

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

The Persistence of Ethnic and Gender Inequality in Canadian Society

by

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A THESIS

**SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS**

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

**CALGARY, ALBERTA
APRIL, 2000**

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines ethnic assimilation and integration by incorporating the concept of ethnic-connectedness. Conventional definitions of “ethnicity” tend to be unidimensional focusing primarily on national identity or linguistic groups. Such definitions, however, cannot address within group differences in assimilation and integration as they treat the “ethnic group” as one homogeneous group. This research employs a multi-dimensional definition of ethnicity, one which incorporates ethno-religious groupings and categories, in order to better capture the complexities associated with assimilation and integration. Specifically, this thesis looks at how different levels of ethnic-connectedness affect assimilation and integration. Furthermore, gender was introduced into the analysis to investigate a potential gendered process of assimilation and integration. Using the 1991 Census of Canada, multiple regression interaction models were analyzed to ascertain the importance, and influence, of ethno-religious classifications and gender, in understanding assimilation and integration. The results indicate that ethnic groups are not homogeneous, but rather, that their success in assimilating and integrating into Canadian culture is differentially influenced by their ethnic-connectedness. Furthermore, the results indicate that women and men do not share a uniform experience.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There are several people whom I would like to thank for making this project possible. I would first like to thank Dr. Madeline Kalbach for her infinite reserves of patience, support, and kindness. There were many times when she went beyond the call of duty as a supervisor. In many ways she became my friend and my ally. I am proud and honored to have worked with her. Most of all I would like to thank her for always believing in me and in my abilities. In the process of working with Dr. Kalbach I began to once again to believe in myself, I thank her deeply for this.

I would like to thank Dr. James Frideres who always, regardless of how busy he may have been, offered me his time and support. I thank him for giving me the freedom to find my own way through the program even though my methods were, at times, somewhat of a mystery to him.

I would also like to thank Dr. Sheldon Goldenberg, who although was not directly involved in this particular project, began long ago to challenge my perception of the world, and dared me to question the “givens.” I would like to thank him for believing in me and supporting me in the darkest of times, it was always reassuring to know that he was there. I also thank Lynda Costello, who offered more than one encouraging word during the past few years. And I thank the rest of the staff in the Department of Sociology for always making me smile.

I would like to thank the members of my family for their support. First I would like to thank my parents, Ion and Viorica Vintila, who are both mining engineers, for allowing

me to choose my own path. They have always supported me in my academic pursuits, no matter what the major of the month was. I thank you for your infinite patience and financial support. Thank you both for always trying to understand me. I respect and admire you both more than you will ever know. Corina my sister, I thank you for all the pep talks, for all the advice, and most of all for still liking me after one of my monster days. You are an inspiration to me and I admire you. Thanks for sharing all your grad studies war stories, too bad we'll both need years of therapy to deal with the Grad student experience. Lastly, I would like to thank my nephew Sebastian, who has, unknowingly, taught me, through example, more about sheer determination, perseverance, and courage than he will ever know. Sebastian, I know you can succeed at anything you put your mind to. You are my little hero. A more supportive family I could never have asked for, I thank God for the family into which I was born.

Last but not least, I would like to thank Kelly Hardwick for being there. His confidence and faith in me never wavered. Thank you for always believing in me, understanding me, and helping me.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents. For my father, the gentlest person I have ever known, who has the soul of a poet and has taught me to value and appreciate the simple things in life. For my mother, the visionary, who has the spirit of a warrior and has instilled in me the importance of never giving up, fighting for myself, and for what I believe in. Thank you both for your guidance and wisdom. I hope I can live out my life with the same vibrancy, courage, and determination that you both have. Your sacrifices have never gone unnoticed, I love you and thank you for not only giving me life, but for doing everything in your power to give me *a life*. Family is everything.

Este capale, nu m-au batut!!

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The origins of Canada can be traced to the occupation and colonization of North America by two charter groups, the French and the British. Thus, Canada has, ideologically at least, been a bi-cultural society. However, the balance of power between the two cultures has not always been an equal one, and during the latter half of the 18th century, political dominance and control shifted out of the hands of the French to those of British origin (Kalbach and Richard, 1991a:29). Furthermore, by “the time of Confederation, one hundred years later, the British were demographically dominant as well, comprising two-thirds of the population in contrast to just under one-third for those of French origin (Ibid.)” Although political control continued to increase in the hands of the British, both charter groups influenced the established and created social the structure seen in Canada today. However, in addition to the two charter groups, other immigrant groups, such as the Germans, Dutch, Scandinavians, and Ukrainians also settled early in Canada’s history and were eventually “primarily responsible for the significant decline in the proportion of British origin” (Ibid.). These immigrants and others, all contributed to the creation of a “Canadian” society.

Nonetheless, and despite the ideological equality and the contribution immigrants made to the development of Canada, these groups never attained social equality or economic parity. The purpose of this research is to examine the socioeconomic integration of selected immigrant groups, at the time of the 1991 Census, and to show that ethnic inequalities in terms of income persist today.

Canada's immigration policy, and the composition of the immigrant streams, has changed over time. Canada has not always had the liberal immigration policy that it has today, nor did it always have laws and legislation to ensure equal treatment and opportunity for all (Reitz, 1980; Kalbach, 2000). The evolution of Canada's immigration policy from assimilationist to multicultural will be examined in further detail in following section. However, it can be mentioned here that early, or assimilationist, policy favoured those immigrants of English ancestry, and to a lesser extent those of French ancestry. Furthermore, it also encouraged the immigration of those most likely to assimilate easily (Reitz, 1980:5). Kalbach and Richard (1991a:30) refer to the British charter group stating that historically:

They have consistently sought to encourage the immigration of those most like themselves, who are by definition, most assimilable. While the French Canadians have depended on their fertility to maintain their relative position in Canadian society, British Canada has had to rely on a continuing flow of immigrants who could be easily assimilated into the British dominated social, economic and political system.

It is apparent that there were distinct advantages to being of French, or English ancestry, particularly the latter. Such individuals were accepted and privileged particularly in economic and political arenas.

While non-charter group immigrant men, i.e. men who were not either of English

or French ancestry, were certainly disadvantaged, women, whether from a charter group or otherwise, were doubly disadvantaged as they were not only immigrants but also women. Women were restricted by their ethnicity and sex. Furthermore, as immigrants, many families were poor, surviving solely on the earnings of an immigrant male was often difficult. Consequently, women's paid labour and/or their assistance to their husband's labour was an essential component to survival. Although single women did immigrate to Canada, they often came seeking a husband, although some did enter Canada as either maids, servants, or nuns (Prentice et al., 1988:45) The first of unmarried immigrant women to arrive in Canada entered New France in the 1600s. These women came for a variety of different reasons, either to be servants, nuns, or, most frequently, to marry French males. For example,

Talon specified that the women destined for Canada should be in no way "disgraced by nature" or have anything "repulsive about their exterior persons." He also demanded that "they should be healthy and strong for country work, or at least that they have some inclination to work with their hands (Prentice et al., 1988:45).

These women came from a variety of backgrounds, many of which, for some reason or another (most commonly they were mothers to illegitimate children, or were themselves orphans or abandoned children) could not marry in France (Ibid.). Regardless of their initial reasons for immigrating to Canada, either married or single these women were expected to work and to aid in the support of the family and social group (Ibid.).

Since women's immigration history and the role they played is different than that of men's, it should be no surprise that the socioeconomic integration of women should be studied apart from that of men's. Consequently, the factors that are important for the successful socioeconomic integration of men may not be of the same importance for the successful socioeconomic integration of women in Canadian society.

Five hundred years later Canada is still a cultural mosaic and continues to struggle with the inequalities present between men and women and between ethnic groups and charter groups. Unfortunately, past and present research has discovered that there has been and that there still exists economic and social inequality between men and women.

In summary, then, this thesis examines the assimilation and integration of ethnic groups (Old European immigrant groups, New European immigrant groups, Asian/Arabic groups, Black/Caribbean/Central and South American groups, and the French) into Canada. In particular, attention will be paid to the similarities and differences between ethnic men and women in terms of their integration into the Canadian socioeconomic structure. This thesis will examine a possible gendered process in assimilation and integration. In so doing, it examines the effects and importance that specific factors, such as age, educational attainment, religious affiliation, and place of birth, have on the socioeconomic integration of foreign-born and native-born women and men in Canadian society.

