0.60	0.75	0.81	0.64	0.52	0.67	1.30	3.45
Indian and Eskimo	0.66	2.51	2.38	1.46	1.29	1.24	1.09	1.18	1.21	1.40	1.72
Others and not stated	0.84	1.51	0.91	0.72	0.45	0.28	0.56	1.34	1.33	1.00	8.62

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada.

¹Data for 1871 and 1881 are incomplete, particularly in the treatment of small numbers of those from central Europe, 1891 is omitted because of insufficient data.²For 1871 includes the population of the four original provinces of Canada only: Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, and Ontario. Newfoundland is excluded until 1951.

*Percentage lower than 0.01.

Economic hardship and increasingly restrictive immigration acts excluded people on the basis of ethnic origin: "The act of 1910 more specifically enumerated and defined prohibited classes and added race as a classification factor for immigration to Canada".(37) Increasing restrictions accomplished the virtual sealing off of the Canadian border to black Americans by 1911. Further restrictions against "immigrants who were culturally or racially inferior and incapable of being assimilated either culturally or biologically" were implemented as a result of a gentleman's agreement signed with Japan restricting the number of Japanese immigrants and the passage of orders-in-council restricting immigration from India.(38)

Discriminatory immigration policies and the resultant ethnic pecking order were evidenced in Canadian society by the place occupied by each group in the Canadian vertical mosaic. The British occupied the upper echelons of the social, economic and political spheres and conversely the Asians and Blacks occupied the most menial jobs.(39) Several factors continued to influence the admission and acceptance of non-British and non-French immigrants to

(37) Troper, op. cit., p. 23.

(38) Palmer, op. cit., p. 86.

(39) IBID., p. 90.

Canada between 1867 and 1971: the centrality of French-English relations in the development of immigration policy; the lack of a sense of Canadian identity, separate and distinct from its British heritage; the focus of policy and admission criteria on the economic benefits of immigration and the nature of Canadian federalism.(40) The history of immigration since Confederation has been dominated by the emphasis placed by successive Canadian governments upon the central fact of the existence of the two founding races and the relationship between them.(41)

The two dominant ethnic groups have attempted to maintain the balance of power between them and whenever possible to improve their respective positions.(42) The British elites have been historically dominant and, as a result, have been in a position to monitor the mobility of all other ethnic groups in Canada, including the French.(43) Traditionally, Anglophones have supported the immigration of persons from Northern Europe, Great Britain

(40) Freda Hawkins. Canada and Immigration: Public Policy and Public Concern. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1972), pp. 34,77,328.

(41) IBID., pp. 333-334.

(42) Porter, op. cit.

(43) Jean Leonard Elliott, ed., Two Nations, Many Cultures: Ethnic Groups in Canada (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada Inc., 1983), p. 291.

and the United States while Francophones have adopted an anti-immigration stance.(44) There has been a "persistent French-Canadian suspicion that all those who wanted a vigorous immigration policy were deliberately conspiring to...increase the population of English-speaking Canada".(45) Quebec attempted to sustain its demographic position by maintaining high birth rates prior to World War II.

It is true that the French have sustained losses as a result of immigration, both outside and within Quebec. The development of the West undermined the balance of power between the French and English, "Legitimate nationalistic concerns of the French in the West were gradually eroded through legislative changes at the provincial level; French was relegated to the status of a foreign language in the schools and its use denied in the courts."(46) Within Quebec, the majority of immigrants have assimilated to the Anglophone community; drawn to the security of the

(44) Grace M. Anderson, "Immigration and Social Policy" in Canadian Social Policy Shankar A. Yelaja, ed., 1978, p. 108. Hawkins has documented the negative influence of the 'French fact' on immigration policy until relatively recently. See Hawkins, op. cit., pp. 213-234.

(45) Hawkins, op. cit., p. 88.

(46) Elliott, op. cit., p. 290.

Anglophone dominated economic sector.(47) Quebec culture has been further eroded by mass French-Canadian emigration to the United States.(48)

Quebec was a deterring presence more so than an active source of opposition to federal immigration policy during the post-war period.(49) Quebec's latent hostility to federal immigration policy was replaced by a decisive immigration policy in 1965. The Liberal government in Quebec announced the creation of a Quebec Immigration Service which would "assist the integration of immigrants into Quebec's French-speaking community".(50)

The federal government's sensitivity to the issue of French-English relations continues to affect immigration policy. Hawkins notes that "the central problem of French-English relations...has pre-empted the place of immigration in national mythology."(51) French-English duality in Canadian society is underscored in a statement made in Book IV of the report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism which addresses the issue of

(47) IBID.

(48) Hawkins, op. cit., p. 335.

(49) IBID., p. 334.

(50) IBID., p. 214.

(51) IBID., p. 35.

the role of the immigrant ethnic groups in Canadian society:

Immigration continues to-day 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. [The immigrant must] be made aware of certain fundamental principles... 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.(52)

Being composed of two distinct societies, Canada has found it difficult to create "an ideal national type in which all Canadians could see something of themselves".(53) The lack of a national identity resulted in Canada imposing the ideology of Anglo-conformity upon its immigrants.(54) Several problems are inherent in this policy. Canada's status as a replica of the British Empire simply deferred, rather than solved, the question of national identity.(55)

The primacy of economic concerns in Canadian immigration policy and the focus on manpower requirements

(52) IBID.

(53) Christopher, Op cit., p. 15.

(54) IBID.

(55) Palmer, op. cit., p. 86.

led to a 'tap-on-and-off' approach as a means of adjusting admissions to labour market needs. As such, the policy was criticized as crude and unproductive and devoid of humanitarian considerations.(56) The result of this focus was a lack of federal government policy pertaining to the role of non-British and non-French ethnic groups in Canadian society and restrictive immigration policies, supportive of the English-French duality. This is evident in the preoccupation with admission and enforcement aspects of immigration policy and a corresponding neglect of immigrant settlement and adjustment issues.(57) The historical record reveals that an open policy for white immigrants and a very highly restrictive one for nonwhites was the norm between 1867 and 1962.

Canadian immigration has been managed by the federal government without significant consultation with the provinces. The nature of Canadian federalism has complicated the formulation of immigration policy. The failure to create shared jurisdictional responsibilities has resulted in inconsistent policy development and implementation. Ad hoc government responses to economic trends, public bigotry and a general lack of long-term

(56) Hawkins, op. cit., p. 328.

(57) Palmer, op. cit., p. 97.

immigration goals reflect this conflict. Constitutionally, immigration is the concurrent responsibility of the federal and provincial governments. The federal government holds primacy in the areas of control and admission.(58) Through lack of provincial interest however, the federal government has assumed responsibility for the entire policy field. Until the late 1960s, Ontario was the only province which had an active immigration program.(59)

Historically, "The federal government's concern was tied to the economic consequences of immigration, while schools, the primary agents of assimilation, were under provincial jurisdiction".(60) The provincial response to the problems of assimilation varied considerably. During World War II, western provincial governments acted to abolish the bilingual schools which had previously been allowed.(61)

IMMIGRATION: 1945-1971

Between 1945 and 1961, 2,100,000 immigrants came to Canada, thereby increasing the proportion of the population

(58) Hawkins, op. cit., p. 328.

(59) Hawkins, op. cit., p. 179.

(60) Palmer, op. cit., p. 87.

(61) Hawkins, op. cit., p. 87.

of non-British and non-French ethnic origin to 25 percent.(62) The predominance of European immigrants reflected the persistent racist and Anglo-conformist principles inherent in immigration policy. Asians and Blacks continued to be virtually excluded from entry.

There were three major determinants of Canada's post-war policy: a strong demand for skilled and unskilled labor; increasing French-English tensions; and changing national and international intellectual and social prerogatives.(63) These factors helped pave the way for a growing acceptance of pluralism by the 1960s.

Canadian Prime Minister MacKenzie King articulated his vision of post-war immigration in May 1947. The familiar themes of population and economic growth and racial selectivity remained central:

The policy of the government is to foster the growth of the population of Canada by the encouragement of immigration. The government will seek...such numbers of immigrants as can be advantageously absorbed in our national economy.(64)

'Absorptive capacity' for King clearly did not include Asian immigration. King stated that "the people of Canada

(62) Palmer, op. cit., p. 98.

(63) IBID., p. 97.

(64) Hawkins, op. cit., p. 91.

do not wish to make a fundamental alteration in the character of their population" and therefore the government was "opposed to 'large scale immigration from the Orient'"...(65)

The 1952 Immigration Act reflected this view. The new Act limited or excluded immigrants for reasons such as

ethnic group...geographical area of
origin...peculiar
customs...unsuitability having regard
to...climatic conditions...probable
inability to become readily
assimilated.(66)

However, labor shortages and the continuing emphasis on labour needs resulted in a more lenient interpretation of the regulations by the authorities.(67)

The scapegoating of Jewish persons in Montreal and the internment of Japanese-Canadians in 1942 were evidence of racial discrimination during the war period and the willingness of politicians to exploit Social Darwinist doctrines.(68) Despite incidences of racial oppression,

(65) IBID., p. 93.

(66) Anthony Richmond, Post War Immigrants in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), pp. 11-12.

(67) IBID.

(68) K. Victor Ujimoto and Gordon Hirabayashi, Visible Minorities and Multiculturalism: Asians in Canada(Toronto: Butterworth and Company (Canada) Limited, 1980), p. 95.

Palmer cites a number of economic, social and intellectual developments which helped to undermine racial intolerance.(69) First, The Canadian government actively recruited educated and professional immigrants to aid in post-war industrial expansion. Unlike previous immigrants, these immigrants integrated easily into urban centres where the prosperity of the post-war years eased the fear of competition.(70) Second, government encouragement of immigration, at this time, reinforced the link between economic growth and immigration in the public mind.(71) Third, the owners of private industries in the cities, like the powerful business lobby and railways earlier, viewed an open immigration policy as desirable for expanding both their labour force and consumer markets.(72)

Accompanying the relative economic prosperity and continuing immigration was the increased Canadian exposure to various cultures through the war effort, at home and abroad.(73) For example, knowledge of the holocaust and Hitler's racist practices, and the gathering momentum of

(69) Palmer, op. cit., p. 97.

(70) IBID., p. 99.

(71) IBID.

(72) IBID., pp. 90-91.

(73) Palmer, op. cit., p. 99.

the civil rights movement in the United States, raised awareness of the problems arising from racial discrimination.(74)

Federal government initiatives in the area of ethnic relations policy also eroded social barriers. A Nationalities branch in the Department of National War Service was established in 1941 to encourage a united war effort among the various ethnic groups.(75) The mandate of the Branch (renamed Citizenship Branch in 1945) during the post-war period was changed to deal with the adjustment of immigrants to life in Canada and to ease their acceptance by the Canadian public.(76) The new Canadian Citizenship Act of 1946 symbolized the shifting focus of national identity from Britain to Canada.(77)

In light of these developments, the 1952 Immigration Act was increasingly viewed as an embarrassment to Canada amidst the growing importance of the multi-racial Commonwealth, increasing trading links with Asia and the

(74) Christopher, op. cit., p. 59.

(75) Palmer, op. cit., p. 97.

(76) IBID., p. 98.

(77) IBID., p. 97.

Caribbean and Canada's involvement in international human rights issues.(78)

In 1962, the government introduced new immigration regulations which replaced the criteria of race, ethnicity and religion with a universalistic selection system.(79) Formal educational qualifications and occupational skills were used to assess applicants on the basis of a "points system" introduced in October 1967.(80) The impact of these changes is evident in the heightened educational qualifications of post-war immigrants

The European countries, the U.S.S.R. and the United States accounted for approximately 95 percent of all immigrants who arrived in Canada prior to 1961.(81) In the following decade the proportion of Asian, Caribbean and Central and South American immigration rose from under 5 percent to 20 percent. Between 1971-81 immigrants from these areas represented increasing proportions of all arrivals, comprising 49 percent of total immigration during this decade. Over the years there has been a shift in

(78) Hawkins, op. cit., p. 101.

(79) Anderson, "Immigration and Social Policy", p. 114.

(80) The "points system" which came into being on August 16, 1967, assessed applicants on a number of universalistic criteria on the basis of a maximum of 100 points.

(81) 1981 Census of Canada for this and following figures.

source countries as well as an increase in the diversity of such countries. Prior to 1961, 80.8 percent of the immigrants were from ten countries, while between 1971-81 the ten leading countries accounted for 57 percent of the immigrants. (See Table 2.2) The differences in the level of education of immigrants and non-immigrants is substantial. Of the most recent immigrants, those who arrived between 1971-1981, 15 percent were university graduates. Comparative figures reveal that 14 percent of immigrant men had degrees and 7 percent of the women as opposed to 9.5 percent and 6 percent of the respective nonimmigrant Canadian population.(82) While the basic premises for universally applicable entrance criteria were established, the domestic implications of this policy are still being experienced.

The shift in source countries, emphasis on educational qualifications and occupational skills, increase in immigration numbers, concentration of new immigrants in urban areas and an established ethnic minority population which is Canadian-born has resulted in the increasing "visibility" of noncharter group immigrants and their issues. Visibility has resulted from a number of factors. Primary among these is the increasing proportion of

(82) Canada's Immigrants. Statistics Canada. (Canada: Minister of Supply and Services, 1984).