In addition, it examines differentials in linguistic assimilation and socioeconomic status attainment for selected ethno-religious cultural and generational groups of old and new, i.e., pre- and post- World War II, ethnic minorities in Canada at the time of the 1991 Census. In addition, variations in linguistic assimilation and status attainment are examined for the native born (second-generation plus) and the foreign born (first generation) by age at

immigration for the cultural subgroups of the British, German, Ukrainians, Portuguese, Arabs, South Asians, Chinese and Other Eastern and South East Asians. As mentioned, particular attention will be paid to the influence of gender on the processes of assimilation and integration.

In this thesis, Chapter Two will consist of a literature review as well as a look at theoretical concerns and theories of assimilation. Chapter Three will introduce the data, the variables used in the analysis, the method of analysis, and other methodological concerns. Chapter Four will present the analysis and findings while Chapter Five will offer a discussion of the results and a conclusion.

CHAPTER TWO

AN OVERVIEW OF THEORY AND RESEARCH

Social scientists have investigated the relationship between ethno-religious identity and socioeconomic attainment of ethnic groups in Canada (Kalbach and Kalbach, 1995a, 1995b; Kalbach and Richard, 1991a, 1991b, 1990a, 1990b, 1985a, 1985b, 1980; Boyd; 1992). The purpose of this chapter is to present an overview of this research as well as a review of other relevant assimilation literature.

Ethnic or cultural background has an influence on the social roles of men and women in society. Depending upon where individuals are born and reared, differing patterns of socialization occur. Every society has its own norms, beliefs, social sanctions, and ideologies which are entrenched within the members of that particular society. As such, each generation, to one extent or another, inherits the ideas, ideals, and beliefs of its predecessors. All these social and cultural beliefs are bound within "society." Each society, and the members therein, differ from other societies to some extent or another. Thus, it would follow that people from different cultures would also be different from one another, as they have come from different backgrounds, and would therefore have to adapt, to varying degrees, when they come into contact with one another. For immigrants, the level of adaptation is much greater than for non-immigrants. The host culture is pervasive in everyday life, bombarding immigrants with a myriad of required and potential adaptations. For some, adaptation and integration into a new culture comes quickly and easily, for others it may become a life long challenge, or an impossibility.

Certainly, there is a degree to which individuals can and will assimilate into a new culture. Those immigrating from countries that are most similar, politically, economically, linguistically, and socially, to the host country/society will find integration to be more effortless and uncomplicated (Wanner, 1999). So it could be hypothesized that assimilation is affected by: 1) the degree of similarity between the host culture and the original culture, and 2) the length of time an immigrant has been residing in a new land. For instance, an individual who has grown up in the United States and then comes to Canada as an immigrant would have an easier time assimilating than someone coming from India, as Canadian culture is more similar to American culture in terms of language, religion, education system, norms, and gender issues, than is Indian culture.

Since its inception Canada has accepted different cultures and traditions. However, it has only been in the past quarter century that it has officially called itself a multicultural society. Under such a policy, ethnic groups have retained their ethnic cultural integrity. However, the congruence between policy and practice may not be so straightforward.

Previous research has shown (Kalbach and Richard, 1991a; 1991b; 1990a; 1990b; 1985a; 1985b; 1980; Kalbach and Kalbach 1995a, 1995b; Jiobu, 1988; Wanner, 1999; Weinfeld, 1994) that many ethnic groups have not achieved parity with the British majority. This disparity exists despite the fact Canada's immigration policy "has placed a premium on immigrants who are highly skilled, have a high level of education, and speak one of the two official languages (Frideres, 1992:53)." Helmes-Hayes and Curtis argue that Blacks, Aboriginals and Latin, South and Central Americans are still disadvantaged in terms of income compared to the British and Northern and Western Europeans (1998:16).

Immigration Policy and The Changing Trends in Canadian Immigration

The political and ideological identity of Canada has supported the maintenance of minority ethnic identities and cultural groups. However, within the bounds of a functional society, a certain amount of assimilation has always been required and, indeed, may be necessary (Gordon ,1964; Jiobu, 1988; Lieberman, 1963; Yinger, 1985). For example, agreement on a language(s) of communication and a legal system is expected. While the maintenance of (certain) ethnic religious and cultural practices are protected through legal statuses, the abandonment of certain ethnic practices is a byproduct of entering and integrating into new social surroundings (Ibid.). Nonetheless, it seems as if, no matter how assimilated some people become, they may experience little or no social or socioeconomic mobility within the social structure (Herberg, 1990). Thus, Canada has been described as a “class society” within which an individual’s background, i.e., ethnic origin, immigration status, can effect the attainment of more profitable and prestigious jobs, higher levels of education, and even better health and well-being (Helves-Hayes and Curtis, 1998:12-13; Herberg, 1990).

Porter pointed out that in Canada’s early history those who were of English ancestry, white, and English speaking displayed higher levels of income, higher occupational status, and that this “did not change much either within or across generations (Helves-Hayes and Curtis, 1998:13).” Thus, occupational mobility was limited: “Ethnic minorities tended to continue holding down the worst positions, getting too little education, and having too little power in the society. The vertical structure of income and occupation inequality contained a mosaic of types of people (Ibid.).”

The English, who retained the greatest amount of social and political power,

managed to protect their interests in several ways, one of which was by controlling immigration, who immigrated, when, and for what purpose (Porter, 1965:60; Kalbach and Richard, 1991a:30). It was not until the 1890's that a "new" immigration policy, based not on "the social class of immigrants ... determined by what it had been in Great Britain," was contemplated (Porter, 1965:62).

When North America experienced large-scale immigration, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it was assumed that immigrants would assimilate and that "immigrant groups [would] disappear as distinct groups and blend into the host society" (Reitz, 1980:4-5). Furthermore, Reitz (1980) states that it was assumed that equality would be established through assimilation. Since the prevailing ideologies of this time period were assimilationist in nature, immigration policy showed a preference for groups such as the Northern and Western Europeans, the British, and immigrants from the United States because it was thought that they would "fit" into Canadian society most easily (Reitz, 1980:4-5; Kalbach and Richard, 1989; Kalbach, 1970; Manpower and Immigration, 1974).

A major change in the regulations surrounding immigration occurred in 1962 in response to objections in the late fifties to restrictions on non-white immigration and pressures from some newly independent commonwealth countries. The regulations were amended to state that anyone, regardless of origin, citizenship, country of residence, or religious beliefs, who is personally qualified by reason of education, training, skill, or other special qualifications was eligible to apply for permanent residence in Canada (Frideres, 1992). This change in immigration policy clearly altered the character of Canada and the future immigrant stream. By 1967 the regulations totally eliminated discrimination on the basis of race or nationality for all immigrant classes through the establishment of the point

system. Under this system, immigrants were selected on the basis of points received in nine areas including education, skills, occupational demands, and personal characteristics (Manpower and Immigration, 1974:32). The new immigration Act of 1976 consolidated all these changes in the regulations. Canada's immigration Act, which was promulgated in 1978, was now less discriminatory toward potential immigrants to Canada.

Direct evidence of this can be seen in an examination of the top ten source countries of immigrants to Canada. In 1951 nine out of ten immigrant source countries to Canada were European (Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Poland, France, Belgium, Yugoslavia, Denmark), the tenth was the United States of America. In 1968 Hong Kong entered the top ten source countries of immigrants to Canada. This was the first year in which a non-European country made it into the top ten source countries. By 1996, only one European country (Great Britain) remained in the top ten source countries of immigration to Canada, while eight of the top ten source countries were non-European, and the tenth country was the United States of America (Employment and Immigration).

In 1971 Canada officially proclaimed a multicultural policy which meant that Canada became multicultural but within a bilingual framework. This became entrenched in Canadian law with the passage of the Multiculturalism Act in 1988. Through this act, Canada was now committed to the official recognition and equality of all members of Canadian society.

Assimilation Theory and Ethnic-Connectedness

In determining the level of assimilation and the extent of ethnic-connectedness of an individual, three factors have been shown to play a significant role. These are: language use

(inside and outside the home), religious affiliation, and age at immigration. The effects of these variables on assimilation and ethnic-connectedness will be examined here.

While the existence of ethnic enclaves is not directly threatened by governmental policy and/or social sanctions, Canada's ethnic population must exist and function within the larger Canadian cultural and societal realm. That is to say that a certain amount of assimilation and integration into society at large must take place in order for members of ethnic groups to be successful in Canada. While Canada's multiculturalism policy does uphold the equality of all cultures in Canada, research has shown, that equality cannot be gained, economically at least, without some integration and assimilation into the major Canadian social structure.

Porter's *The Vertical Mosaic* (1965) challenged the notion that Canada was a "classless" or predominately middle-class society, and exposed the hierarchical social structure and the disproportionate influence and decision making power which the English segment of the population possessed. Instead of portraying Canada as an egalitarian mosaic, Porter referred to Canada as a "vertical mosaic" - a term chosen to convey the idea that Canada was best understood not as an egalitarian melting pot but as a fixed hierarchy of distinct and unequal classes and ethnic groups (Helmes-Hayes and Curtis, 1998:8)."

Assimilation Theory

General assimilation theory, as presented by Lieberman (1963), portends that assimilation is a social process which will occur through contact with the host society, and does not actively have to be pursued by an immigrant individual. That is to say that, over time, an immigrant will become less ethnic and more like a member of the host society due

to contact with the host society. Yinger (1985:154) specifies that there are “four types of assimilation,” these being: integration, acculturation, identification, and amalgamation. He further specifies that these four types of assimilation correspond to “structural, cultural, psychological, and biological aspects of assimilation” respectively (Ibid.) Gordon (1964) states that there are seven stages of assimilation. However, he states that these stages do not occur in any particular order, and that groups or individuals “may remain indefinitely at one or another of these stages (Marger, 1994:123).

Table 2-1: Gordon’s Stages of Assimilation

Stage	Characteristic
Cultural or behavioural assimilation (acculturation)	Change of cultural patterns to those of host society
Structural assimilation	Large-scale entrance into cliques, clubs, and institutions of host society
Marital assimilation (amalgamation)	Large-scale intermarriage
Identificational assimilation	Development of sense of peoplehood based exclusively on host society
Attitude receptional assimilation	Absence of prejudice
Behaviour receptional assimilation	Absence of discrimination
Civic assimilation	Absence of value and power conflict

Source: Gordon, 1964:71.

Thus, assimilation is a non-linear process which has several stages (Gordon, 1964; Yinger, 1985).

In examining ethnic assimilation several researchers argue that a multidimensional definition of ethnicity should be employed (Anderson, 1972; Dreidger, 1989; Kalbach and Kalbach 1999, 1995; Kalbach and Richard 1991, 1985; Isajiw, Sev're and Dreidger 1993; O'Bryan, Reitz, and Kuplowska 1976; Reitz 1980). In this thesis a multidimensional definition of ethnicity will be used. The concept of "ethnic-connectedness," as defined in the work of Kalbach and Richard (1991a, 1991b, 1991c, 1990a, 1990b, 1989, 1985a, 1985b, 1980), and Kalbach and Kalbach (1999a, 1999b, 1995a, 1995b) will be utilized. This multidimensional definition of ethnicity employs ethno-religious groupings in order to better capture the dynamic of an "ethnic identity." Thus, ethnic-connectedness in this analysis is defined as being more ethnic depending on ones' church affiliation. For example, a person who defines him/herself as German Lutheran is more ethnically-connected than one who claims to be German United Church (Kalbach and Kalbach, 1999, 1995a, 1999b).

Assimilation theory maintains that ethnic-connectedness may weaken over time. Kalbach and Richard (1980) demonstrate that this can occur through language loss over successive generations. Generally speaking, the use of the mother tongue, i.e., the ethnic language first learned and still understood, will decline over successive generations resulting in linguistic assimilation, and as the use of the ethnic language declines individuals tend to become less ethnically connected, at least in terms of language. The more social and/or institutional contact an individual has (in the form of, for example, educational institutions and /or non-ethnic church affiliations), the more assimilated that individual will be. In such a manner, through the socialization and contact provided by various institutions, the

individual will become progressively more like the native population and consequently less ethnic (Gordon, 1964; Jiobu, 1988; Lieberman, 1963; Yinger, 1985). Furthermore, Kalbach and Richard argue that, “ classical assimilation theory explains and emphasizes the importance of becoming less ethnic and more like the dominant groups in order to maximize the opportunities for upward socioeconomic status mobility in an ethnically based society” (1991a:31; Isajiw et al., 1993; Porter, 1965; Wiley, 1967).

Social Mobility and Ethnic-Connectedness

Much research has been done on problems associated with the upward mobility of ethnic groups in Canada (Boyd, 1992, 1986, 1985a, 1985b; Cassis and Griffith, 1981; Frank, 1996; Geschwender, 1994, 1992; Geschwender and Guppy, 1995; Isajiw et al., 1993; Jiobu, 1988; Jones, 1985; Kalbach and Kalbach, 1995a; Kalbach and Richard, 1991a, 1991b, 1991c, 1990a, 1990b, 1985a, 1985b, 1980; McRoberts, 1985a, 1985b; Pineo and Porter, 1985, Porter 1965; Richmod et al., 1978; Wanner, 1998; Weinfeld, 1994). Some researchers have hypothesized that those individuals who became less ethnic (in terms of language retention and religious affiliation) would experience greater upward mobility, (Kalbach and Richard, Kalbach and Kalbach, 1995a; Kalbach and Richard, 1991a, 1991b, 1990a, 1990b, 1985a, 1985b, 1980; Van-Dijk, 1998) .

Isajiw, Sev're and Dreidger (1993) examined the relationship between ethnicity and social mobility by testing the thesis of Wiley and Porter which state that “social mobility of members of ethnic minority groups will be blocked or slowed down not only if they find employment in ethnic enclaves, but also if they become socialized or otherwise strongly identified with their ethnic community and its activities (Isajiw et al, 1993:178).” In their

analysis of Germans, Italians, Jews, and Ukrainians in Toronto, they determined that, generally, the only dimension of ethnicity which could be a drawback to mobility were external-cultural factors, i.e., language, foods, customs, media (Isajiw et al, 1993:186-187). However, they did also determine that Jews showed the least amount of upward mobility. As being Jewish is both an ethnic and religious identity this finding supports the Kalbach's claims that higher levels of ethnic-connectedness negatively affect upward mobility.

Kalbach and Richard's research as well as others (Porter, 1965; Wiley, 1967) reveal that retention of an ethnic identity tends to negatively affect upward socioeconomic mobility, particularly for the foreign born. Specifically, Kalbach and Richard (1991a, 1991b, 1990a, 1990b, 1985a, 1985b, 1980) argue that language retention and an affiliation with an "ethnic church" tends to reduce upward social mobility for the ethnic group (Kalbach and Richard, 1980:81). Individuals who become less ethnic tend to achieve a relatively higher socioeconomic status than those who remain more ethnically connected (Kalbach and Richard, 1980:92). Kalbach and Richard argue that "it is among the foreign born that ethnic-connectedness is most strongly and negatively associated with socioeconomic status achievement (Kalbach and Richard, 1991a:40)."

It has been suggested that the abandonment of the mother tongue in favour of the culturally dominant (official) language precedes, and is a prerequisite for, the upward socioeconomic mobility of ethnic individuals (Kalbach and Richard, 1980:79-80, Ramkhalawansingh, 1981). In order for an individual to become gainfully employed, communicate with others, and gain social endorsement in the new culture, s/he must be able to communicate in the common language, a failure to do so results in "a shield against assimilation and, in a lack of ability to communicate with others (Lieberson, 1963)."

Similarly, the maintenance of an ethnic religious affiliation impedes assimilation into the new culture (Kalbach and Richard, 1980:80), because the church plays a dominant role in the social life and in the “ethnic community’s institutional completeness.” An individual who retains strong affiliations with the church will be less likely to invest in social attachments and relations with members of the new culture. However, Kalbach and Richard (1980:81) argue that these relationships and affiliations are important for assimilation and, hence, upward social mobility.

Ethnic church affiliation is a double-edged sword, for at the same time that it acts as a source of security and support for the ethnic individual, it also acts as a constraint against, “a more rapid integration and assimilation into the new society” (Kalbach and Richard, 1980:86; Isajiw et al., 1993). This association with the ethnic church is interpreted to be a representation of an individual’s ethnic-connectedness. Thus, the individual is seen as still identifying with his or her native culture as opposed to the “new” culture (Kalbach and Kalbach, 1995a:6). It follows then that, a higher level of ethnic-connectedness could hinder achievement of economic parity. According to the Kalbachs’ research, affiliation with an ethnic church is considered to be evidence “of a greater commitment to [an] ethnic group, compared to those who identify with one of the major Canadian churches or those who express no religious preference.” Those individuals who affiliate with an ethnic church, experience lower levels of upward mobility. Those who were considered to be the most ethnically connected due to church affiliation were considered so because, the ethnic church plays a large part in conserving a sense of ethnic community by offering an opportunity to socialize and interact with others of the same ethnic group (Kalbach and Richard, 1985:104). So, the ethnic church provides ethnic group members with a convenient arena in which to

gather and reinforce their ethnic identity. However, not all ethnic group members affiliate themselves with an ethnic church and/or the ethnic community. In particular it can be asserted that those individuals who do attend the ethnic church "can be expected to regard their ethnic origin with greater importance, to be more strongly committed to the ethnic group and its values, and exhibit a greater variety and frequency of ethnic behaviour than those whose commitment is weaker or contacts less frequent (Ibid.)."