Table 2.2

Ten Leading Countries of Birth of Immigrants for Each Period of Immigration, Canada

Before 1961

Country of birth	Number	% of total
Great Britain	524,900	29.8
Italy	214,700	12.2
United States	136,900	7.8
Poland	118,000	6.7
U.S.S.R.	112,600	6.4
Netherlands	112,400	6.4
Federal Republic of Germany	107,200	6.1
Yugoslavia	39,100	2.2
German Democratic Republic	28,400	1.6
Austria	28,300	1.6

Ten leading countries as a percentage
of all immigrants who arrived before
1961

80.8

1961-1970

Country of birth	Number	% of total
Great Britain	195,300	21.1
Italy	141,000	15.2
United States	67,000	7.2
Portugal	57,300	6.2
Greece	40,700	4.4
Yugoslavia	33,200	3.6
Federal Republic of Germany	31,400	3.4
India	28,200	3.0
Jamaica	23,600	2.5
France	19,100	2.1

Ten leading countries as a percentage
of all immigrants who arrived during
the 1961-1970 period

68.7

1971-1981

Country of birth	Number	% of total
Great Britain	158,800	13.8
United States	97,600	8.5
India	75,100	6.5
Portugal	66,400	5.8
Philippines	55,300	4.8
Jamaica	49,900	4.3
Socialist Republic of Vietnam	49,400	4.3
Hong Kong	42,200	3.7
Italy	29,100	2.5
Guyana	27,500	2.4

Ten leading countries as a percentage
of all immigrants who arrived during
the 1971-1981 period

56.6

Source: 1981 Census of Canada.

individuals (both foreign born and native born) who are nonwhite. According to Samuel this proportion is likely to have increased from 4.7 percent of the total population in 1981 to 5.6 percent in 1986. By 2001, this proportion is expected to be between 8.7 percent and 9.6 percent.(83) This has propelled issues of discrimination, racism and human rights to the forefront of public debate. In addition, increasing employment frustration amongst immigrant professionals has resulted in greater organization and lobbying for institutional change to address issues such as recognition of foreign qualifications. These factors have the cumulative effect of increasing politicization of the ethnic minority population.

In spite of the discrediting of the assumptions of the 1950's policy of Anglo-Conformity, it was not until increasing English-French tensions in Canada forced the government to re-examine the Canadian scene, that multiculturalism, Canada's unique brand of pluralism, emerged as government policy.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF MULTICULTURALISM

(83) T. John Samuel. "Immigration and Visible Minorities in the Year 2001: A Projection". Canadian Ethnic Studies. Volume XX, No. 2, 1988, p. 92.

It is widely accepted that the political aspirations and activism of French-Canada during the 1960s provided the impetus for a reassessment of Canadian society.(84) The federal government's response to French-Canadian activism was the establishment of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1963. The Commission was mandated to deal with French-English relations in Canada at a time when Quebec's separatist desires were threatening Canadian unity under the federal system.

The Commission's terms of reference instructed it "to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races,..."(85) The terms of reference did not call for an exhaustive study of the position of those of non-British and non-French origin, but for an "examination of the way they have taken their place within the two societies that have provided Canada's social structures and institutions".(86)

What followed was an immediate and vehement response from the other ethnic groups to the government's choice of

(84) Palmer, op. cit., p. 101.

(85) Hugh R. Innis, Bilingualism and Biculturalism - An Abridged Version of the Royal Commission Report. (McClelland Stewart Limited, 1973), pp. 129-130.

(86) IBID., p. 130.

the phrase "two founding races".(87) As a result, the Commission was forced to address the issue of the role of the immigrant ethnic groups in Canadian society. Consequently, Book IV was devoted to The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups. Second and third generation Ukrainian and Polish immigrants were at the forefront of this protest.(88)

Senator Paul Yuzk, a Manitoban of Ukrainian origin, attempted to organize a unified lobby, or Third Force, among the 'other' ethnic groups. He suggested that "the ethnic groups which constitute this Third Force have, because of their minority status, much in common and that as a united group they can hold the balance of power between the English and French".(89) His efforts met with limited success because of the disparity of needs and interests among ethnic groups.

The response of the federal government to Book IV represented a departure from the Commission's recommendations. The Commission's report recommended that ethnic minorities retain their identity within a bicultural

(87) Burnett, op. cit., p.201.

(88) Baha Abu-Laban, East Europeans and the Politics of Multiculturalism in Alberta, Paper presented at the 1973 annual meetings of the Western Association of Sociology and Anthropology, Banff, Alberta, p. 2.

(89) IBID

and bilingual framework. The government's announcement was presented in the form of 'multiculturalism within a bilingual framework'. The government concluded its announcement by pledging support for multiculturalism policy in four ways:

First, resources permitting, the government will seek to assist all Canadian cultural groups that have demonstrated a desire and effort to continue to develop a capacity to grow and to contribute to Canada, and a clear need for assistance, the small and weak groups no less than the strong and highly organized.

Second, the government will assist members of all cultural groups to overcome barriers to full participation in Canadian society.

Third, the government will promote creative encounters and interchange among all Canadian cultural groups in the interest of national unity.

Fourth, the government will continue to assist immigrants to acquire at least one of Canada's official languages in order to become full participants in Canadian society.(90)

The response of the other political parties was unanimous agreement with the policy.

In summary, the multiculturalism policy was intended to promote ethnocultural diversification and a greater concern for human rights, as a means of eliminating

(90) House of Commons Debates, October 8, 1971.

discrimination and reinforcing national unity.(91)
Ideologically, multiculturalism deflects some of the polarization engendered by the independence movement in Quebec. The idea of multiculturalism can also be associated with an emerging Anglo-Canadian nationalism. Especially relevant to this study is the suggestion that the multiculturalism policy reflects the success, albeit limited, of minority ethnic group political action.

(91) Canada, Federal Government, "Response to Book IV of the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism". Document tabled in the House of Commons, Debates, 28th Parliament, 3rd Session, 1971, pp. 8580-85.

CHAPTER THREE

ETHNICITY AND ETHNIC STRATIFICATION

A backlash against the work of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (B & B), especially in Western Canada, brought about a greater recognition of the role of the 'other' ethnic groups. As such, the announcement of the multiculturalism policy was not simply a political response to a changed social reality fostered by immigration. There has been speculation and criticism of the multiculturalism policy since its announcement.

The Liberal government's motives behind the announcement have been scrutinized. Foremost among these were questions regarding Canadian identity and national unity. A policy of cultural pluralism, by celebrating "unity in diversity", provided a relatively convenient counterforce to the potentially unstable "two nations" concept advocated by Quebec at this time.(92) Furthermore, the Liberal majority in the House of Commons could only benefit from a multiculturalism policy in areas such as Southern Ontario and Western Canada, where a large proportion of the electorate was of 'other' ethnic

(92) Sandra Gwyn, "Multiculturalism: a threat and a promise", Saturday Night, February 1974, p. 16.

origin.(93) The policy was also an effective means of deflecting the vitality of the 'other' ethnic groups into linguistic and cultural directions, thereby obscuring a challenge to the political status quo.(94)

The multiculturalism policy has encountered criticism from ethnocultural groups in Canada for its inability to address the disparate needs of such groups. The main concerns of ethnic minority groups, who are socially invisible, are language, cultural retention and development; on the other hand, the primary concern of those who are visibly identifiable is combatting racism. Early multiculturalism initiatives reflected the success of well-organized and established groups in obtaining cultural recognition from the federal government. These programs focused almost exclusively on the promotion of cultural activities. The emphasis on "clog-dancing and pretty girls in funny hats"(95) was at the expense of the multiculturalism policy's second and third objectives. These latter objectives were concerned with overcoming cultural barriers and promoting "creative encounters" among

(93) IBID., p. 17.

(94) Karl Peter, "The Myth of Multiculturalism and other Political Fables", in Ethnicity Power and Politics in Canada, Jorgen Dahlie and Tissa Fernando, eds., (Agincourt: Methuen Publications, 1981), p. 60.

(95) Gwyn, op. cit., p. 18.

ethnocultural groups.(96) In ignoring its human rights objectives, the policy was criticized as irrelevant to the needs of new immigrants, especially those whose racial characteristics made them vulnerable to discriminatory behaviour.

It is important to consider the concept of ethnicity in North American society in the 1960s along with the concepts of ethnic stratification and integration as a backdrop to the implementation of multiculturalism policy in Canada.

THE NEW ETHNICITY

The term "ethnicity" has gained widespread usage since the early 1970s. Glazer and Moynihan, in their volume Ethnicity: Theory and Experience, note that "ethnicity"

does not appear in the 1933 edition of the Oxford English Dictionary, but it makes its appearance in the 1972 Supplement...It is included in Webster's Third New International, 1961, but [not in] the Random House of the English Language of 1966, nor the American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, 1969. It did,

(96) Minister of Supply and Services. "Response to Book IV of the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism". Documents tabled in the House of Commons, Debates, 28th Parliament, 3rd Session, 1971, pp. 8580-85.

however make the 1973 edition of the
American Heritage Dictionary...(97)

Abu-Laban and Mottershead similarly note that the phenomenon of ethnicity as a prime source of identity is relatively recent and arises from the development of multi-ethnic societies.(98) The traditional notion of ethnicity employed by anthropologists, perceived ethnocultural groups as static entities and focused on biological and objective factors for definitional purposes.(99) As such, ethnocultural groups were conceptualized as natural populations of involuntary human groups living in long-term geographical and social isolation and uniquely capable of maintaining group membership and cultural continuity through time.(100) Contemporary social scientific usage of the term ethnicity

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- (97) Nathaniel Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, eds., Ethnicity: Theory and Experience (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975) p. 1.
- (98) Baha Abu-Laban and Donald Mottershead, "Cultural Pluralism and Varieties of Ethnic Politics", Canadian Ethnic Studies, XIII, 3, 81, p. 47.
- (99) P.A. Saram and Gordon Hirabayashi, "The Political Dimension of Ethnicity", in Asian Canadians in a Multicultural Society, K. Victor Ujimoto and Gordon Hirabayashi, eds., (Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan, 1979), p. 26.
- (100) Evelyn Kallen, Ethnicity and Human Rights in Canada. (Toronto: Gage Publishing Limited, 1982), p. 58.

reflects a shift in theoretical perspective to a more subjective frame of reference.

This shift in orientation reflects the effects of increased cross-national migrations of human populations and the growth of an international technological culture on the old ethnic/geographical balance.(101) Formerly isolated human populations have been brought into contact and confrontation leading to the fragmentation of previously holistic ethnocultures and communities. As a result, today's ethnocultural groups do not represent cultural wholes.

Social scientists have had to forego traditional structural/functional analysis with its emphasis on static concepts of ethnicity and assimilation/absorption/amalgamation processes as models of ethnic integration for a newer conceptualization of ethnicity.(102) This shift can be largely attributed to the work of Fredrik Barth who focused attention on the persistence of ethnic group loyalties, despite continuing contact across ethnic boundaries. Barth argued that the central feature of ethnicity in multi-ethnic societies is

(101) IBID.

(102) James A. Bill and Robert L. Hardgrave, Jr., Comparative Politics. (Washington: University Press of America Inc., 1981), pp. 201-208.

the "ethnic boundary that defines the group, not the cultural stuff that it encloses".(103)

He cautioned against the assumption of a simple one-to-one correspondence between ethnic units and cultural similarities and differences. This is due to the fact that the "features that are taken into account are not the sum of 'objective' differences, but only those which the actors themselves regard as significant".(104) Barth highlighted the idea that ethnic integration is dependent upon the prevailing social environment. Ethnic boundary maintenance is characterized by subjective self-ascription and ascription by others that may restrict interaction with outsiders and serve to maintain a high level of social distance.(105) Thus, ethnic continuity is best understood by examining the way in which ethnic collectivities define and maintain these relationships. Ethnicity is, as Glazer and Moynihan wrote, "a term still on the move"; its current meaning and the saliency of the phenomena to which it refers are not restricted to the past.

(103) Wsevolod W. Isajiw, "Definitions of Ethnicity" in Ethnicity and Ethnic Relations in Canada. Jay E. Goldstien and Rita M. Bienvenue, eds., (Toronto: Butterworth & Co. (Canada) Ltd., 1980), p. 17.

(104) IBID.

(105) Kallen, op. cit., p. 61.

Increasingly social scientists have begun to conceptualize ethnicity as a symbolic system open to manipulation by members. As such, the new ethnicity is seen as an ethnic organizational strategy designed to resolve the underlying human conflict of technological societies, a conflict between the expressive need for a sense of rootedness and group belonging, satisfied by membership in an ethnocultural group and the instrumental desire for material gain and political power, satisfied by participation in the institutions of technological society.(106)

Daniel Bell contends that modernization has led to institutional centralization and bureaucratization. As a result, people feel a need for expressive, identifiable units of belonging which are less abstract than legal rights, occupation and citizenship.(107) Ethnicity fulfills this need and is made more salient by the breakup of traditional affective social units like nation and class.

Furthermore, the politicization of decisions affecting the communal lives of persons makes ethnic groupings a strategic choice by individuals as a means of gaining some

(106) IBID., p. 62.

(107) Daniel Bell, Ethnicity: Theory and Experience, pp. 165-171.

power and privilege.(108) Bell further notes that "ethnicity has become more salient [than class] because it can combine an interest with an affective tie".(109)

In Canada, partisan political considerations played a minor role in the announcement of the federal multiculturalism policy.(110) Federally, the Progressive Conservative Party and the New Democratic Party still have no policies on multiculturalism. However, increasing awareness of the importance of the ethnic vote in a number of ridings and the frequency with which politicians applaud the Canadian ethnic mosaic indicates that the policy is liable to considerable political manipulation. The political dimension of ethnicity constitutes a neglected though increasingly important aspect in the study of ethnicity in modern societies.

ETHNIC STRATIFICATION

The nature and outcome of inter-ethnic relations in a society are related to the dominance of one or more ethnic groups and the relative social status of different ethnic

(108) IBID., p. 171.

(109) IBID., p. 169.

(110) The Progressive Conservatives recently passed the Multiculturalism Act in 1988.

groups within that society.(111) The concept of social stratification refers to the hierarchical structuring of society as a result of differential ranking of various social collectivities with reference to their members' political, economic and social power positions.(112) Noel contends that when distinct ethnic groups come into contact, a system of ethnic stratification will result. Competition between distinct ethnic groups inevitably leads to an unequal distribution and control of resources by the more dominant group. The dominant ethnic group confers the status of society-wide norms upon its own culture, social institutions and laws, and requires all other ethnic groups to conform to these standards. Thus, the dominant group monopolizes political, economic and social power. When presumed ethnic differences are utilized by dominant ethnic groups to create and sustain legitimate bases of social stratification, a society can be defined as ethnically stratified.(113) A system of ethnic stratification is

(111) Jorgen Dahlie and Tissa Fernando, "Pluralism and Power: Some Perspectives", Ethnicity, Power and Politics in Canada, Jorgen Dahlie and Tissa Fernando, eds., (Agincourt: Methuen Publications, 1981), p. 1.