The Kalbach's work reveals that a high level of ethnic-connectedness tends to impede upward mobility at least for the first generation. According to their definition of ethnic-connectedness, individuals who are affiliated with an ethnic church are considered to be more ethnically connected than individuals who identify with the major Canadian churches, i.e., Anglican or United Church, or express no religious preference. Their rationale is that the ethnic church is a significant force in the ethnic community and is a major force for the maintenance of ethnic values and a sense of ethnic identity.

Old group immigrants, or those who came to Canada in large numbers before World War II, are more assimilated than more recent immigrants (Jiobu, 1988; Kalbach and Kalbach, 1999b, 1995a, 1995b; Kalbach and Richard, 1991a, 1991b, 1990b, 1985a; Reitz, 1980). The longer immigrants have been in the host country, "the more assimilated they become due to "cultural osmosis" because they interact with the host society in thousands of little, casual, unplanned, everyday ways - through radio, television, newspapers, street signs, clerks, salespersons - and unwittingly become somewhat assimilated (Jiobu, 1988:98; Reitz, 1980). As Jiobu (1998) and others point out (Lieberson, 1963; Kalbach 1970; Kalbach and Kalbach, 1995a, 1995b; Kalbach and Richard, 1991a, 1991b, 1985a, 1980; Reitz, 1980) some assimilation takes place over the years just through interaction with the host society.

In their study of Ukrainians and Germans at the time of the 1971 Census of Canada, Kalbach and Richard found that most Ukrainians who did not belong to an ethnic church had been in Canada for the longest period of time, and that by the third generation many individuals of Ukrainian descent had aligned themselves with either the Anglican or Catholic church (1980:88). As well, Kalbach and Richard found that language retention also declined over the generations, and that there was a relationship between religious affiliation and language retention. While it was found that the use of mother tongue deteriorated from one generation to another, it was also found that those who claimed an affiliation with a non-traditional church were more likely to forget their native tongue, when compared to those who claimed an affiliation to the ethnic church (Kalbach and Richard, 1980:90, 1990:187). This supports the theoretical premise stating that as time passes individuals do assimilate and become less ethnic.

With reference to language use, Kalbach and Kalbach (1995a) found that those immigrants who claimed an affiliation with an ethnic-church were more likely to still speak their mother tongue inside and outside the home. Kalbach and Kalbach (1995a:8) state that, those who have been in Canada the longest show the most distinct decline in the use of their mother tongue in the home. Moreover, their research has indicated that “the decline in ethnic language use in the home for the native born compared to the foreign born tended to be lower for the more ethnically connected groups than for those who were less ethnically connected by religion” (Kalbach and Kalbach, 1995a:8; Reitz, 1985; Weinfeld, 1994). These results lead to the conclusion that successive generations tend to be more assimilated and integrated than previous ones, showing that the process of assimilation takes time and increased contact with the host society. Additionally, this shows a new networking among

immigrants as they are beginning to rely more on the host society than their society or culture of origin. In short, immigrants begin to identify with the host society to a greater extent than with the society of origin. Conversely, for those immigrants who make an effort to remain connected to their culture of origin through religious affiliation, and retention of their native language, socioeconomic integration and upward mobility is difficult to attain. Kalbach and Kalbach (1995a:8) conclude that, "the implication of this may be that in the process of acculturation and secularization, disaffiliation from one's traditional church, rather than religious conversion may be the assimilative path of least resistance."

Their research has also indicated that Ukrainians who claimed an affiliation with a traditional church showed lower levels of upward mobility than did those who claimed an affiliation to the United or Anglican churches (Kalbach and Richard, 1980:92). Furthermore, second generation immigrants expressed higher levels of upward mobility than did either first or third-plus generations. Similar results were found for Germans (Kalbach and Richard, 1991a:40).

In addition, Kalbach and Richard (1985a:100-101) found that, first generation individuals aligning themselves with either the United or Anglican church had higher rates of "reporting some university degree" than those affiliating with an ethnic church. They also found that those who claimed an affiliation with an ethnic church had lower rates of belonging to either professional or managerial occupations (Ibid.). These results support that occupational status and total family income are both affected in the same way (Kalbach and Richard, 1985a:102). That is, both, i.e., income and occupational status, are negatively affected by higher levels of ethnic-connections. These results supported their previous research which found that first generation Canadians had lower levels of upward mobility

(Kalbach and Richard, 1985a:107-108; 1980).” This would indicate that foreign born individuals were the most ethnically-connected, and that a high level of ethnic-connectedness acted as a barrier against upward mobility, or socioeconomic integration (Ibid.). Kalbach and Kalbach (1995a:14; Kalbach and Richard, 1980, 1985, 1991) contend that high levels of ethnic-connectedness and low socioeconomic indices are associated with one another.

Kalbach and Richard propose that there are three potential mobility paths, the ethnic church, Canadian church (Anglican/United), and no preference for any religion or church. Kalbach and Richard (1991b:145) examined the potential for successful economic integration, for non-British and non-European individuals, associated with each pathway to assimilation and socioeconomic integration.

Using the 1971 Census of Canada, Kalbach and Richard (1991b) found that with successive generations there were increases in the number of ethnic individuals who identified “with the mainline Canadian churches and those with no church preference; and, relative losses for the ethnic churches (Kalbach and Richard, 1991b:146).” They state that this shift is evidence of the assimilative process and represents a “convergence with ... the culturally dominant British population (Ibid).” Surprisingly, in this study, the results indicate that those who align themselves with no church at all, not those who align themselves with a Canadian church, have the highest levels of socioeconomic mobility. Furthermore, it is this group of individuals, with no religious preference, who “retain their relatively favourable socioeconomic status position into the second generation and beyond (Ibid.).” Nevertheless, those individuals who claim an affiliation to the Canadian church tend to achieve higher levels of upward mobility than do those who belong to an ethnic church. These results suggest that the ethnic church is the greatest inhibitor for upward mobility, while the

Canadian churches, and having no religious preference facilitate upward mobility (Kalbach and Richard, 1991a, 199b; Kalbach and Kalbach, 1995).”

With the use of the 1981 Census of Canada immigrant generation, i.e., first generation, second generation, third-plus generation, could no longer be firmly established; therefore, only the distinction between foreign born and native born could be used. Using the 1981 Census, Kalbach and Richard (1991b), found that those who claimed an affiliation to mainline Canadian churches or who claimed to have no religious affiliations “maintained advantageous positions (Kalbach and Richard, 1991b:147).” This supported their previous findings. However, in contrast to the past, where “higher education and occupational status” were associated with higher economic rewards, this relationship was not the case here (Ibid.). Kalbach and Richard postulated that this is a result of the changing immigration policy which has become more selective in its admittance of immigrants into Canada (Kalbach and Richard, 1991b:148, 1990:189).

With respect to more recently established European groups, such as the Portugese population, it was found that they too were more likely to attain socioeconomic success when they were affiliated with a Canadian church or with No church at all (Kalbach and Richard, 1991b:149). However, it was found that this particular group of immigrants did relatively poorly in terms of socioeconomic integration and acculturation, when compared to non-European groups and other European groups.

With regard to non-British European immigrant groups, Kalbach and Kalbach (1995a) concluded that the least advantageous mobility path was presented by the ethnic church. Those who indicated an affiliation to one of the Canadian churches consistently reported a higher socioeconomic status than those who were still affiliated to the ethnic

church. However, it was discovered that, for some, the highest socioeconomic status was reported by those who reported having no religious preference at all. Therefore, it was concluded that for most non-British European immigrants the most advantageous assimilation path(s) was associated with claiming no religious affiliations at all, or claiming an affiliation to the Canadian church. In addition, the implications of these results proved to be most significant for the foreign born, or first generation immigrants.

Kalbach and Richard (1990b:181) examined the effects of ethnic-connectedness on “the individual’s acculturation and socioeconomic status achievement ” of non-European immigrants. Specifically, they looked at the “Chinese, Indo-Pakistanis, Blacks and Caribbeans, and Middle-Eastern Arab/Asian populations (Kalbach and Richard, 1990b:191).” Using data from the 1981 Census of Canada it was determined that the Chinese expressed “an intermediate level of religious heterogeneity,” and were found to have the highest proportion of members claiming no religious preference (Ibid.). The data pertaining to non-European immigrants revealed that those who reported to have no religious preference tended “to show status characteristics as high, or higher, than those reporting ethnic or Canadian church preferences (Kalbach and Richard 1990b:189). This would suggest that for non-Europeans, the best path to assimilation is a secular one (Ibid.). Several interesting findings were discovered with respect to non-European immigrants. First, Chinese immigrants were found to be the most heterogenous with respect to their religious affiliations, while those of Indo-Pakistani descent were found to be the most homogenous with respect to their religious affiliations (Kalbach and Richard, 1990:191). Second, it was found that those of Black and Caribbean ancestry had the highest proportions reporting English or French both as their mother tongue and the language they speak in the home.

Furthermore their, the Black and Caribbean's, religious distributions were the most similar to the British native born than any of the other non-European groups.

An examination into non-European groups, show that these groups too tend to exhibit higher levels of socioeconomic achievement if they are affiliated with Canadian churches or have no church affiliation at all (Kalbach and Richard, 1991b:148, 1990:189). Those of Chinese origin were atypical in that unlike others of non-European origin, they were found to indicate No religious preference more frequently than other groups. Moreover, it was found that “only the mainline Canadian church pathway to assimilation appears to offer the potential for the most acculturation and socioeconomic status mobility for those of Chinese origin (Kalbach and Richard, 1991b:148).”

As indicated in previous research it was hypothesized that those who reported No Religion would be the most acculturated with respect to language. However, with reference to non-European groups, this proved to be the case for only the Middle East Arab/Asians (Kalbach and Richard, 1990b:194). For the Black and Caribbean population the most acculturated were those reporting a preference for the Canadian church.

With regard to non-European immigrant groups Kalbach and Kalbach (1995a) concluded that it was only those of Black or Caribbean ancestry who “exhibited the same mobility pattern as the non-British European groups.” For all other non-European ethnic groups studied (Chinese, Indo-Pakistanis, Middle Eastern Arab Asians) the least advantageous path to upward mobility was concluded to be the ethnic church (Kalbach and Kalbach, 1995a:3). Kalbach and Kalbach conclude that “those identifying with the ethnic churches appear to be more clearly disadvantaged with respect to their average total family income than those identifying with any of the major Canadian churches or claiming no

religious preference (Kalbach and Kalbach, 1995a:14).”

With regard to the effect of age at immigration researchers (Kalbach and Kalbach 1995a, 1985b; Krotki and Reid, 1994) have found that the younger one is at the time of immigration the less disadvantaged, socially and economically the individual will be. Kalbach and Kalbach (1995a), Kalbach and Richard (1985b), Krotki and Reid (1994) show that those who immigrated at a younger age show “greater acculturation with respect to language use” and that those who immigrated at an early age would be more successful socially and economically. On the other hand, those who were teenagers at the time of immigration would “experience more rapid economic integration but suffer some competitive disadvantage in the long run because of their somewhat lower levels of acculturation, as reflected in their language skill, and possible disruption or termination of their formal education (Ibid.).”

Kalbach and Richard (1985b:4) looked at individuals whose age at immigration was under the age of 20, comparing integration and acculturation levels for those 12 and under to those in their teens when arriving in Canada. The results revealed that those who had experienced a larger proportion of their education in Canada experienced “the socializing effects of formal education and peer group pressures,” and became “much more like their native-born counterparts than the older members of their own particular ethnic origin immigrant group” (Kalbach and Kalbach 1995a, 1985b; Krotki and Reid, 1994). Furthermore, as adults these same individuals would not experience the disadvantages experienced by their later immigrating counterparts.

In the 1981 census the question “age at immigration” replaced “birthplace of parents.” This enabled information about the individual’s background to be linked to

different educational and socialization experiences, and thus shed some light on the processes of integration and socialization. This focus would explicate the importance of education and peer group affiliation on the assimilation and acculturation of the individual and its importance on gaining economic mobility. Specifically, those who arrived before the age of 12 would experience the greatest amount of socialization and thus entrenchment into Canadian culture, and would, therefore, find it easier, than their older counterparts, to gain long term economic integration and acquire a higher socioeconomic status (Kalbach and Richard, 1985b:3). However, those entering as teenagers would be expected to be disadvantaged in two ways: first, by their relatively late entrance into the socialization process offered by the education system, and secondly, by their required early entrance into the work force (due to family responsibility) (Ibid.).

In conducting this research “acculturation [was] measured by language used in the home; social (status) integration by highest level of schooling attained; and economic integration measured by labour force participation and total income for the census family (Kalbach and Richard, 1985b:4).” The results of this study support the hypothesis that those who enter Canada at an older age suffer a certain disadvantage, showing that those who were teenagers at immigration did not manage “to exploit the opportunities for higher education to the same extent as younger immigrant children (Kalbach and Richard, 1985b:6).” Findings showed that for each period of immigration examined those who entered as teenagers were consistently more likely to enter the labour force rather than continue their education (Kalbach and Richard, 1985b:8). This trend in entering the work force relatively young, and of not pursuing further education, would result in an inequality between the income potential of younger immigrants and teenage immigrants (Ibid.).

Findings did suggest just that, that those who immigrated as children did consistently report higher earnings than did those who immigrated while teenagers (Ibid.).

It was also found that regardless of ethnic or cultural origin, those who immigrated as children, rather than as teenagers or adults, consistently reported English or French as their home language (Kalbach and Richard, 1985b:9). Furthermore, controlling for ethnic and cultural background, it was found that for all ethnic identities specified, those who immigrated as children were found to hold a university degree more frequently than those who entered Canada as teenagers (Kalbach and Richard, 1985b:10). Thus it can be learned from this paper that both length of time in the new country and age at entry into the new country make a difference in terms of acculturation and socioeconomic integration.

Immigrant Women

Much of the research in the field of gender relations and work deals with income or occupational prestige. Kalbach and Richard state that there is a variation in the earnings of women compared to men, and that, in general, women, "... tend to exhibit lower labour force participation rate than men for almost every category of any relevant demographic or social variable, e.g., age, marital status, educational attainment level, immigrant status, period of immigration or socioeconomic status (1990a:3)."

Much research has been conducted on the effects of gender on the occupational mobility and socioeconomic status of women in Canada as a whole (Boyd, 1992, 1986, 1985a; Carlson, 1992; Geschwender, 1994, 1992; Kalbach and Richard, 1990a; Ramkhalawansingh, 1981). Discrepancies between the earnings of women as compared to those of men have lead to vast research in this area. In 1971 women were reported to earn

(average annual earnings of all workers) 47 per cent of what men earned. In 1981 women earned 53 per cent, and in 1993 women were reported to earn 64 per cent of what men earned (Statistics Canada, 1995:95). Furthermore, it was found that despite educational attainment or occupational category, men consistently earned more than women (Ibid.). Also, regardless of occupation or profession, women consistently earn substantially less than their male counterparts. (Statistics Canada, 1995:123). However, it does seem that immigrant women earn “about the same amount as other women in Canada (Ibid.). As well immigrant women tend to, like their native born counterparts, be employed in occupations which have traditionally been held by women, that is, in the “clerical, sales, and service jobs” (Statistics Canada, 1995:122; Boyd, 1985a).

Though this may seem to indicate that immigrant women and native-born women are on equal terms, it must be noted that the group “immigrant women” is not a homogeneous group in terms of ethnic origin, religion, education, and knowledge of an official language to name but a few factors (Boyd 1991: 282, Geschwender, 1994). The experience of an Asian or Portugese immigrant woman may be very different than that of an English or French immigrant woman. Boyd (1986:53) argues that sex “influences location within the labour market; again, in combination with birthplace and class origins, it may intensify the workplace experiences of some groups of immigrant women,” and when this does occur “immigrant women can be said to be the recipients of *multiple negative statuses* [emphasis added].” Thus, a more complete analysis would not only compare women to men, or native- born women to immigrant women, but would also take into account which immigrant group the woman belonged to.

Boyd (1986) claims that not all immigrant women are doubly or triply disadvantaged.

She, like others (Kalbach and Kalbach, 1995a; Kalbach and Richard, 1985b; Krotki and Reid, 1994) argues that age at time of immigration plays a role in the extent of disadvantages that a women may experience, and that those women who immigrated as adults would be the most disadvantaged (Boyd, 1986:54). Boyd, and others (Kalbach and Kalbach, 1995a; Kalbach and Richard, 1985b; Krotki and Reid, 1994), hypothesize that this equality is due to the socialization offered by the education system.