(112) Kallen, op. cit., p. 105.

(113) D.L. Noel, "A Theory of the Origin of Ethnic Stratification", Social Problems, 16, 1968, pp. 157-72.

maintained through institutionalized techniques such as denial of voting privileges and educational opportunities, through unequal employment and through the control of immigration policy and the communications media.

The contemporary system of ethnic stratification in Canada is rooted in the historical contact between the English, French and aboriginal peoples. The English and French seized aboriginal lands and confined the people to reserves, thereby establishing political, cultural and economic dominance over them.(114) The English maintained their dominance, following Confederation, by exercising control of federal immigration policies.(115) English Canadians accorded preferred status to immigrants from the British Isles, northern and western Europe while virtually excluding other European immigrants and nonwhites. In his major study, The Vertical Mosaic, a leading Canadian sociologist John Porter argued that the differential treatment of aboriginees and immigrants by the English and French has produced a vertical mosaic in Canada. Porter concluded that members of Canada's numerous ethnic collectivities were disproportionately represented within

(114) J. L. Elliott, "Canadian Immigration: A Historical Assessment", in Two Nations, Many Cultures. Jean Leonard Elliott, ed., (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada, Inc., 1983), pp. 289-290.

(115) Kallen, op. cit., p. 106.

the Canadian ethnic hierarchy. He noted that the very top and very bottom ranks tended to remain relatively stable in the three basic social categories delineated:

(1) Charter or founding populations [English and French] together with immigrants from the British Isles and those from Northern and Western European countries, whose biocultural characteristics were similar to those of the charter populations, were disproportionately represented at the top, within the ranks of the majority or dominant social category.

(2) Later immigrant populations largely from Southern and Eastern European countries, whose biocultural characteristics diverged in varying degrees from those of the dominant populations, were found in the middle ranks among Canada's ethnic minorities.

(3) Aboriginal populations (Indians, Inuit, and Metis), whose biocultural characteristics diverged most markedly from those of the dominant ethnic categories, were found at the bottom of Canada's ethnic hierarchy.(116)

Porter's observations regarding the stability of the top and bottom levels have been supported by subsequent studies.(117) His explanations for the persistence of the vertical mosaic in Canada, however, have encountered criticism from social scientists.

(116) IBID., p. 113.

(117) See Richmond 1971, Clement 1975 and Ponting and Gibbins, 1980.

Porter argued that over time the assigned "entrance status" of immigrant groups can harden into a permanent class system. He felt that "segregation in social structure, to which the concept of mosaic or multiculturalism must ultimately lead, can become an important aspect of social control by the charter group".(118) Porter concluded that reducing the salience of ethnicity would directly increase social mobility and significantly reduce the levels of economic and political inequality in Canada. Pluralists disagree with Porter's lack of recognition of the constructive benefits of ethnicity. They maintain that the way to break down the vertical mosaic is to change elite attitudes rather than to promote Anglo-conformity and to preserve the status quo.

ETHNIC INTEGRATION

In Ethnicity and Human Rights in Canada, Kallen outlines the processes for conceptualizing and analysing ethnic integration in Canada's multi-ethnic, post-technological society. Kallen distinguishes between the processes of secondary integration and primary integration.

(118) John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), pp. 71-72.

Secondary integration is achieved when members of ethnic minorities acquire the cultural attributes of the majority and achieve relative proficiency in utilizing these attributes.(119) Secondary integration can be measured by examining the degree of structural integration or proportional representation of members of ethnic minorities in the major public institutions (economic, political, legal, communication and educational) of the majority society.(120) In Canada's established ethnically-stratified society, access to positions of political, economic and social power is controlled by the dominant English and French elite. Exclusion of the minority ethnic groups from decision making in the mainstream institutions denies them power in society.

Primary integration is achieved when members of ethnic minorities receive entrance into the informal and private sphere of social relationships of the majority ethnic group.(121) This participation may eventually lead to identificational integration, whereby one's sense of

(119) Kallen, op. cit., p. 147.

(120) Wsevolod W. Isajiw, "Multiculturalism and the Integration of the Canadian Community", Canadian Ethnic Studies. Volume XV, 2, 83, p. 109.

(121) David R. Hughes and Evelyn Kallen, The Anatomy of Racism: Canadian Dimensions. (Montreal: Harvest House Ltd., 1974), p. 153.

self-identity is transferred from one's ethnic group to another, usually the dominant group in society.(122)

Primary ethnic integration is affected by the relative strength of both majority and minority ethnic boundaries which determine the degree to which outsiders will be allowed to integrate.(123)

Contemporary ethnic integration in Canada reflects both the virtual lack of accessibility to public institutions, (historically controlled by the dominant ethnic elite), and the rigid maintenance of ethnic group boundaries.

The models of immigrant ethnic integration underscoring public policy, legislation and practice in Canada are Anglo-conformity and cultural pluralism. The Anglo-conformity model of ethnic integration is a particularized concept of the broader notion of dominant group conformity.(124) Dominant group conformity assumes an existing system of ethnic stratification based on the inherent superiority of an established majority group. As a result, dominant conformity requires a one-way process of acculturation and assimilation whereby immigrants abandon

(122) Kallen, op. cit., p. 150.

(123) IBID., p. 146.

(124) Hughes and Kallen, op. cit., p. 184.

their original ethnocultures in favour of the allegedly superior model established by the dominant group.(125) This model is predicated on the existence of a significant political, economic and social power differential which enables the dominant group to enforce conformity to its culture and institutions. Social participation and mobility are contingent on acculturation to dominant norms. The model does not recognize minority group rights.

Canadian immigration policy has until recently, reflected the principles of the dominant conformity model of ethnic integration. As noted earlier, Canadian immigration policy excluded immigrants who were distinguished by their skin color and who were deemed incapable of acculturation and assimilation into the Anglo-Saxon model. This racist ideology, predominant until 1962, justified the exclusion of immigrants from Africa, the Indian sub-continent and Asia.

The concept of cultural pluralism, was first articulated by Horace Kallen in 1915, but did not receive serious attention in Canada until the early decades following World War II. The ideology centres around a national goal of "one nation/many peoples/many

(125) Kallen, op. cit., p. 170.

cultures".(126) The cultural pluralism model of ethnic integration is based upon the primary assumption that members of ethnic groups are both able and willing to maintain their distinctiveness. This ideal is predicated on low levels of prejudice and discrimination between ethnic groups and a relatively equal distribution of power between them.(127) The result of inter-ethnic relations in a cultural pluralism model is ethnic segmentation based on institutional completeness. Human rights and collective cultural rights of all ethnic groups are recognized.

Canada's multiculturalism policy differs in several respects from the cultural pluralism model. First, the multiculturalism policy recognizes the voluntary nature of ethnic identity. Ideally, cultural pluralism presumes that all individuals and groups desire to preserve a distinctive ethnic identity. The Canadian multiculturalism policy protects the right of individual choice by emphasizing that participation in ethnic groups and the maintenance of ethnic identity are voluntary. Second, multiculturalism advocates a division between the public and private spheres on the issue of collective rights.(128) The

(126) Baha Abu-Laban and Donald Mottershead, op. cit., p.45. Also see Kallen, op. cit. p. 163.

(127) Kallen, op. cit., p. 163.

(128) IBID., p. 164.

multiculturalism policy supports the maintenance of ethnocultural identities in the private sphere by promoting cultural pluralism. Within the public sphere, only the English and French charter groups are accorded collective rights. Thus, Kallen notes that "attainment of social positions within secondary institutions [is] predicated on acculturation to prevailing Anglo or Franco norms and practices".(129) While the democratic notion of individual equality, regardless of ethnic identification, is supported in the public sphere, the multiculturalism policy does not support structural pluralism or guarantee the collective minority rights of non-English and non-French ethnic groups.(130) The only complete institutional systems conceived are those based on the English and French languages.

It is evident that the federal multiculturalism policy lacks the necessary grounding for the mobilization of corporate ethnic group interests. This mobilization is a prerequisite for achieving an equalization of access to political, economic and social power for immigrant ethnic minorities in Canadian society.

(129) IBID.

(130) IBID., p. 169.

CHAPTER FOUR

ETHNIC MINORITY POLITICAL ACTIVITY: AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Immigration is an important component of population growth in Canada. Government projections forecast moderate, controlled increases in future immigration levels to offset a population decline foreseen by the turn of the century. The persistence of ethnic identification among Canadians(131) and the large number of foreign-born Canadians, approximately 16 percent of the population in 1981,(132) suggests that ethnicity continues to be an important characteristic of Canadian society. An increasing proportion of Canada's urban population is comprised of recent immigrants. In fact, 38% of Toronto's population is foreign-born.(133)

This chapter provides a historical examination of the political activity of ethnic minorities in Canada. It provides a contextual reference for contrasting

(131) See Berry, et al. (1977), O'Brien, et al. (1976), and Mackie (1978) for studies on this issue.

(132) Census of Canada, 1981.

(133) Jerome H. Black. "The Practice of Politics in Two Settings: Political Transferability Among Recent Immigrants to Canada". Canadian Journal of Political Science. Vol. XX:4, December, 1987, p. 731.

contemporary political activity and the popular image of minority political participation. The chapter examines the socio-economic basis for the image of the "radical" immigrant which developed between 1896-1932. It dispels the image of a homogeneous immigrant community in Canada by highlighting the different political agendas and methods used by minorities. An examination of the proportion of minority membership in labour and political movements reveals a notable difference between the ethnic composition of membership and leadership in some of these organizations. The changing role of the Canadian state vis a vis its minority ethnic population is recognized to demonstrate its effect on the formulation of ethnic communities in Canada.

The increasing proportion of noncharter group Canadians in the population and the contemporary political agenda, which places multiculturalism and employment equity issues alongside traditional economic and social issues, underscores the increasing potential for and importance of ethnic minority political behaviour. In addition, the increasing realization of the need for political participation by ethnocultural groups who recognize "We cannot achieve our goals without participating effectively

in the process of public decision-making" further substantiates the relevance of this study.(134)

The political strength of the immigrant vote has its roots in the accomodative or brokerage nature of Canadian politics. The absence of any form of proportional representation requires Canadian political parties to seek a plurality of votes to elect representatives. As a result, the uncommitted voters can be decisive in certain constituencies. New Canadians constitute a large number of votes which can be sought before residency leads to the formation of party ties.(135) It is this "ethnic" vote that has led to the primacy of ethnicity at election time. The issue has been further complicated by partisan manipulation of the ethnic vote.

The political activity of noncharter group immigrants in Canada has historically been associated with 'radicalism'. The image of the immigrant as a dangerous radical developed between 1896-1932, during a period of

(134) "Building the Future: Ukrainian Canadians in the 21st Century, A Blueprint for Action". (Edmonton: Provincial Council, Ukrainian Canadian Committee), 1986, p. 35.

(135) W.L. Morton. "The Historical Phenomenon of Minorities: The Canadian Experience". Canadian Ethnic Studies. Vol. XIII, No. 3, 1981, pp. 35-36.

labour unrest and had important implications on the political participation of ethnic minorities in Canada.

IMMIGRATION POLICY AND LABOR FORCE COMPOSITION

Canadian immigration policy was largely responsible for the concentration of immigrant workers in labour intensive industries where radicalism flourished. With few exceptions, immigrant groups were severely restricted in their access to Canadian immigrant status and subsequently to the economy. Porter has argued that the two most important factors determining entrance status for immigrant groups in Canada were "the evaluations of the 'Charter' members of the society of the jobs to be filled and the 'right' kind of immigrants to fill them." (136) The Canadian job market served as a catalyst in provoking collective protest.

In the period before World War I, Canadian immigration was strongly influenced by the imperatives of industrial capitalism and agricultural wage labour. (137) Sifton, as Minister of the Interior encouraged increased immigration

(136) John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), p. 60.

(137) Donald Avery, Dangerous Foreigners - European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1979), p. 9.

due to his belief in the positive relationship between immigration and economic growth. Canada officially wanted agriculturalists to populate the Canadian West, but the needs of labour-intensive resource industries and transportation companies were given preference. As a result, businessmen virtually had a free hand in recruiting immigrants for economic development.

Immigration statistics reveal that the percentage of unskilled labour entering Canada increased from 31 percent in 1907 to 43 percent in 1913-14. There was a parallel decline in the percentage of agriculturalists entering Canada from 38% in 1907 to 28% in 1913-14.(138) The change in ethnic composition was equally dramatic. In 1907, 20 percent of immigrants were from central and southern Europe, by 1913 this figure was 43 percent.(139) These figures reflect the success of the business lobby's influence over immigration policy decisions despite public calls for a more racially selective immigration policy.

Due to the emphasis on unskilled labour, Canada's immigration policy was largely responsible for the inferior occupational positions and the low social status accorded non-charter group immigrants. There was a concentration of

(138) IBID., p. 37.

(139) IBID., p. 37.

unskilled immigrant workers in the lumber, railroad and mining industries. The Royal Commission on Coal revealed that by 1911 over 57 percent of the mine workers in Canada were immigrants. In British Columbia and Alberta, the respective figures were 84 percent and 88 percent.(140)

The theme of minority immigrant recruitment is reflected in the following descriptive statement:

The unskilled immigrant worker had one basic commodity to exchange - 'his physical strength, his brute force, to carry, pull, push, turn as a horse would do, or a piston or a wheel.'(141)

Vera Lysenko further described the situation of immigrant workers in Canada in her book, Men in Sheepskin Coats:

"they were systematically underpaid...tortured by physical labour, torn by nostalgia for the old country, crushed by loneliness in a strange land, and by the fear of death which [they] often looked in the face..."(142)

Despite political assurances that "Canada's recruitment of immigrants would be confined to Great Britain and to Northwestern Europe...vigorous northern races who were culturally sound and who could quickly

(140) IBID., pp. 30-31.

(141) IBID., pp. 8-9.

(142) IBID., p. 39. Vera Lysenko. Men in Sheepskin Coats. (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1947), p. 101.

conform to the norms of Anglo-Canadian life"(143) a policy of importing an industrial proletariat took precedence. These people are characterized in the following statement made by a mining authority:

Canadians won't work in the mines.
They are quite willing to boss the job
but they are not going to do the rough
work themselves... What we want is
brawn and muscle, and we get it.(144)

Advocates of a more racially selective immigration policy were able to limit and finally restrict Oriental immigration between 1904 and 1910. However, thousands of Continental European immigrant workers continued to enter the country between 1896-1930 to meet labour demands.

THE IMPACT OF LABOUR

Seasonal fluctuations in labour demand and the practise of temporarily discharging unskilled labourers during slack periods produced deep resentment among workers. Discrimination, inflation, deaths due to unsafe working conditions, wartime internment and deportation policies combined to produce a situation where central and eastern European immigrants formed a large proportion of

(143) IBID., pp. 40-41.

(144) IBID., p. 30.

leftist union membership.(145) Union membership was facilitated by the fact that many Italian, Slavic and Finnish immigrants came from societies where class consciousness in the face of economic and social exploitation was an established phenomenon. Left-wing organizers formed groups successfully in western Canada among Russians, Lithuanians, Finns and Ukrainians. The association of ethnic minorities with unions and left-wing political parties elicited a strong negative response from Anglo-Canadian society.(146)

Several unions were successful in developing a class-oriented approach which emphasized economic conditions. This created a broader class consciousness and decreased ethnic rivalry among Canadian immigrant workers. The Winnipeg General Strike of May 15 to June 28, 1919 highlighted the prevalence of class and ethnic conflict in Canadian society. The decision by the Winnipeg Trades and Labour Council to call a general strike, to force employers to recognize the right of unions to organize for collective

(145) Howard Palmer. Patterns of Prejudice - A History of Nativism in Alberta. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1985), p. 54.

(146) R. Douglas Francis and Howard Palmer eds., The Prairie West - Historical Readings. (Edmonton, Pica Press, 1985), p. 326.

bargaining(147) resulted in compliance by approximately 25,000 workers. Although an objective inquiry later confirmed that the causes for the strike were economic and social problems, low wages and class division in Winnipeg, the response by the political and economic elite was to portray the strike as the work of enemy aliens and to focus on the deportation of alien agitators and British-born radicals. J.S. Woodsworth observed that there was "not a single foreigner in a position of leadership, though foreigners were falsely arrested to give color to this charge".(148) The use of racist propoganda to break the strike further isolated the non-British. Foreign agitators were made scapegoats in an effort to crush the radical labour movement in Winnipeg.

POLITICAL EXPERIENCE

Clearly, Canada's ethnic and class structure was being established by the pattern of immigration to the country. It is important to recognize the politicized nature of Canada's immigration policy. Identifying the influx of

(147) Art Grenke. "The German Community of Winnipeg and the English-Canadian Response to World War I". Canadian Ethnic Studies. Vol. XX, I, 1988, p. 34.

(148) Martin Robin, ed. Canadian Provincial Politics. (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada, Ltd., 1972), p. 81.

immigrants with the Liberal government's policies was a principal means of politicization. The government policy of supporting ethnic newspapers which adhered to the party line was also political in nature. Foremost among these policies was the identifying of potentially influential settlers. Sifton, then Minister of Interior, directed his friends to establish contact with a leader among a group of recent German immigrants and "see that his political education is undertaken the day he gets to Winnipeg". He reasoned that, "given entree to the Liberal Club, introduced to the right people, the man could prove 'most useful' when naturalized".(149)

The awareness of ethnic factors in politics is further reflected in the partisan nature of the ethnic vote issue. The Conservative press and politicians advocated for immigration restrictions and charged that "Liberal successes in the first election [1905] could be attributed to Oliver's [a Liberal cabinet minister] Galicians and Pollacks who were voted like cattle by the machine".(150) A common factor amongst immigrant workers in the Canadian

(149) R. Douglas Francis and Howard Palmer, eds., *Op cit.*, p. 298.

(150) Thomas E. Flanagan, "Ethnic Voting in Alberta Provincial Elections, 1921-1975" in Carlo Caldarola, ed. Society and Politics in Alberta. (Toronto: Methuen Publications, 1979), p. 304.

industrial system was their willingness to join in political activity. This phenomenon determined a latent political power.(151) Political organizations, ethnic churches, fraternal societies and trade unions all contributed towards alleviating the exploitation and alienation experienced by immigrants.

Other commonalities of experience amongst noncharter group immigrants in Canada between 1896-1947 were rather negative. Inferior occupational positions, low social status, disenfranchisement and deportations were common denominators. There were however, some important differences. Blacks, Orientals and South Asians faced barriers and restrictions to immigration based on societal perceptions of ethnic, cultural and ideological acceptability which effectively precluded their assimilation into Canadian society. In contrast, Eastern and Southern European immigrants were granted basic civil rights and were candidates for 'Canadianization'. However, as foreigners their treatment varied with the time and economic circumstances. As a result, the political agendas of these ethnic groups differed in the short-term. The South Asian, Chinese and Japanese immigrant group experience in British Columbia between 1872 and 1948 and

(151) Avery, Op cit., p. 47.

the Eastern and Southern European socio-economic and political experience on the Prairies during the same period highlights both the similarities and differences between these immigrant groups.

POLITICAL DISCRIMINATION

Discriminatory legislation, such as the 'continuous journey' clause, excluded South Asian immigration to Canada by requiring immigrants arriving on the Pacific coast to arrive by continuous passage from their country of origin. Chinese immigrants were required to pay a \$500 head tax upon entering Canada in 1885. This legislation was followed by further Parliamentary legislation in 1921 virtually excluding Chinese immigration to Canada. In 1928, the Canadian government renegotiated the Gentleman's Agreement with Japan, reducing Japanese immigration to a maximum of 150 persons a year.

Specific government action denied the South Asians, Chinese and Japanese the franchise and prevented their election to office. Between 1900-1947, South Asians were restricted from political participation through the denial of legal equality and legal redress. Exclusion from jury duty and military duty further served to isolate them from

mainstream Canadians and severely reduced their potential for political impact.(152)

Two main arguments cited in support of denying Orientals political rights were 1) the risk that their vote would be manipulated by politicians and 2) the fear that they would dominate the voter's list in certain constituencies. Not surprisingly, in 1875 the British Columbia Legislature enacted legislation for "constitutional reasons" declaring that "no Chinaman or [Native] Indian was entitled to vote in a provincial election".(153) The Provincial Voters' Act was amended in 1895 to include Japanese to the list of people denied the franchise. In 1885, the Chinese were also denied the federal franchise by Ottawa. This decision was upheld by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in 1902. It ruled that Chinese or Japanese, whether they were naturalized British subjects or Canadian-born citizens, could be disfranchised.(154) Franchise restrictions against the Chinese and Japanese were not removed until

(152) Norman Buchignani. "South Asian Canadians and the Ethnic Mosaic: An Overview". Canadian Ethnic Studies. Volume II, 2, 1979, p. 51.

(153) Jorgen Dahlie and Tissa Fernando, eds., Ethnicity Power & Politics in Canada. (Toronto: Methuen Publications, 1981), p. 204.

(154) IBID., p. 154.

1947 and 1948, respectively. Political subordination on the basis of race extended to government employment and government contracts. All three groups were hampered by a weak economic base which hindered substantial political activity. In addition, subordinate entry status and racial stereotyping denied them respect and social status.(155) These restrictions had the cumulative effect of limiting the exercise of power by Chinese, Japanese and South Asian immigrants in Canada.

HOME COUNTRY INFLUENCES

Variance in home country strength and prestige further affected the political agendas of these groups. South Asians faced a unique situation due to British rule in India. The British recognized that South Asian communities, once established in British settler societies, undermined the colonial control of India through support of the independence movement. Thus, the British and British Indian government secretly collaborated with Canada to terminate South Asian immigration to Canada. However, the British India government was sensitive to reports of poor treatment of Indians overseas. Thus, it was possible for the South Asian community in Canada to use petitions to

(155) IBID., p. 202.

induce British and British Indian officials to pressure the Canadian government for policy changes affecting the Indian community in Canada.(156) The Chinese, on the other hand, had limited recourse to their home country. China was weak and divided and interventions on behalf of its nationals were treated lightly by the Canadian government. By contrast, Japan's strength and its status as Britain's ally resulted in a better situation for Japanese relative to the other two groups. Systematic denial of access to representative politics adversely affected, but did not prevent political action by South Asians, Chinese and Japanese immigrant groups.

PARTISAN POLITICAL EXPLOITATION

An examination of immigrant group political activity illustrates how the Canadian political parties used immigrant groups as pawns. Because the Asian and Oriental electorate was virtually nonexistent, politicians frequently attacked these groups during election campaigns utilizing racist sentiment to secure votes. The Japanese, Chinese and South Asian communities' response to their Canadian experience clearly reflects different priorities and expectations. For the Japanese in Canada, the right to

(156) IBID., p. 213.

vote was a principal issue. The Japanese had to contend with federal and provincial politicians who routinely aroused anti-Asian sentiment for partisan purposes. Senator J.W. deB. Farris forewarned that politicians might be tempted "to secure in return for a concession or two, a block vote, ... And so concessions are made, step by step, until the prospect of a white British Columbia is destroyed".(157) The Japanese undertook personal representations to parliamentary committees and legal action to challenge restrictions against their franchise.

The Chinese and South Asian immigrants generally behaved as sojourners in Canada. As such, obtaining the franchise was not of primary importance. The Chinese community generally responded in an ad hoc fashion to specific problems. They established boycotts and strikes in response to adverse policies. The Chinese closed their shops and withheld their services from mainstream society following the Vancouver Anti-Oriental Riot of 1907. The Chinese also sent delegations to Ottawa to lobby against discriminatory legislation. As sojourners, the South Asians did not mobilize around economic issues or restrictions against political and social privileges. However, as more South Asians decided to stay in Canada,

(157) IBID., p. 163.

the South Asian political agenda converged around the ban on immigration. South Asians extensively utilized the court system, the media, personal representations to government and petitions to articulate their objection to immigration restrictions. Available research indicates that while the Japanese, Chinese and South Asian immigrant groups utilized established structures to express their political will, the Central and Southern Europeans more frequently participated in left-wing political parties.

SOCIALIST POLITICAL ACTIVITY

It is important to recognize that not all minority group immigrants from Europe participated in left-wing political activity. However, the bulk of membership in both the Socialist and Communist Parties of Canada was comprised of recently arrived immigrants of Finnish, Ukrainian, Italian, Jewish and German background.(158) These immigrants experienced internment, deportation, suppression of foreign language presses, firings and blacklisting due to their political and ethnic affiliations. These common experiences were effects of the Canadian socio-economic and political structure which determined the inferior entrance status of these immigrant

(158) IBID., p. 113 and Donald Avery, Op cit., p. 13.

groups in society. As a result, the support for left-wing political parties is rooted in the Canadian experience of these minority group immigrants. Several factors support the preference for left-wing political activity: 1. the ideology of the leftist movement advocated for a transformation of the exploitative social and economic structures and against the maintenance of the status quo, 2. the party structure and philosophy supported the achievement of leadership positions by foreign radicals and 3. left-wing parties offered a familiar political experience for many European immigrants.

Recent research supports the fact that home country political experiences of individuals affect their political behaviour in Canada. Jerome Black's article, "Political Transferability Among Immigrants to Canada", states that political transferability does occur: "the previously politicized do appear able to draw upon their political legacies and apply them to the new political environment...in spite of the fact that they have not spent much time in the new country".(159) This supports Avery's observation that experienced socialists brought with them "organizational skills that were variously employed in the

(159) Jerome H. Black. "Political Transferability Among Immigrants to Canada". Canadian Journal of Political Science. Vol. XX:4, December, 1987, p. 743.

establishment of workers' mutual aid societies, in socialist newspapers and in direct political action".(160) This was especially true for both Finnish and Ukrainian immigrants in Canada.

Both Ukrainian and Finnish socialists emphasized cultural and social values. This confirmed their appeal to both recent and established immigrants and enabled them to secure a large amount of political support within their respective ethnic communities. However, this emphasis resulted in the cultural fragmentation of the Socialist Party of Canada.

Finnish Canadians demonstrated their commitment to full participation in Canadian society by joining the Socialist Party of Canada in the form of locally based Finnish societies in 1906. J.W. Alhqvist, a Finnish society spokesman, expressed this commitment: "As socialists we must be members, and advance this country's economic and political revolutionary movement".(161) However, important ideological differences soon emerged between the Finnish membership and the Anglo-Saxon leadership of the Socialist Party of Canada. An unsuccessful attempt to force revisions in party policy

(160) Op cit., p. 61.

(161) Jorgen Dahlie and Tissa Fernando, Op cit., p. 115.

led to the expulsion or withdrawl in protest of the Finnish socialist locals from the Socialist Party of Canada in 1910.(162) Similarly, the Ukrainians' initial involvement in 1907 with the Socialist Party of Canada was based on the principle that the party was dedicated to uniting "workers of all nations and faiths".(163) The Ukrainian socialists' request for a Ukrainian Socialist Union within the Socialist Party of Canada's structure, to recognize the mobilization and educational effort necessary to enlist the "100,000 Ukrainian proletarians" in the Prairie provinces, resulted in increasing tensions with the Anglo-Saxon leadership. This led to the eventual withdrawl of Ukrainian socialist support for the Socialist Party of Canada in 1910. The Finns and Ukrainians continued to participate politically despite the failure of their affiliation with the Socialist Party of Canada.

Both the Finns and the Ukrainians were instrumental in the establishment of the Canadian Social Democratic Party in 1911. In contrast to the Socialist Party of Canada, this was a loose federation uniting Eastern European and English-speaking socialists. The Ukrainians, Finnish and Jewish immigrant communities all produced social democratic

(162) IBID., p. 118.