A further problem presented for immigrant women is their access to English as a second language programs. Language is *the* “major access point” to society states Ramkhalawansingh (1981:91). Without the ability to communicate with the general public, individuals cannot fully function within the social setting. Ramkhalawansingh (1981) goes on to argue that immigrant women who have no knowledge of one of Canada’s official language are less likely to enter the job market in search of a job that requires knowledge of an official language. As such, immigrant women are more likely to find employment in areas that not only do not require knowledge of an official language but do not offer the opportunity to learn English or French (1981:91-92). With this in mind, this study will examine the effect that not knowing one of Canada’s official languages has on women as opposed to men.

Given this information, then, there are two main areas of inquiry with respect to gender in this paper: Are the discrepancies found in earnings for women a function of ethnicity, a function of gender, or a function of both? And, are these discrepancies equal among immigrant women from differing ethnic groups? With the aid of interaction terms it will be possible to see if the influence of ethnic-connectedness on assimilation and integration is mediated by gender.

Summary

In summary the research that pertains to ethnic assimilation and socioeconomic integration has focussed on the work by Kalbach and Kalbach, and Kalbach and Richard, on pathways of assimilation. It has been argued that different pathways to assimilation are more fruitful for some ethnic groups than for others. Generally, affiliating with the ethnic church was not as advantageous for any immigrant group, non-British or non-European, as were affiliations with No church or the Canadian church.

Having high levels of ethnic-connectedness, indicated by ethnic church affiliation and speaking the mother tongue in the home, was in all cases associated with lower levels of assimilation and socioeconomic integration.

Other factors which were also found to affect assimilation and integration were place of birth, age at immigration, and period of immigration. It was found that first generation immigrants tended to be more ethnically connected than the native born, and as such, economically disadvantaged when compared to second generation immigrants. It was also found that the younger one was at the time of immigration, the less economically disadvantaged they were likely to be in the future.

Taking the above findings into account, this research presents a similar analysis but uses a different methodology, namely regression analysis. In addition, this research goes one step beyond that of the Kalbach's and others by examining the effect of gender within the ethno-religious groups in terms of assimilation and integration.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Source

The data used for this analysis come from the 1991 Public Use Microdata File (PUMF), Individual File. Although the 1996 Census became available while conducting this research, it was not employed because data were not collected on the religious affiliations of individuals. This being the case, including a multi-dimensional measurement of ethnicity, ethnic-connectedness, would not have been possible, as ethnic-connectedness in this research takes into consideration ethnicity and religion.

For the purpose of this study only persons who were employed, between the ages of 25 to 65, not of Aboriginal origin, and not institutionalized, were selected. Individuals over the age of 25 have been selected because it is assumed that by the age of 25 most people will have entered the workforce with their education completed. The Aboriginal population was not included as assimilation and integration of this population does not correspond with the assumptions made in this study. The cases for this study were drawn from a “3% representative sample of the population enumerated during the 1991 Census (Statistics Canada Catalogue STC 11-204, 1994:434-435).” The data are weighted in order to provide unbiased estimates for the national population.

Variables

The specific variables employed in this analysis and their definitions are as follows, as given in the 1991 Census Dictionary (Statistics Canada, 1991).

Labour Force Activity is defined as: "...the labour market activity of the working age population who, in the week prior to June 4, 1991, were employed or unemployed. The remainder of the working age population is classified as not in the labour force (1991 Census Dictionary, 62)."

Employed: Refers to persons who (in the time period specified above):

(a) did any work at all excluding housework or other maintenance or repairs around the home and volunteer work; or

(b) were absent from their job or business because of own temporary illness or disability, vacation, labour dispute at their place of work, or were absent for other reasons.

Unemployed persons, those who were not included in this analysis, were those who during the week of June 4, 1991:

(a) were without work, actively looked for work in the past four weeks and were available for work; or

(b) were on lay-off and expected to return to their job and were available for work;

or

(c) had definite arrangements to start a new job in four weeks or less and were available for work.

Not in labour force: Those individuals who had last worked in 1991, 1990, worked before 1990, or had never worked.

This variable was dummy coded to represent whether persons were active in the labour force or not. Those who were "unemployed" and those who were considered to be "not in the labour force" were grouped together to represent the "unemployed" category. In this case, the reference group was "employed." Only those who were "employed" were

selected for this study.

The Dependent Variable

The dependent variable in this study is income. As both, income and occupational status seem to be reliable indicators of socioeconomic status (providing the same results) it would seem sufficient to use one indicator of socioeconomic status as opposed to two (see page 17). The 1991 Census data offered several options with respect to income attainment (Wages & Salary, Employment), however, for the purpose of this study, Total Income was used as it offers a more comprehensive and complete definition of individual income for the census year.

Total Income: (Measured in dollar value or nil) Refers to the total personal income acquired during the 1990 calendar year from the following sources: Total wages and salaries; Net income from unincorporated non-farm business and/or professional practices; Net farm self-employment income; Family allowances; Federal child tax credits; Old age security pension and guaranteed income supplement; Benefits from Canada and Quebec pension plan; Benefit from unemployment insurance; Other income from government sources; Dividends and interest on bonds, deposits, savings certificates and other investment income; Retirement pensions, superannuation and annuities; Other money income.

Income not included was: Gambling gains and losses; Lottery prizes; Money inherited during the year in a lump sum; Capital gains or losses; Receipts from the sale of property; Income tax refunds; Loan payments received; Lump sum settlements of insurance policies; Rebates received on property taxes; Refunds of pension contributions as well as all income "in kind" such as free meals, living accommodations, or agricultural products produced and

consumed on the farm.

This variable is used as a continuous variable reflecting a dollar amount in the analysis.

Independent variables

Age: Refers to the respondents actual age in years, attained by asking respondents their date of birth. Persons between the ages of 15 and 65 were used in this analysis.

Age²: The squared of the measure of the variable Age is included as the relationship between age and earnings is not often a linear one, but instead a curvilinear one. So, the relationship between income and age is not a linear one. Age and income are not linearly associated throughout the life course. Income increases with age up to a certain point. After this point income evens off, or begins to fall with additional years. By squaring the coefficient associated with age the curvilinear effect is captured (Pedhazur, 1982:404-405). As such, the explanatory power of the model(s) will increase and allow for a better understanding of factors affecting the dependent variable (income).

Sex: This variable was dummy coded, using males as the reference category throughout the study.

Education: "Refers to the highest grade or year of elementary or secondary school attended, or the highest year of university or other non-university completed." Gaining a university education is considered to be a higher level of education than attaining some other non-university post-secondary education. Also, "the attainment of a degree, certificate or diploma is considered to be at a higher level than years completed without an educational qualification (1991 Census Dictionary, 105)."

For the purpose of this study “Education” was dummy coded into the following categories: i) completed “less than high school,” ii) completed “some high school”, iii) had some “post-secondary non-university” schooling, and iv) had “university” education, including a degree, certificate or diploma. For this variable “completed high school” was the reference category. The reference category included those individuals who attained an education level between grades 9-13, so not all those who were in this category were high school graduates.

Religion: “Refers to specific religious denominations, groups or bodies as well as sects, cults, or other religiously defined communities or systems of belief (1991 Census Dictionary, 101).”

This variable was dummy coded and several different categories were created on the basis of religious commonality among the religious groups. The categories created were as follows: i) Major Canadian religions (Anglican and United), ii) Other Protestants (Pentecostal, Baptist, Jehovah’s Witnesses, Lutheran, Presbyterian.), iii) Roman Catholic, other Catholic and Orthodox, iv) Eastern Non-Christian Religions, (Hindu, Buddhist, Islam, Sikh), and v) No religious affiliation claimed. The reference category is Major Canadian religions.

Ethnic origin: “Refers to the ethnic or cultural group to which the respondent’s ancestors belong.’ In the 1991 Census respondents were asked “To which ethnic or cultural group(s) did this person’s ancestors belong?” The respondents were permitted to write up to two ethnic origins not included in the mark-in circles. Furthermore, the 1991 Census did not limit ancestral origin to paternal ties alone (note: there was no indication in the data as to which ancestral lineage [paternal or maternal] the respondent referred to.)

For the purpose of multiple regression, ethnic origin was dummy coded using the

British ethnic origin as the reference group. Individual groups were not used, i.e., Portugese, German, Ukrainian, but rather were clustered together, primarily in order to compensate for some small sample groups. The only exception to this was with the French, which were treated as a single ethnic origin group. However, clustering the groups together also enabled a more parsimonious statistical analysis as well. The groups were clustered together based on how they were classified by the Census dictionary, and period of immigration. Two initial categories were created. The first cluster consisted of those groups, i.e., German, Ukranian, and Dutch, who experienced the bulk of their immigration pre 1946 (Kalbach and Kalbach, 1999b, 1995b; Kalbach and Richard, 1991a, 1991b, 1990b, 1985a, 1980; Reitz, 1980). This group of immigrants will be referred to as the “Old European” group, as they came in large numbers during the early decades of the twentieth century. The second group (which is composed of three clusters), are the post World War II immigrants whose largest numbers came to Canada after 1946.

This group includes the Italians, Greeks, Chinese, Portugese, Blacks, Caribbeans, South and Central Americans, and those of Arabic descent. These ethnic groups were collapsed into the clusters/categories: New European group, Asian/Arabic group, Black/Caribbean/Central and South American group. These clusters were based on the ethnic origin groupings provided in the Census dictionary. The New European immigrants, consisting of immigrants from Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Greece. Non-European immigrants coming at this time were broken into sub-groups: Asian/Arabic descendants and Black/Carribbean & Central/South American. Thus there are five groups in all, French, Old Immigrant group, New European immigrant, Asian/Arabic, and Black/Carribbean and Central/South American.

Knowledge of Official Language: “Refers to the ability to conduct a conversation in English only, French only, in both English and French, or in none of the official languages.” Respondents were given four choices in the Census questionnaire: i) English only, ii) French only, iii) Both English and French, and iv) Neither English nor French.

The variable was dummy coded as well; two categories were created i) having knowledge of at least one official language, or both, and ii) having no knowledge of an official language. Having knowledge of at least one of the official languages was used as the reference category.

Language Spoken at home: This variable refers to the “language spoken most often at home by the individual at the time of the census (1991 Census Dictionary, 1991:78).” In this study speaking English or French were coded as the reference group. Thus it can be seen how *not* speaking one of Canada’s official languages at home affects earnings. Thus, this variable was dummy coded and those who spoke either English or French, or both, in the home were the reference group.

Age at Immigration: Refers to the age of the respondent when they first gained immigrant status. A dummy coding was created for this variable. The breakdown of categories is as follows: 0-14 years, (1); 15-19 years, (2); 20+, (3). The reference group were those who had never had immigrant status, i.e. native-born Canadians.

Period of Immigration: Refers to the year landed immigrant status was first obtained in Canada. This variable was dummy coded to create a distinction between those who arrived prior to 1946, those who arrived between 1946 and 1960, and those who immigrated to Canada after 1961. Immigration to Canada before 1946 includes Europeans who experienced the bulk of their immigration to Canada in the early decades of the twentieth

century (Ukrainians, Germans, Dutch, [Kalbach, 1991b]). The category of 1946-1960 captured the more recent immigrant groups, and the 1961 category was chosen as it was then that Canada's immigration policy adopted the point system and became non-discriminatory in its selection of immigrants.

Interpreting Dummy Variables

In ordinary least squares multiple regression, independent variables that are categorical must be recoded into "dummy variables" in order to meet the assumptions of ordinary least squares estimation (Berry, 1993). Specifically, one category of the variable is held as the reference group (coded 0) and all other categories are coded to compare to it (coded 1). When used in multiple regression, the regression coefficients associated with these dummy variables represent the difference between the mean for the reference group and the other group(s) specified. In other words, the "effect" coefficient represents the difference between group means on some categorical variable. However, when working with dummy variables one can interpret the standardized regression coefficient, in relationship to model importance, only if the variable is dichotomous, as in the case of gender. In all other cases the unstandardized regression coefficient must be used for analysis. Thus for the purpose of this research, since all dummy variables other than gender have more than two categories, the unstandardized regression coefficients will be used for analysis and interpretation (Hardy, 1993:247-251).

Conceptualizing "Ethnic Connectedness"

As was mentioned in the previous chapter, this research looks not only at the effect

of ethnicity on assimilation and integration, but also attempts to create a multidimensional definition of what “being” ethnic is, that is, ethnic-connectedness, by incorporating an ethno-religious classification system into the analysis (Kalbach and Kalbach, 1995; Kalbach and Richard, 1991; 1990; 1985; 1980). As such, a multidimensional definition of ethnicity is used to expand the understanding of what it means to be ethnic and examine how factors associated with differing ethnic groups affect assimilation and integration into Canadian society. That is to say that, there are factors which create an ethnic distinctiveness which go beyond one’s nationality or ethnic background and address patterns of social activity or social belief. This being the case, in addition to examining the effect of “ethnicity” alone, the effect of “religion” and language use should also so be examined in hopes of building a broader understanding of how the varied components of ethnicity affect assimilation and integration. Although ethnicity, in this paper, is thought of as a multi-dimensional concept, it remains important to examine the individual dimensions and their effects separately while at the same time keeping an eye on the combined effects of those dimensions which, together, form “ethnic-connectedness.” Thus, a factor integrating ethnicity, religion, and language use was not collapsed into one variable called “ethnic-connectedness.” This method enables a comparison of dimensions, indicating how influential one dimension/variable is when compared to another in terms of ethnic-connectedness. Consequently, several interaction terms are created to measure ethnic-connectedness: Old European*religion,¹ New European*religion, Asian/Arabic*religion, Black/Caribbean/Central and South

1

Religion here refers to all religious categories identified in the study, i.e., Catholic, Protestant, Eastern Non-Christian, No Religion.

American*religion, French*religion. So, for example, Old European*religion will consist of Old European*Catholic, Old European*Protestant, Old European*Eastern Non-Christian, and Old European*No religion.

Statistical Procedures and the Analysis of the Data

The purpose of this study is to look at the effects, or importance, of differing factors on immigrant socioeconomic integration in Canada. As such, the main focus is to examine the differing impact or influence each independent variable has on the dependent variable, total income. A causal relationship is not inferred here and is not the focus of analysis. Instead, this thesis uses an explanatory framework. In an explanatory framework the role of theory is emphasized in understanding the analysis. In fact, the crux of an explanatory framework is the theoretical framework. This form of research focuses on understanding the relative importance, or *effect*, that each independent variable has on the dependent variable, not on predicting an outcome (Pedhazur, 1982:174), and then interpreting the effects through the theoretical framework. Thus, in this thesis the focus will be on examining the *effects* of each independent variable on the dependent variable.

This analysis includes the effect of sex on assimilation and integration, sex is included in hopes of determining whether the effects, across all dimension of the independent variables, were the same or different for men and women. It is expected that this analysis will provide some insight into potential differences in the pathways to assimilation between men and women.

Using Ordinary Least Squares, and assuming linear and additive relationships, multiple regression was used to analyse the data. Using this method of analysis, the

independent effect of each variable, controlling for all other variables specified, can be examined and evaluated. In other words, using multiple regression allows the researcher to analyse the effect of each variable, less the effect of all other variables in the model. Otherwise stated, this is the equation which shows the independent effect of each variable, controlling for all other variables specified in the model.

Furthermore, such an analysis allows for the exploration of any possible interaction effects which may exist. It is possible to consider and analyse the influence of each independent variable plus any multiplicative effects and to test if interaction effects make a significant contribution to the explanatory power in the variation of immigrant socioeconomic integration. In this study interaction terms, or product terms, were created for: "Sex*Education," "Sex*Ethnicity" "Sex*Religion," and "Sex*Knowledge of official language." Thus, it is hypothesized that a difference between males and females with respect to these variables' effect on Total income will be revealed through this method of analysis. An interaction effect occurs when the effect of a certain independent variable, say religion, has a different effect on a dependent variable across categories of another independent variable, such as sex. More generally, a variable such as sex may be found to moderate the effect of education, religion, or ethnicity on income. For example, the effect of religion on socioeconomic integration may prove to be different for women than it is for men. If the inclusion of these interaction terms into the model are statistically significant, then a statistically significant increase in the F-statistic would occur, signifying that the interaction term(s) are significant to the model, and therefore to the variance explained. If this occurred, the R-squared (R^2) would increase, reflecting a significant increase in variance explained over the model that did not include the interaction term(s). Also, upon adding the interaction

terms the regression coefficients for men and women can be compared to one another, indicating whether there is a statistical difference between the values expressed for males and females. For instance, if both coefficients on a category of religion (say Catholic) are found to be significant for both men and women, then there is a statistical difference between the effect of religion on earning on the basis of sex. If, on the other hand, the result for women on this dimension prove to be non-significant, then statistically there is no difference between men and women on this variable and its effect on income. Lastly, if the value for women proves to be significant, but the value for males is not significant, then the effect of the variable is statistically significant for women compared to the reference group. In summary, the inclusion of interaction terms in this study can reveal if effects vary between men and women across categories of independent variables. That is, are the effects of religion, ethnicity, and education on income different for men and women? Inclusion of interaction terms into the model can answer this question.