(163) Avery, Op cit., p. 60.

clubs which were associated with the Canadian Social Democratic Party.(164)

Despite the support for the Socialist Party of Canada and later the Canadian Social Democratic Party amongst the Ukrainian and Finnish Communities, there was opposition from within these ethnic communities. The conservative elements attacked the leftist Finns for having drawn negative attention to Finns as a whole and portraying them as a radical group in the eyes of the Canadian establishment. The Ukrainian community faced similar divisions. An editorial in the Canadian Farmer cautioned: "Canadian Ukrainians do not have any influence. We are poor and need political help...This forces us to support a politically influential party. Affiliation with small radical parties brings us Ukrainians only discredit and ruin".(165) Despite these internal divisions, the support for the Canadian Social Democratic Party, One Big Union, the Communist Party and the CCF continued because these institutions offered a means by which the socio-economic situation could be changed.

(164) Jorgen Dahlie and Tissa Fernando eds., Op cit., p. 119.

(165) T. Peterson, "Ethnic and Class Politics in Manitoba". Martin Robin, ed. Canadian Provincial Politics. (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd., 1972), p. 91.

COMMUNIST POLITICAL ACTIVITY

The predominantly immigrant involvement in the Communist Party of Canada, after its formation in 1921, was rooted in the social and economic situation prevalent at the time. Like the socialist organizations, the Communist Party of Canada provided a political and social shelter for "people on the fringe of Anglo-Saxon society which seemed to need them only for menial tasks and on election day".(166) The Communist Party of Canada recruited both foreign workers and Anglo-Saxon labour activists to its ranks. During the 1920s, the Finnish component of the Communist Party of Canada was approximately 50 percent of the membership. Together with the Ukrainians and Jews, these ethnic groups comprised between 80 and 90 percent of party membership. The Anglo-Saxon membership, during the same period, rarely exceeded 10 percent.(167) Essentially the Communist Party of Canada remained an immigrant based party and was unable to establish itself among a significant group of English or French speaking workers. Both internal developments and Dominion government interference provided challenges to the Communist Party of Canada.

(166) IBID., p. 36.

(167) IBID., p. 35.

The Communist Party of Canada's strength lay in its European orientation, the promotion of foreign radicals to leadership positions and its interest in the unemployed. Members of the Ukrainian Labour Farm Temple Association and the Finnish Organization of Canada were given permanent positions in the Communist Party of Canada's Political Commission or Politbureau.(168) These ethnic organizations provided the Communist Party of Canada with both membership and money. Ethnic tensions which had plagued the socialist and labour organizations in Canada in the past also disrupted the Communist Party of Canada. Ethnic block voting at the Communist Party of Canada's conventions was a common occurrence. The internal strains caused by ethnic loyalties increased after 1925 when the Communist International (Comintern) called for the Bolshevization of all national Communist movements.(169) The Canadian party was instructed to base its organization on occupation rather than "language federations". This meant a reduction in the influence and independence of the Ukrainian Labour Farm Temple Association and the Finnish Organization of Canada. Between 1925 and 1931 the issue of Bolshevization

(168) IBID., p. 83.

(169) Avery, Op Cit., p. 128.

was internally disruptive and led to the expulsion of many Finnish and Ukrainian dissenters from the party leadership.

The problems of the Communist Party of Canada were intensified by a campaign against it by Dominion and provincial authorities. Arrests of major Communist leaders on charges of sedition, deportation of many foreign-born Communists and the subsequent outlawing of the Communist Party of Canada constituted forms of government harassment. During 1931 the number of "foreigners" deported under Section 40 and 41 of the Immigration Act increased significantly.(170)

The Communist Party of Canada did not distinguish between immigrants and native-born in order to demonstrate the principle that capitalist exploitation transcended ethnic background. Despite this approach, there was an uneven ethnic distribution of party membership. The lack of interest among Anglo-Canadians and French Canadians was outweighed by the relative strength of the Communists in the minority European immigrant communities. The ethnic composition of the Communist Party of Canada negatively affected the Communist movement by identifying Communism as a foreign idea with no Canadian roots.

(170) IBID., p. 136.

One measure of the Communist Party of Canada's success is the preceived need for repressive measures which were imposed upon the Communist Party of Canada and its members by the Dominion government. The Communists were opposed by employers, the authorities, churches, the press and the public. However, the party was instrumental in laying the foundations for a working-class consciousness in Canada.

Parallels can be drawn with contemporary political activity by ethnic minorities. Popular perceptions continue to emphasize the external role of ethnic minority political activity in Canada, emphasizing the preoccupation with home-country politics and not recognizing legitimate social, economic policy interests. Another parallel factor continues to be the differentiation between ethnic minority representation in the membership and lack of representation in the higher echelons of political activity.

STATE INTERVENTION

The potential of ethnic minorities to alter voting patterns in certain areas has drawn the attention of academics, the public and politicians. Joseph Wearing, in his book Strained Relations, Canadian Parties and Voters, notes

As the population of British origin [in Toronto] dropped...so, too did the number of safe Conservative

seats...Liberal victories [in Toronto]...occur in ridings with a low percentage of voters of British origin. In the 1984 Conservative Landslide, the Liberals managed to retain six Toronto seats - all in ridings with populations of less than 40 per cent British origin.(171)

Anthony Downs' model of the vote-maximizing hypothesis as an explanation of democratic political behaviour argues that the party in power will adopt policies most likely to maximize its votes without violating constitutional rules.(172) In doing so, the governing party recognizes the relationship between its policies and the way people vote. Downs further argues that the possession of resources other than the vote increases a citizen's potential influence upon government policy. As a result, the majority's preference is not the only consideration, governments "construct policies often aimed more at the good of a few voters than at the good of all, or even of a majority".(173) Therefore, governments are sensitive to strategically located pressure groups who focus attention

(171) Joseph Wearing, Strained Relations, Canadian Parties and Voters. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1988), pp. 50,54.

(172) Anthony Downs, An Economic Theory of Democracy. (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1957), p. 31.

(173) Downs, IBID., p. 93.

on the impact of particular policies and affect the chances for re-election particularly in 'marginal districts'.

Historically, the Canadian state has adopted both laissez faire and restrictive policies in its social and political interaction with noncharter ethnic groups.(174) This was evidenced in the examination of Canadian immigration policy in Chapter 2. Immigration policies regulate the number and type of individuals entering Canada with regard to their social and economic classes, gender and political orientation. This has definitive implications for the development of organizations within an ethnic group. Moreover, a laissez faire policy with regard to the integration of ethnic groups into the larger society differentially affects groups according to their position in the vertical mosaic.

In the post-war period, the Canadian state actively intervened to represent and in effect regulate, the functioning of ethnic minority groups. This occurred in a number of identifiable ways, state funding, attendance by government officials at important ethnic events, consultation between community leaders and government prior to the formulation of certain legislation and foremost

(174) Daiva K. Stasiulis, "The Political Structuring of Ethnic Community Action: A Reformulation". Canadian Ethnic Studies. Vol. XII, 3, 1980, pp. 19-38.

through the announcement and implementation of the Multiculturalism policy. The cumulative effect of the historical perceptions held by mainstream society of political activity by ethnic minorities and contemporary state intervention has influenced the direction and composition of contemporary political and social action within the ethnic minority communities.

An effective means of integration in dominant society is through the political system. An examination of the political activity of ethnic minorities within a historical context highlights comparative issues for examination of contemporary political activity in Canada. The most striking issue is the popular media image of ethnic minority political involvement. In 1905 the Conservative press attributed the Liberal's success to "Galicians and Pollaks who were voted like cattle".(175) During the 1985 Progressive Conservative Leadership election in Alberta, focus on questionable campaign tactics and the methods used to acquire new party members frequently highlighted ethnic minority participation in a negative light.(176)

(175) Flannagan, op. cit.

(176) Sheila Pratt, "Some 'Dirty Tricks' Just Aggressive Organizing". Calgary Herald. August 31, 1985, p. A8.

Immigration policy continues to strongly impact community development in Canada. Post-war immigration policy has eliminated racially selective criteria in favour of the points system. However, social issues of racial discrimination and intolerance persist. Similarly, while the emphasis is no longer on recruiting wage labour, economic issues of unemployment, under-employment and employment equity remain characteristic of the ethnic minority community.

A most noticeable change is evident in the politicization of ethnic minorities. There is increasing participation in mainstream political activities. Recognition of political activity is evident from Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's recent remarks. He equated the need to open the party to new Canadians with the Conservative's effort to secure a base in Quebec between 1984 to 1988. Mulroney called on delegates to "make greater efforts to draw ethnic Canadians into their party".(177) Stronger comments were made by Secretary of State Gerry Weiner who told the Progressive Conservatives that they would lose the next federal election unless they won wider support among ethnic Canadians. Weiner accused

(177) Geoff White, "Plan for new tax remains jumbled", Calgary Herald. August 27th, 1989, p. A1.

the party of exhibiting "distrust and disdain for the ethnic vote other than at election time".(178)

Persons of minority ethnic background participate in politics for the same reasons as the rest of the population: they have occupational, social and economic interests that may be affected by policy changes. Recognizably, there are areas of policy which are of special concern to minority ethnic groups, i.e., national immigration policy. Eldersveld has argued that electoral victory in reasonably competitive, heterogeneous ethnic and religious social milieux requires that political parties allocate some of their organizational positions to representatives of all major ethnic and religious groups within their communities.(179)

The remaining chapters will examine the constituency association executive of the three political parties in contemporary Alberta to determine whether social realities and the electoral imperative have translated into the incorporation of ethnic minorities within the organizational structure of parties or do they, as in the past, remain a force to be mobilized from without.

(178) Geoff White, "Tories told to woo ethnic vote". Calgary Herald. August 26th, 1989, p. A3.

(179) Samuel J. Eldersveld, Political Parties: A Behavioural Analysis. (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1964), Chapter 4.

CHAPTER FIVE

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

This study was designed to examine the degree of ethnic minority representation in Alberta, focusing on the constituency associations of the three major political parties in Calgary. Calgary was chosen not because it represents Alberta in microcosm; indeed most observers of Alberta politics agree that party support and organization is bifurcated between urban and rural constituencies, but because urban centres are more likely to have a greater ethnic mix than rural areas.(180) I chose Calgary because it could maximize the amount of ethnic political representation. I chose Calgary over Edmonton because of its proximity and because I had built a number of contacts with party officials in the city over the years and anticipated that the contacts would assist my gaining access to party personnel and in soliciting their cooperation.

This chapter will discuss the nature of the theoretical and survey populations and will discuss the

(180) Jerome H. Black. "The Practice of Politics in Two Settings: Political Transferability Among Recent Immigrants to Canada". Canadian Journal of Political Science. Vol. XX:4, December, 1987, pp. 731-753.

operational measures of the concepts of interest to this study. It also includes a brief evaluation of the response rate, and the meaning of the response rate in the interpretation of findings. The chapter concludes with several hypotheses and statements of expectations for the data analysis.

SAMPLE SELECTION

The sample group selected was the executive members of each of the active constituency associations for the three major political parties in Calgary: Progressive Conservative, Liberal and New Democrat. There are eighteen (18) provincial constituencies in Calgary.(181) (A list of these constituencies appears in Appendix A.) Fifty constituency associations were studied out of a possible fifty-four. This was due to the fact that two NDP and two Liberal constituency associations were inactive at the time that the questionnaire was distributed. The executive was restricted to table officers only (president, vice-presidents, secretaries, and treasurer) in order to obtain a comparative sample from the three different parties being

(181) No completed questionnaires were received for Calgary Elbow for all three parties studied.

studied. Because of the stated focus of this study a random sample was not employed.

Letters of introduction for the study were obtained from representatives of each of the three provincial parties. (See Appendix B for copies of these letters.) Phone calls to the fifty constituency association presidents were made to determine the number of questionnaires that would be required. The questionnaires were distributed in September, 1987 to coincide with the first meeting of the constituency executives after the summer holidays. Postage paid envelopes were enclosed with the questionnaires and a completion period of three months was allotted. One hundred ninety one (191) questionnaires were distributed. Ninety-one completed questionnaires were returned for an overall return rate of 48%. The rate of return differed across the three parties based on the number of questionnaires requested and subsequently returned. The Liberals, New Democrats and Progressive Conservatives received 40, 43 and 108 questionnaires respectively. Completed questionnaires were received from 55% of the Liberals, 70% of the New Democrats and 36% of the Progressive Conservatives.

The sample is reasonably reflective of the characteristics of the constituency association executive. Some self-selection is evident in the uneven response rate

across the three political parties. However, the low response rate for the Progressive Conservative party is mirrored in a previous study in which the researchers observed an overall response rate of 43% and a party response rate for the Progressive Conservatives, New Democrats, Liberals and Representatives of 31%, 88%, 50% and 50%, respectively.(182) The uneven response rate does not reflect a flaw in the research design of this study.

SURVEY INSTRUMENT

A questionnaire was developed to obtain data on political involvement, ethnic origin and information on the sociodemographic characteristics of the respondents. Multiple indicators were used for 1) ethnicity, 2) socio-economic status and 3) political involvement. A detailed definition of these variables follows. (A copy of the questionnaire is appended as Appendix C).

Ethnicity. The definition of ethnicity is complex. The Canadian Census categorizes respondents according to country of origin or mother tongue. However, it is not uncommon in this study to find respondents who describe their ethnic or cultural origin differently from their

(182) Keith Archer, et al., "Legislators and their World: A survey of Alberta MLAs". Canadian Parliamentary Review. (Summer, 1989), pp. 19-23.

ethnic or cultural identification. The information collected for this study utilized five pieces of information in relation to ethnicity: 1) father's ethnic origin, 2) mother's ethnic origin, 3) respondents' ethnic identification, 4) degree of respondents' ethnic identification and 5) language spoken at home. Respondents were asked to indicate the extent of their ethnic or cultural identification by circling the appropriate number on a scale of 1 to 10. Number 10 corresponded with 'highly' and number 1 with 'not at all'.

Socio-economic status. Respondents were asked to estimate the total family before-tax income by checking one of eleven income ranges. These categories were provided in increments of \$10,000, beginning with 'LESS THAN \$5,000' and concluding with '\$95,000 AND OVER'. Respondents were also asked to indicate the degrees, certificates or diplomas that they attained, by choosing one of ten response categories. These categories are collapsed for analysis in Chapter 6.

Political involvement. Respondents were asked a number of questions regarding their political involvement. These were divided into past and present involvement categories. The length of political party membership in both Alberta and other provinces, if applicable, was noted. The level of involvement was ascertained through two

separate questions. The first question established the present level of involvement by providing five categories for executive level involvement in addition to MLA, MEMBER ONLY and OTHER. The purpose of this question was twofold, to verify the sample which was sought (the constituency association executive) and to determine whether these individuals routinely held multiple executive level positions indicating a concentration of power. The question determining past involvement had fourteen categories in addition to the OTHER category. This question had a broader scope, to determine the experience level of the respondents, and included a wider range of possible activities, such as RAN FOR NOMINATION IN A PROVINCIAL RIDING and ATTENDED POLICY WORKSHOPS.

The questionnaire was divided into four parts: PRESENT PARTY INVOLVEMENT, GROUP REPRESENTATION, PAST PARTY INVOLVEMENT and BACKGROUND INFORMATION. The PRESENT PARTY INVOLVEMENT section determined the respondent's party affiliation, the length of involvement and the extent of involvement. Questions pertaining to recruitment of the respondent, in particular, party workers and executive members by the political party were asked in this section. A series of questions to determine whether the respondents saw a distinction between the federal and provincial political realms focused on their membership at both levels

and the similarities and differences between policies at the federal and provincial level.

GROUP REPRESENTATION in the decision making structures of the party was compared among women, youth, ethnic minorities and seniors. Specific questions pertaining to the seeking of the ethnic minority vote by the political party and its candidates were included. Two comparative questions relating to ethnic minority and women's representation in the provincial party were asked, as well as a series of questions pertaining to the level of involvement by ethnic minorities. These latter questions probed the level of activity by ethnic minorities in the constituency association, the types of activities they are generally involved in, factors best accounting for that level of political activity and the percentage of ethnic minorities as a proportion of the constituency population and of the party's constituency membership.

The PAST PARTY INVOLVEMENT section asked two questions in an effort to determine whether or not the respondents held membership in a political party in another Canadian province and whether they had participated in any number of activities, such as serving at the executive level or running for nomination. The BACKGROUND information determined the relevant demographic variables, such as gender, age, income, education, citizenship status,

employment status, and marital status. Questions in this section established the ethnic origin and ethnic identification of the respondents. The ethnic or cultural group of the ancestors who first came to Canada on both the father's and mother's side was identified. The respondent was also asked to indicate with what ethnic or cultural group he/she identified.

It is hypothesized that the increased numbers and importance of ethnic minorities in Alberta has led Alberta's political parties to actively incorporate members of ethnic minorities within their structure. Studies by Kornberg and Clarke suggest that as a group, party officials will approximate the ethnic distributions of the Canadian population as a whole.(183) The literature on the socio-economic characteristics of party activists is extensive and indicates that political party officials are better educated, work at prestigious occupations and have higher incomes than the average population.

(183) See Allan Kornberg, et al., Citizen Politicians-Canada: Party Officials in a Democratic Society. (North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press, 1979) and Harold D. Clarke, et al., Political Choice in Canada. (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1979).

CHAPTER SIX

DATA ANALYSIS & FINDINGS

The purpose of this chapter is to analyse the data acquired on the constituency association executive in Calgary of the Progressive Conservative, Liberal and New Democratic parties in Alberta. The focus is on the empirical identification, description and analysis of the shared characteristics, as well as an examination of any variations that exist across the political parties. Reference will be made to the social, structural and political socialization factors which induce people to participate at varying levels of activity in Canadian politics. Demographic information on constituency populations in Calgary will be presented for comparison purposes.

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

The distribution of constituency association executive according to gender was unrepresentative of the population at large; 69.7% of the executive were male and 30.3% were female. This observation is not unexpected in Canadian society which historically has seen an under-representation

of women in the higher echelons of political activity and other areas of social and economic life. Gender composition by party identification revealed that both the Liberal and New Democrats had 67% male and 33% female executive members. The Progressive Conservatives had 74% male and 26% female executive members.

The average executive member was middle-aged and male. Previous research by Porter, Clement, Newman and Presthus on public office holders, candidates and party activists confirm this distribution.(184) The ages of the executive members ranged from 17 to 71 years. The mean age of the executive members was 44 years. Youth (18-25 years of age) comprised 7.8% of the sample, while seniors (65- 71 years old) comprised 5.6% of the sample.

It was not suprising that 85% of the executive members were Canadian-born. Of the remaining 15% born outside of Canada 47% came from Great Britain. The remaining seven executive members born outside of Canada came from India (2), Iraq(1), the Netherlands (2) and the United States

(184) See John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic. (Toronto: Univeristy of Toronto Press, 1965), Wallace Clement, The Canadian Corporate Elite. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975), Peter C. Newman, The Canadian Establishment. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart-Bantam, 1975), Robert Presthus, Elite Accommodation in Canadian Politics. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973) and Robert Presthus, Elites in the Policy Process. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974).

(2). While ethnic minority groups are encouraged to vote, the data suggests that new Canadians were not represented in the organizational structure of parties. Of the fourteen executive members not born in Canada, two had lived in Canada for six and seven years respectively.(185) The remainder had lived in Canada between 12 - 53 years.

Nearly one-third (31.9%) of the executive members had lived in Alberta all of their lives; and an additional 42.8% had lived here for ten or more years. Regionally the executive members were drawn primarily from the Prairies (54, including 29 born in Alberta). The next largest group came from Central Canada (9), Atlantic Canada (6) and British Columbia (6). It is evident that those born outside of Canada and new residents of Alberta were a small minority of the sample. Ninety respondents, or 99%, indicated their citizenship status as 'Canadian' with one respondent leaving the question concerning citizenship status unanswered.

It can be expected that the constituency association executive would not be representative of the general Canadian population in socio-economic characteristics.(186)

(185) The six and seven year residents were of Indian and Iraqi origin respectively.

(186) Kornberg, et al., Citizen Politicians - Canada: Party Officials in a Democratic Society. (North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press, 1979) p. 9.

Several socio-economic variables, including education, income, and employment status, confirmed that the executive members comprised an elite group within Alberta's society.

Based on Statistics Canada's figures, Calgary has the highest percentage of residents with a post-secondary education in the country. The executive member's level of education exceeded this average. Forty-four percent of the executive members had a post-secondary education. An additional, 17% of the sample had post-graduate degrees. Only 3% of the executive members had not completed high school. Table 6.1 shows the education levels of the executive members by political party. The educational variation across the three political parties is not statistically significant.

Education is considered to be an important indicator of social class. Canadian politics is not based primarily on class cleavages, although there is some relationship between socio-economic status of individuals and their political affiliation.(187) N.H. Chi has argued that the NDP has a distinctive working-class base. Blue-collar workers have always given disproportionate support to the NDP. In this sample, the NDP had the highest number of executive members with highschool graduation and/or

(187) Harold D. Clarke, et al., Political Choice in Canada (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1979), pp. 107-113.

TABLE 6.1
EDUCATION LEVELS BY PROVINCIAL PARTY

	LIB	NDP	PC
Below Secondary	4.5%	3.4%	2.6%
Post-Secondary Technical/Vocational	13.6%	44.8%	23.1%
Some College or University	13.6%	3.4%	5.1%
University Graduation	45.5%	37.9%	48.7%
Post-Graduation Degree	22.7%	10.3%	20.5%
Total Respondents:	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

technical or vocational training - reinforcing their blue-collar image.

The employment status of the executive members revealed that 71.1% were employed full-time. The other categories included 10% employed part-time, 4.4% homemakers, 8.8% retired, and 4.4% students. Only one respondent was unemployed.

The income variable is one which many individuals indicate their estimated before-tax family income. 25.3% of the respondents had an income of less than \$35,000. 39.1% reported incomes between \$35,000 - \$55,000. 24.1% had incomes between \$55,000 - \$75,000 and 11.5% had incomes of over \$75,000 per year. The executive members' incomes were clearly much higher than the expected population norm.

Ethnicity is widely assumed to be one of the most significant correlates of electoral choice in Canada. The popular press, in particular, tends to highlight the perception that ethnic cleavages are a salient and persistent factor in Canadian politics. At election time, political parties frequently try to accomodate themselves to the percentage of Canadians who do not have French or British origins. Whether this sentiment is reflected in the organizational structure of parties remains to be examined.

Ethnicity was operationalized using a number of different questions. Primarily, the parallel questions "What ethnic or cultural groups did your ancestors who first came to Canada belong to on your father's side?" and "What ethnic or cultural group did your ancestors who first came to Canada belong to on your mother's side?" were asked. Using the results from the former question it was found that 72% of respondents identified their ancestor as being of British origin. Only one person indicated French ancestry. The remaining groups were Eastern European 12.0%, Western European 10.7%, and Northern European 2.7%. Only one respondent (an East Indian) identified his or her paternal origin as non-European. (See Table 6.2)

Canadians of British origin, who constitute 54.5% of Calgary's population, were strongly overrepresented in the organizational structure and hold the dominant position among executive members. French Canadians, the second charter group, with 3.0% of Calgary's population are underrepresented. All the other noncharter groups comprising 42.5% of Calgary's population were heavily underrepresented.

An examination of the minority ethnic composition of the three party's executive members generally reveals insignificant variations across parties. (See Table 6.3) Despite the fact that systematic empirical research

TABLE 6.2

RESPONDENTS'S ETHNIC ORIGIN BY FATHER'S ANCESTORS

	SAMPLE	CALGARY
	-----	-----
British	72.0%	54.5%
French	1.3%	3.0%
Eastern European	12.0%	6.8%
Western European	10.7%	11.2%
Northern European	2.7%	2.0%
Other Origins	1.3%	22.5%
	-----	-----
TOTAL:	100.0%	100.0%

TABLE 6.3

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF POLITICAL PARTIES

	LIBERAL	NDP	PC
	-----	-----	-----
British	55.6%	67.9%	71.4%
French	--	3.6%	--
Other *	44.4%	28.6%	28.6%
	-----	-----	-----
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

* 80.8% of the 'other' category is comprised of respondents of European ancestry. In addition, 7.7% indicated American ancestry and an equal percentage selected identification with a religion, e.g. Mennonite.

concerning the ethnicity-vote relationship has been quite limited, data compiled by Clarke confirm widely held assumptions about the electoral behaviour of different Canadian ethnic groups. Clarke reports that those claiming French ethnicity tend to vote largely Liberal, those of British origin divide their vote between the Liberals and Conservatives and those belonging to neither of the two charter ethnic groups disproportionately support the Liberals.(188) However, these findings may well be a function of the timing of the surveys administered by Clarke et al. (i.e., the mid and late 1970s), during a period of Liberal strength in many parts of the country, especially in Quebec. The results of the 1984 and 1988 elections, on the other hand, indicate that Quebec, and Francophone, support for the Liberal party is more maleable than was once thought to be the case. Furthermore, this party-ethnic alliance identified by Clarke et al. to persist at the national level is not substantiated by the data in this study.

It is interesting to note the response to the questions "With what ethnic or cultural group do you identify?". The results from this question are shown in Table 6.4. Due to the open-ended nature of the question a

(188) Clarke, op. cit., p. 104.

TABLE 6.4

SELF-IDENTIFICATION OF ETHNIC OR CULTURAL BACKGROUND

Canadian		42.9%
Specific Ethnic		38.1%
- British	17.9%	
- WASP	8.3%	
- E. European	1.2%	
- W. European	1.2%	
- N. European	2.4%	
- S. European	1.2%	
- Other	5.9%	
None		11.9%
Hyphenated-Canadian		7.1%
		<hr/>
TOTAL		100.0%

number of responses were registered. A large proportion of respondents, 42.9%, preferred the "Canadian" identification. 38.1% chose to identify with a specific ethnic group. It should be noted that 26.2% of this latter category indicated a WASP and/or British ethno-cultural identity. An additional 7% identified European ethnic identity. A substantial number of individuals, 11.9%, chose not to identify with any ethnic or cultural group. Once again, it is worth noting that respondents of British origin chose to relabel their loyalties by adopting the "Canadian" or "None" label. Driedger states that as the largest and most powerfull group the British can best afford to abandon the "ethnic" label, in the hope that others will join them under a new national label strongly influenced by British history, culture and language, an interpretation consistent with these data.(189) A relatively small group of people, 7.1%, preferred a hyphenated identity. One individual selected identification with "all" groups.

Based upon Canadian Census data, it is apparent that the population of Calgary exhibits a hetereogeneity in terms of reported ethnic origin, as noted in Table 6.2.

(189) Leo Driedger, et al., Ethnic Identification: Variations in Regional and National Preferences. (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1982), pp. 4-5.

54.5% of the residents are of British origin, 3% are French origin and the remaining 42.5% are persons of neither British or French origin. The British form a clear majority, the French are a very small minority and "others", taken together, are a substantial majority. Calgary is part of the multicultural prairies, but in some ways it remains atypical. Ray documents that "the advanced stage of integration of most of Calgary's ethnic minorities leaves only four ethnic census tracts - two Italian, one Asian and one Jewish where ethnic groups are concentrated".(190) Based on previous findings it was expected that a higher number of people would choose the "ethnic" category than reflected in Berry's national sample (15.6%) and yet remain fairly consistent with expectations for the prairie region. Since more French in the national sample preferred the hyphenated category, and since they are underrepresented in Calgary, it was expected that relatively few "hyphenated" preferences would be indicated in this Calgary sample, which was also the case. The strength of the "Canadian" choice was also expected given the disproportionate number of British origin residents.

(190) Michael D. Ray, ed. Canadian Urban Trends: Volume II. (Toronto: Copp Clark Publishers, 1976), p. 215.

The chi-square test of the independence of categorical variables was used to identify possible relationships between socio-demographic variables and partisanship. The critical value of .05 was the probability level used to determine whether the results occurred solely by chance. Chi-square significance values of less than .05 were considered insignificant. Demographic variables of age, gender, education, employment, income and ethnicity were correlated with the variable of provincial party affiliation. The socio-demographic characteristics of the executive members had no impact on the party affiliation of executive members, again reinforcing that at the level of party activists, each party consists of a social, as well as, political elite.

PARTY INVOLVEMENT

One section of the questionnaire asked delegates for information on their involvement in the political party of their choice. Those questions were included to better describe the executive members and to provide comparative information on recruitment of new members to the party.

The data revealed that approximately half, 49.5%, of the executive members had been members of the provincial party for five years or less. Another 27% had been members

between 6-10 years. Canada has an open political system and all individuals who wish to participate in politics ostensibly can do so. However, a variety of factors affect and differentiate those people who participate in political activity from those who simply vote. Kornberg identifies these factors as childhood politicization, prior campaign participation, previous approaches to work for a party and adult socio-economic status.(191) Kornberg states that participants and nonparticipants can be differentiated in a number of ways: activities that go beyond voting are disproportionately engaged in by 1) people who derive from middle class backgrounds, 2) people who are members of the middle and upper middle class, 3) people who are reared in relatively politicized environments and 4) people who currently are psychologically involved in various ways in the political process.(192)

Kornberg notes that the personal recognition implied in being asked to work for a party can be an important inducement to participation.(193) In response to a question asking whether the constituency association actively recruited members of its executive, 73.7% replied

(191) Kornberg, op. cit., p. 77.

(192) IBID.

(193) IBID., p. 76.

affirmatively. The respondents described the people recruited as possessing the following characteristics "willing to work" (12.5%), "interested people" (26.3%), "people with political experience" (10.0%) and party members (16.3%). The response to the more specific question "Were you approached by anyone to work for this political party in Alberta?", supports Kornberg's finding that political recruitment to a substantial degree takes place within a network of personal relationships. A total of 47.1% of the respondents said that they were approached to work for the party. The largest group, 16.1%, had been approached by an executive member of the political party, 12.1% had been approached by friends and 7.7% had simply been asked if they would volunteer.

In response to survey questions establishing federal party membership, 85.7% of the executive members indicated that they were presently members of the corresponding federal party. 91% of the Liberals, 87% of the NDP(194) and 74% of the PC's held federal party memberships. 38.5% of respondents had held a federal membership for under six years and 45.1% had held memberships for over 10 years.

(194) Although they may not know it themselves, all of the New Democrat respondents were also members of the federal wing. One becomes a member of the NDP at the provincial level and automatically also becomes a member of the federal NDP.

GROUP REPRESENTATION

This section of the questionnaire was aimed at studying the extent of ethnic minority involvement in the political parties. Having measured, through socio-demographic information collected, the executive members' ethnicity, a series of questions were included to gauge perceptions regarding political involvement by ethnic minorities. Questions on womens' involvement in the party were included for comparative purposes.

A question addressing representation in the decision-making structure of the party by women, youth, seniors and ethnic minorities was included: "Do you feel the representation by the following groups in the decision making structure of the party you are currently involved in is satisfactory?" Ethnic minority representation received the lowest satisfaction rating of the four groups. 31% of respondents were unsatisfied with ethnic minority representation compared to 10% for women, 19.3% for youth and 18.1% for seniors. Only 12.6% of respondents were very satisfied with ethnic minority involvement in the decision making structure. Similar numbers for women were 28.0%, 17% for youth and 18% for seniors. (See Table 6.5)

Executive members were asked to approximate the percentage of their constituency's population which was

TABLE 6.5

PERCENTAGE SATISFIED WITH REPRESENTATION OF GROUPS IN THE
 DECISION-MAKING STRUCTURE OF POLITICAL PARTIES

	WOMEN	YOUTH	ETHNIC MINORITIES	SENIORS
	-----	-----	-----	-----
Very Satisfied	28.0	17.0	12.6	18.1
Satisfied	60.6	61.3	55.1	61.3
Unsatisfied	10.1	19.3	31.0	18.1
Very Unsatisfied	1.1	2.2	1.1	2.2
	-----	-----	-----	-----

ethnic minority. According to 1986 Census data 72.2% of Calgary constituencies have between 35% - 44.9% ethnic minority populations. In addition two constituencies have ethnic minority populations which exceed 50%. However, executive members severely under-estimated this composition for their own constituencies. 75.8% respondents indicated that below 30% of their constituency populations were of non-British or non-French origin.

Estimates of party memberships held by ethnic minorities residing within respective constituencies approximated closely the earlier estimate of constituency population. In other words, executive members felt that ethnic minorities were represented in the political party membership in proportionate levels to their presence in the population. However, since the population levels were highly under-estimated it can be assumed that ethnic minorities were also proportionately underrepresented in the membership of political parties.

Activity levels for ethnic minorities revealed moderate participation in that 14.2% of the respondents felt that ethnic minorities were 'very active' members of the constituency association, 26.1% felt that they were 'somewhat active' while 59.7% felt that they were either 'not very' or 'not at all' active.

Perceptions of the types of activities that ethnic minorities were generally involved in ranged from highest level of involvement in general membership, 84.8%, to the lowest level of involvement in fundraising activities, 31.6%. Other activities included: 'members of constituency association executive', 'constituency association directors' and as 'volunteers'.

A variety of factors were identified in response to the question "What factors best account for that level of political activity?". The majority of responses identified culture-based reasons which ostensibly hinder or prevent political participation. For example: "women are less dominant and less politically active, while men are too busy professionally to participate", "ethnic minorities do not become politically involved, always keep a low profile", "not enough ethnic leadership to facilitate involvement". Factors facilitating high levels of involvement were identified as, "party encouragement of participation", "MLA's personal contacts and outreach" and "educated people, self-motivated involvement".

Activity levels of ethnic minorities in provincial party activities was slightly higher. This was expected and can be attributed to higher profile of party work at the provincial level as compared to constituency related activities. Supporting this finding, was the response to a

question asking if the respondent could remember an occasion when the political party specifically sought the ethnic minority vote. 60% of the respondents answered 'yes'.

The executive members of constituency associations had for the most part been active party members for a relatively long period of time. This level of participation is virtually monopolized by middle-aged men from the upper-middle class with members of the British "charter" group substantially over-represented in Calgary. The respondents erroneously felt that the ethnic minority representation in the parties was proportionate to the percentage of this group in the population as a whole. They recognized that the highest level of participation was in the 'general membership' category and were generally dissatisfied with ethnic minority representation in the decision-making structure of political parties in Calgary.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

The social, political and economic integration of Canada's noncharter group population poses a challenge to the institutions within the Canadian state structure. There is increasing evidence that immigrants readily become involved in the Canadian political process.(195) Ethnic pluralism in Canadian society is determined by a multiplicity of factors including historical, socio-economic and cultural.

The preceding chapters provide an overview of the evolution of the multicultural Canadian state. The federal government's multiculturalism policy was an attempt to reconcile the concepts of anglophone - francophone dualism and ethnocultural pluralism. The policy did not envisage any collective rights guarantees for minority groups. However, the multiculturalism policy and subsequently the Multiculturalism Act are an important component of Canadian national unity. The analysis of data against the backdrop of historical context and in light of contemporary

(195) Jerome H. Black. "The Practice of Politics in Two Settings: Political Transferability Among Recent Immigrants to Canada". Canadian Journal of Political Science. Vol. XX:4, December, 1987.

participatory research offered a means of describing ethnic minority political participation in Calgary. Chapters Two and Three offered historical and theoretical information about the integration of immigrants within the social and economic structures of Canadian society. Chapter Four explored some of the stereotypes and myths associated with ethnic minority political participation in Canada. It demonstrated the lack of foundation to popular characterization of ethnic minority populations as homogeneous and monolithic. These groups have had varying political agendas and responses rooted in domestic economic and social realities and group strengths.

In addition to an explanation of the survey questionnaire and methodology employed, Chapters Five and Six provided descriptive profiles of the constituency association executive members. Shared characteristics between executive members were highlighted and their political experience examined. Chapter Six also explored the executive members' perceptions of the participation levels of ethnic minority populations within constituency and party contexts.

Politics in Canada has always had a considerable ethnic component associated with it. Recent election incidents confirm that there is a persistent 'ethnic

minority' issue in politics.(196) Research on ethnic minority socio-demographic profiles reveals that ethnic minorities demonstrate characteristics identified among politically participatory populations.(197) Despite the requisite socio-demographic characteristics, ethnic minorities are popularly portrayed as being 'external' to the political party system. The data in this study reflects the under-representation of ethnic minorities within the organizational structure of the three political parties in Alberta.

Generally speaking, the political structure in Canada aims to appeal to the electorate as a whole, not to specific religious or ethnic groups. With the exception of the French Canadians and Canadian Indians, ethnic groups in Canada focus on consensual politics. In this context, the political parties' policies of direct and deliberate appeals to ethnic voters are consistent with the existing political system of brokerage politics. To capture a larger portion of the ethnic vote, party workers and candidates attempt to enlist the support of ethnic leaders,

(196) See Dave Haynes and Bob Beaty, "Flookes to take Shrake to Court". Calgary Herald. March 25, 1989, p. A1.

(197) G. Won Lee. Ethnicity in Edmonton: A Statistical Portrait. (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1984), pp. 15-19.

recruit members from ethnic groups, provide speakers for ethnic organizations, supply the ethnic press with campaign materials and generally give attention to ethnic group concerns.

Despite the lack of formal barriers to participation in Canadian politics, the majority of the Canadian population merely votes in periodic elections. However, it could not be said that the route to the Canadian political elite is an open one. Kornberg notes that Canadian politics are controlled by people whose principal organizational goals are the selection and election of candidates for public office. Furthermore, this function is the domain of constituency level party organizations in Canada.

The political participation of ethnic minorities in Calgary does not reveal they have secured an established role within the party structure. However, their participation at election time makes them an attractive group to be mobilized externally. Political parties seem for the most part, to be focussing on courting ethnic leaders, who do have some influence on the votes of other ethnic members, but not as great as imagined, nor as sustaining as the substantive incorporation of ethnic minorities within the decision or policy making structure of political parties would be.

There are a number of factors which encourage and inhibit political participation by ethnic minorities. These can be categorized as factors which arise from the immigration experience and those related to the structure of Canadian politics. Factors associated with the former are identified as an individual's previous level of politicization, the congruence between the Canadian political system and the individual's home-country political system, the individual's language proficiency in one of Canada's official languages, education level and interpersonal, communication and organizational skills. Other factors are the level of politicization within the ethnic community in Canada and the immediate preoccupation of new immigrants with securing employment and a residence.

The Canadian political structure also affects levels of political activity. The political socialization process in Canada does not encourage involvement beyond voting. Party leaders use a variety of ways to control the entrance of people "like themselves" into the party. The most travelled route to political activity within parties is by invitation of those already involved. Members of ethnic minority groups are infrequently asked to participate. In addition, career options are quite restrictive in Canadian politics due to the pyramidal form of organization.

Nonetheless, politics is an integrative activity and

increased participation of ethnic minorities in the political life of Canada is a matter of pressing necessity and requires a greater effort on the part of political parties to increase access. Political involvement may be an important indicator of the extent to which new Canadians come to feel part of Canadian society. Identifying factors that facilitate involvement may be an important factor in the determination of immigration and settlement policies that facilitate "successful" adaptation to Canadian society.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

LIST OF CONSTITUENCIES IN CALGARY

Calgary Bow
Calgary Buffalo
Calgary Currie
Calgary Egmont
Calgary Elbow
Calgary Fishcreek
Calgary Foothills
Calgary Forest Lawn
Calgary Glenmore
Calgary Mc Call
Calgary Mc Knight
Calgary Millican
Calgary Montrose
Calgary Mountainview
Calgary North Hill
Calgary North West
Calgary Shaw
Calgary West

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX B



LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
ALBERTA

June 2, 1987

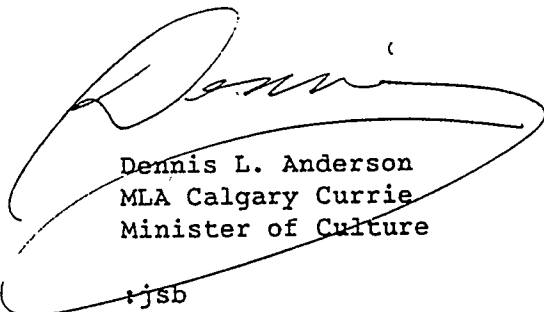
Ms. Naheed Israeli
252 Varsity Estates Link, N.W.
Calgary, Alberta
T3B 4C9

Dear Naheed:

Thanks for your letter of May 16. I found the survey extremely interesting.

Best wishes for continued success on the project. I think the findings should be beneficial and look forward to hearing from you on the results.

With sincere regards,



Dennis L. Anderson
MLA Calgary Currie
Minister of Culture

tjsb

LEGISLATURE BUILDING
EDMONTON, ALBERTA
T5K 2B6
TEL.: (403) 427-1844

DENNIS ANDERSON
M.L.A.
CALGARY CURRIE

CONSTITUENCY OFFICE
3419 - 26 AVENUE S.W.
CALGARY, ALBERTA T3E 0N3
TEL.: (403) 246-4919-29

LEADER'S OFFICE

APPENDIX B



LIBERAL OPPOSITION

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
ALBERTA

NICK TAYLOR, M.L.A.
WESTLOCK - STURGEON

ROOM 219
LEGISLATURE
EDMONTON, ALBERTA T5K 2B6
TELEPHONE: (403) 27-2292

June 1, 1987

NO ITEM TO INSERT

Dear
NO ITEM TO INSERT
:

I have received a request from Ms. Naheed Israeli, a graduate student at the University of Calgary, to solicit your participation in a survey of political participants. I am enclosing a copy of this questionnaire, and would encourage you to consider completing the form and returning it to:

Ms. Naheed Israeli

I am certain that Ms. Israeli would be most appreciative of your assistance.

Yours truly,

Nick Taylor

Enclosure
GS/js

APPENDIX B



LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
ALBERTA

BOB HAWKESWORTH, M.L.A.
CALGARY MOUNTAINVIEW

May 28, 1987.

Dear

I am writing to you to introduce Ms Naheed Israeli who is a graduate student in the Department of Political Science at the University of Calgary. She is doing her Masters thesis, on the political participation of visible ethnic groups in Calgary.

In order to gather research data, she wishes to distribute a questionnaire to each executive member of Calgary constituency associations for the New Democratic Party. She will similarly be contacting other political parties for the same purposes.

I am informed by Ms Israeli that for the information collected to be statistically valid, she must obtain a high response rate from those being surveyed. Thus, it is important that all efforts be made to get completed forms back to Ms Israeli from all members of constituency association executives in Calgary. It is for this reason that I am writing to you.

I am certain you will agree with me that the participation of visible minorities in the political process is a matter of importance to every party. It is for this purpose that I would ask you to extend your cooperation to Ms Israeli when she contacts you. It is very important, if she is to successfully complete this project and acquire the needed information, that all members of your constituency association executive complete the questionnaire Ms Israeli will provide.

If you have any concerns or questions about this matter, please do not hesitate to call and speak with me about them. I very much appreciate your assistance and cooperation. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Bob Hawkesworth, M.L.A.
Calgary - Mountain View.

BH:rb.

ROOM 203
LEGISLATURE ANNEX
EDMONTON, ALBERTA T5K 1E4
TELEPHONE: (403) 427-2236

CONSTITUENCY OFFICE
920A - 1 AVENUE NE
CALGARY, ALBERTA T2E 0C5
TELEPHONE: (403) 269-3223

APPENDIX C

PART I

PRESENT PARTY INVOLVEMENT

1. WHICH PROVINCIAL POLITICAL PARTY IN ALBERTA ARE YOU A MEMBER OF AT THIS TIME?

☐ LIBERAL

☐ NDP

☐ PROGRESSIVE CONSERVATIVE

☐ OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY:) _____

2. HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN A MEMBER OF THIS POLITICAL PARTY IN ALBERTA? (ESTIMATE TO THE CLOSEST YEAR.)

_____ YEAR(S)

3. WHAT IS THE EXTENT OF YOUR PRESENT INVOLVEMENT WITH THE PARTY? (YOU MAY CHECK MORE THAN ONE.)

☐ MEMBER OF THE PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE

☐ MEMBER OF A CONSTITUENCY ASSOCIATION EXECUTIVE

☐ CONSTITUENCY ASSOCIATION DIRECTOR

☐ MEMBER OF YOUTH ASSOCIATION EXECUTIVE

☐ MEMBER OF WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION EXECUTIVE

☐ MLA

☐ MEMBER ONLY

☐ OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY:) _____

4. WERE YOU APPROACHED BY ANYONE TO WORK FOR THIS POLITICAL PARTY IN ALBERTA?

☐ NO

☐ YES (IF YES, PLEASE EXPLAIN CIRCUMSTANCES:)

5. DOES YOUR CONSTITUENCY ASSOCIATION ACTIVELY RECRUIT MEMBERS OF ITS EXECUTIVE?

☐ NO

☐ YES (IF YES, WHAT KIND OF PEOPLE DO THEY RECRUIT?)

6. DOES YOUR PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVELY RECRUIT WORKERS?

___ NO

___ YES (IF YES, WHAT KIND OF PEOPLE DO THEY RECRUIT?)

7. AT THE PRESENT TIME ARE YOU A MEMBER OF A FEDERAL POLITICAL PARTY?

___ NO

___ YES (IF YES, PLEASE SPECIFY PARTY:)

___ LIBERAL

___ NDP

___ PROGRESSIVE CONSERVATIVE

___ OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY:) _____

8. HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN A MEMBER OF THIS FEDERAL POLITICAL PARTY? (ESTIMATE TO THE CLOSEST YEAR.)

___ YEAR(S)

9. IN GENERAL, DO YOU USUALLY THINK OF YOURSELF AS BEING CLOSER TO THE FEDERAL OR PROVINCIAL WING OF YOUR PARTY?

___ FEDERAL

___ PROVINCIAL

___ ABOUT EQUALLY

___ NO FEDERAL PARTY ALLEGIANCE

10. THERE MAY BE BOTH DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES IN THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE AND POLICY POSITIONS OF FEDERAL AND PROVINCIAL WINGS OF PARTIES.

A) WHAT ARE THE MAJOR SIMILARITIES IN THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE FEDERAL AND PROVINCIAL WINGS OF YOUR PARTY?

B) HOW WOULD YOU CHARACTERIZE THEIR MAJOR ORGANIZATIONAL DIFFERENCES?

C) WHAT ABOUT THEIR POLICY POSITIONS? WHAT ARE THE MAJOR SIMILARITIES IN THE POLICY POSITIONS OF THE FEDERAL AND PROVINCIAL WINGS OF YOUR PARTY?

D) WHAT ARE THEIR MAJOR POLICY DIFFERENCES?

PART II

GROUP REPRESENTATION

1. DO YOU FEEL THE REPRESENTATION BY THE FOLLOWING GROUPS IN THE DECISION MAKING STRUCTURE OF THE PARTY YOU ARE CURRENTLY INVOLVED IN IS SATISFACTORY? (PLEASE CIRCLE YOUR RESPONSE.)

	VERY SATISFIED	SATISFIED	UNSATISFIED	VERY UNSATISFIED
WOMEN	1	2	3	4
YOUTH	1	2	3	4
ETHNIC MINORITIES	1	2	3	4
SENIORS	1	2	3	4

2. CAN YOU REMEMBER AN OCCASION WHEN THE POLITICAL PARTY YOU ARE CURRENTLY INVOLVED IN, OR ONE OF ITS CANDIDATES, SPECIFICALLY SOUGHT THE ETHNIC MINORITY VOTE? (THE GENERALLY ACCEPTED DEFINITION OF "ETHNIC MINORITY" INCLUDES MEMBERS OF ALL ETHNIC GROUPS, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH ETHNIC GROUPS.)

☐ NO
☐ YES (IF YES, WHAT SPECIFIC STRATEGIES WERE USED?)

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

3. IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT CAN BE DONE TO INCREASE REPRESENTATION BY ETHNIC MINORITIES IN THE PROVINCIAL POLITICAL PARTY IN WHICH YOU ARE CURRENTLY INVOLVED WITH? (CHECK ONE OR MORE OF THE FOLLOWING:)

☐ THE PARTY IS DOING AS MUCH AS IT POSSIBLY CAN
☐ THERE IS SUFFICIENT INVOLVEMENT BY ETHNIC MINORITIES
☐ THE PARTY SHOULD NOMINATE MORE CANDIDATES FROM ETHNIC MINORITY GROUPS
☐ MORE ETHNIC MINORITIES SHOULD BE INVOLVED IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF PARTY POLICY
☐ OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY:) _____

4. IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT CAN BE DONE TO INCREASE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION BY WOMEN IN THIS PARTY? (CHECK ONE OR MORE OF THE FOLLOWING:)

☐ THE PARTY IS DOING AS MUCH AS IT POSSIBLY CAN
☐ THERE IS SUFFICIENT INVOLVEMENT BY WOMEN IN THE PARTY
☐ THE PARTY SHOULD NOMINATE MORE FEMALE CANDIDATES
☐ MORE WOMEN SHOULD BE INVOLVED IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF PARTY POLICY
☐ OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY:) _____

5. HOW ACTIVE ARE ETHNIC MINORITIES IN YOUR CONSTITUENCY ASSOCIATION?

☐ VERY ACTIVE
☐ SOMEWHAT ACTIVE
☐ NOT VERY ACTIVE
☐ NOT AT ALL ACTIVE

6. IN WHAT TYPES OF ACTIVITIES ARE ETHNIC MINORITIES GENERALLY INVOLVED? (CHECK AS MANY AS APPLY.)

☐ AS MEMBERS OF THE CONSTITUENCY ASSOCIATION
EXECUTIVE
☐ AS CONSTITUENCY ASSOCIATION DIRECTORS
☐ AS VOLUNTEERS
☐ WORKING ON MEMBERSHIP DRIVES
☐ FUNDRAISING
☐ GENERAL MEMBERSHIP
☐ OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY:) _____

7. WHAT FACTORS BEST ACCOUNT FOR THAT LEVEL OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY?

8. APPROXIMATELY WHAT PERCENTAGE OF YOUR CONSTITUENCY'S POPULATION IS COMPRISED OF ETHNIC MINORITIES?

_____ %

9. APPROXIMATELY WHAT PERCENTAGE OF YOUR CONSTITUENCY PARTY'S MEMBERSHIP IS COMPRISED OF ETHNIC MINORITIES?

_____ %

10. HOW ACTIVE ARE ETHNIC MINORITIES IN YOUR PROVINCIAL PARTY?

☐ VERY ACTIVE
☐ SOMEWHAT ACTIVE
☐ NOT VERY ACTIVE
☐ NOT AT ALL ACTIVE

11. WHAT FACTORS BEST ACCOUNT FOR THAT LEVEL OF PROVINCIAL POLITICAL ACTIVITY?

PAST PARTY INVOLVEMENT

- ____ NO
____ YES (IF YES, PLEASE SPECIFY PARTY NAME, PROVINCE AND
LENGTH OF INVOLVEMENT:)

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

- SERVED AS MEMBER OF THE PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE
SERVED ON A CONSTITUENCY ASSOCIATION EXECUTIVE
SERVED AS A CONSTITUENCY ASSOCIATION DIRECTOR
HELPED RAISE FUNDS FOR THE PARTY
WORKED IN A PROVINCIAL CAMPAIGN ON BEHALF OF A
CANDIDATE.
RAN FOR NOMINATION IN A PROVINCIAL RIDING
RAN AS A CANDIDATE IN A PROVINCIAL ELECTION
SERVED AS MLA
SERVED IN THE PROVINCIAL CABINET
DELEGATE TO A PROVINCIAL PARTY CONVENTION
DELEGATE TO A FEDERAL PARTY CONVENTION
ATTENDED POLICY WORKSHOPS
MEMBER OF A PROVINCIAL YOUTH ORGANIZATION
MEMBER OF A PROVINCIAL WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION
OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY:)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

- | 1. PLACE OF BIRTH | CITY/TOWN | PROVINCE/COUNTRY |
|-------------------|-----------|------------------|
| | | |

10. WHAT DEGREES, CERTIFICATES OR DIPLOMAS HAVE YOU OBTAINED? (MARK AS MANY BOXES AS APPLY.)

☐ NONE
☐ SECONDARY (HIGH) SCHOOL GRADUATION CERTIFICATE
☐ TRADES CERTIFICATE OR DIPLOMA
☐ OTHER NON-UNIVERSITY CERTIFICATE OR DIPLOMA
(OBTAINED AT COMMUNITY COLLEGE, INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY, ETC.)
☐ UNIVERSITY CERTIFICATE OR DIPLOMA BELOW BACHELOR LEVEL
☐ BACHELOR'S DEGREE(S) (E.G. B.A., B.SC., LL.B.)
☐ UNIVERSITY CERTIFICATE OR DIPLOMA ABOVE BACHELOR LEVEL
☐ MASTER'S DEGREE(S) (E.G. M.A., M.SC., M.ED.)
☐ DEGREE IN MEDICINE, DENTISTRY, OR VETERINARY MEDICINE
☐ EARNED DOCTORATE

11. EMPLOYMENT STATUS:

☐ EMPLOYED FULL-TIME
☐ EMPLOYED PART-TIME
☐ UNEMPLOYED
☐ EMPLOYED IN THE HOME/HOMEMAKER
☐ RETIRED
☐ STUDENT
☐ OTHER

12. WHAT WOULD YOU ESTIMATE YOUR FAMILY'S TOTAL BEFORE-TAX INCOME TO BE THIS YEAR?

☐ LESS THAN \$5,000
☐ \$ 5,000 TO 14,999
☐ \$15,000 TO 24,999
☐ \$25,000 TO 34,999
☐ \$35,000 TO 44,999
☐ \$45,000 TO 54,999
☐ \$55,000 TO 64,999
☐ \$65,000 TO 74,999
☐ \$75,000 TO 84,999
☐ \$85,000 TO 94,999
☐ \$95,000 AND OVER

13. PLEASE INDICATE YOUR CURRENT DEGREE OF INVOLVEMENT IN ANY ETHNIC OR CULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS.

☐ NOT INVOLVED
☐ INACTIVE MEMBER
☐ ACTIVE MEMBER
☐ VERY ACTIVE MEMBER

14. DO YOU PRESENTLY HOLD, OR HAVE YOU IN THE PAST HELD, AN OFFICE IN AN ETHNIC OR CULTURAL ORGANIZATION?

☐ YES
☐ NO

15. HOW WELL DO YOU KNOW THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH LANGUAGES? (CHECK ONE IN EACH COLUMN.)

ENGLISH
☐ VERY WELL
☐ WELL
☐ NOT SO WELL
☐ VERY LITTLE
☐ NOT AT ALL

FRENCH
☐ VERY WELL
☐ WELL
☐ NOT SO WELL
☐ VERY LITTLE
☐ NOT AT ALL

16. DO YOU SPEAK A LANGUAGE OTHER THAN ENGLISH AT HOME?

☐ NO
☐ YES (PLEASE SPECIFY WHICH ONE:) _____

17. MARITAL STATUS

☐ MARRIED
☐ SINGLE
☐ DIVORCED/SEPARATED
☐ WIDOWED
☐ OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY:) _____

A) IF MARRIED, HOW ACTIVE IS YOUR SPOUSE IN THE POLITICAL PARTY?

☐ MORE THAN ME
☐ SAME AS ME
☐ LESS THAN ME

18. TO WHAT AGE GROUP DO YOU BELONG?

☐ UNDER 18 YEARS
☐ 18-25
☐ 26-35
☐ 36-45
☐ 46-55
☐ 56-65
☐ 66 YEARS AND OVER

19. GENDER:

____ MALE
____ FEMALE

THANK YOU FOR TAKING PART IN THIS SURVEY. IN ORDER TO ENSURE CONFIDENTIALITY, PLEASE DO NOT WRITE YOUR NAME ON THE QUESTIONNAIRE OR ON THE RETURN ENVELOPE. YOUR ASSISTANCE IN THIS PROJECT IS APPRECIATED. PLEASE RETURN YOUR QUESTIONNAIRE IN THE PRE-STAMPED ENVELOPE TO:

MS. NAHEED ISRAELI
C/O DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY
2500 UNIVERSITY DRIVE N.W.,
CALGARY, ALBERTA
T2N 1N4