Regarding the interpretation of interaction terms, it should be noted that some differences between the interpretation of the main effects model and the interaction terms model do exist. The most important factor to remember, however, is that *the reference group never, throughout the entire study, changes*. In all cases, be it foreign born, or native born, the reference group will be composed of British males, who belong to either the Anglican or United church, who possess a high school education, who have knowledge of either English or French at home, and who speak this language in their own homes. For those who are foreign born, and thus the variable “age at immigration” is applicable, immigrating prior to the age of 15 will be the reference category. Nevertheless the one main interpretive difference between the two models comes with the variable “sex.” In the interaction models

this variable reports the average income of women who are of British descent, who belong to either the Anglican or United church, who possess a high school education, who have knowledge of either English or French at home, and who speak this language in their own homes. Thus, they are for all intents and purposes, the equivalent of a “reference female” group as they match on all factors to their male counterparts, the reference group. The variables “education,” “religion,” and “ethnicity” now reflect regression coefficient for men only. The interaction terms ($sex*education$, $sex*religion$, $sex*ethnicity$) reflect the value for women. Furthermore, with regard to the interpretation of the interaction terms themselves, i.e., $sex*education$, $sex*religion$, $sex*ethnicity$, the coefficients produced are not automatically comparable to the reference group. Instead, these coefficients must be added to the value of the non-interaction term, i.e., $education + sex*education$, to calculate the effect compared to the reference group (Hardy, 1993:33-37). For instance, if the regression coefficient, in an interaction model, for “university” was \$10,000.00 this would mean that compared to the reference group (males with high school), men with a university education would earn an average of \$10,000 more per year than the reference group. Additionally, if the regression coefficient for $university*female$ was -\$4,000.00, then it would mean that women earned an average of \$4,000 less per year than their male university educated counterparts, but still earn an average of \$6,000.00 more per year than the reference group [$\$10,000.00 + (-\$4,000.00) = \$6,000.00$]. So, the unaltered regression coefficient value of the interaction terms can be directly compared to the counterpart on that dimension. However, in order to compare the interaction terms to the reference group, the value for the appropriate coefficient must be added to its counterpart in the equation, i.e., $education + sex*education$, $religion + sex*religion$, $ethnicity + sex*ethnicity$.

The Three Models

As stated above, two models were tested for each population group in this study, one with no interaction terms, the main effects model, or the base model (Model 1) and another including interaction terms, the interaction models (Models 2 and 3). Hence, three different regression equations, and three different models, will be generated. The first regression will be a main effects model, or a basic model, which will give a good indication of the effects of the independent variables on the dependent variables without the inclusion of any interaction terms. This will also provide a comparison model. The results across the various models will be comparable to one another. The second model will include all variables related to ethnic origin and language practices, as well as interaction terms created for ethnic-connectedness. The third and final model will include all the variables in Model 2 with the addition of the gender interaction terms.

The main effects model, or Model 1, regressed income on all of the individual independent variables. This model, then, will show the effect of all independent variable, controlling for the effect of all the other independent variables, on Total Income, or socioeconomic integration. The regression equation was:

Model 1 (Base or Main Effects Model):

$$\text{Total income} = a + bx_{(\text{age})} + bx_{(\text{age})}^2 + bx_{(\text{sex})} + bx_{(\text{education})} + bx_{(\text{religion})} + bx_{(\text{ethnicity})}$$

The second equation integrates variables dealing with place of birth, language practices, and the interaction terms pertaining to ethnic-connectedness into the base model (Model 1). This model will show the effects that language practices, age at immigration,

period of immigration, and ethnic-connectedness have on total income.

Model 2 (Ethnic-connectedness model):

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Total income} = & a + bx_{(\text{age})} + bx_{(\text{age})^2} + bx_{(\text{sex})} + bx_{(\text{education})} + bx_{(\text{ethnicity})} + bx_{(\text{religion})} + \\ & bx_{(\text{place of birth})} + bx_{(\text{age at immigration})} + bx_{(\text{period of immigration})} + bx_{(\text{knowledge of official language})} + bx_{(\text{language} \\ & \text{spoken at home})} + bx_{(\text{old European group} * \text{religion})} + bx_{(\text{new European group} * \text{religion})} + bx_{(\text{Asian/Arabic} * \text{religion})} + \\ & bx_{(\text{Black/Caribbean/Central \& South American} * \text{religion})} + bx_{(\text{French} * \text{religion})} \end{aligned}$$

Model 3 includes several more interaction terms (female*education, female*ethnicity, female*religion, and female*knowledge of official language) in addition to the already present variables. Thus, the effect of each independent variable on total income, including the interaction terms, and controlling for the effect of all other independent variables, was calculated. Thus, it became possible to distinguish the differential effects for men and women with respect to education, religion, and ethnicity, and knowledge of an official language on total income. The third equation, including the interaction terms, is:

Model 3 (Ethnic-connectedness and Gender model):

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Total income} = & a + bx_{(\text{age})} + bx_{(\text{age})^2} + bx_{(\text{sex})} + bx_{(\text{education})} + bx_{(\text{ethnicity})} + bx_{(\text{religion})} + \\ & bx_{(\text{place of birth})} + bx_{(\text{age at immigration})} + bx_{(\text{period of immigration})} + bx_{(\text{knowledge of official language})} + bx_{(\text{language} \\ & \text{spoken at home})} + bx_{(\text{old European group} * \text{religion})} + bx_{(\text{new European group} * \text{religion})} + bx_{(\text{Asian/Arabic} * \text{religion})} + \\ & bx_{(\text{Black/Caribbean/Central \& South American} * \text{religion})} + bx_{(\text{French} * \text{religion})} + bx_{(\text{sex} * \text{education})} + bx_{(\text{sex} * \text{ethnicity})} + \\ & bx_{(\text{sex} * \text{religion})} + bx_{(\text{sex} * \text{knowledge of official language})} \end{aligned}$$

Adjusting Levels of Significance for the Sample Size

Due to the large sample size (over 100,000 individuals) used in this research, a Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC) adjustment was employed to determine the statistical significance of the independent variables. The BIC adjustment takes into account the sample size and specifically adjusts “the t-value to take account of sample size and grade of variance (Wanner, 1998:31).” In classical inferential statistics, a t-value of around 2.00 is commonly used to indicate statistical significance for regression coefficients. But, the t-value based on classical inference is sensitive to sample size. Bayesian inference, on the other hand, adjusts for sample size in making inferences from samples (Ibid.). Given that the sample size is over 100,000, a minimum t-value of 3.68 will be used to indicate statistical significance. This is a more conservative t-value cut-off as compared to 2.00. Therefore, since the sample size for this analysis is very large, the BIC adjustment will be used to determine the statistical significance of the effect parameters for all of the models.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS

Three models are presented in this analysis. Model 1, or the base model, will represent the main effects with no interaction terms. Model 2 includes the main effects and interaction effects for ethno-religious groups, i.e., ethnic-connectedness, while Model 3 provides all of the effects from Models 1 and 2 and adds the gender effects (sex interaction terms).

More specifically, Model 1 will show the effects of age, sex, education, ethnicity, and religion on income. This analysis will show which variables, without any interaction terms, have the largest and which have the smallest influence on socioeconomic integration. Model 2 will insert the effects of the ethnic-connectedness variables, including the interaction terms created for ethnicity*religion, into the base model. This model will provide data on the effects of ethnic-connectedness on income. The last model (Model 3) will contain the variables included in the base model, those in the ethnic-connectedness model, as well as those interaction terms created for gender. This model will provide data on the effects of ethnic-connectedness as well as a more specific look at the effect of sex on income.

The standardized regression coefficients will be used when appropriate. The use of the standardized regression coefficients enables a comparison of the relative importance or influence of one variable as opposed to another. The unstandardized regression coefficients will be used when analysing multi-categorical dummy variables and all interaction terms.

For the purpose of this research, in every model identified, the reference groups will remain the same. For “sex,” the reference group is Male; for “education,” the reference

category will be having attained a high school education; for “religion,” the reference category will consist of those who claim an affiliation to the Canadian church; in terms of “ethnicity” British descent is the reference group; for “age at immigration” and “period of immigration” and “foreign born,” the reference category is native born (these variables, then, can be used to make a direct comparison to those who did not immigrate to Canada); for “knowledge of official language,” the reference category is having knowledge of one of Canada’s official languages; for “language spoken at home” the reference category is speaking one of Canada’s official languages in the home.

The Three Models

Model 1: Base Model or Main Effects Model

Table 4-1 presents the results of the base model where income is regressed on the main effect independent variables (age, sex, education, ethnicity, and religion) only. It shows that this population consisted of 6,346,194 individuals, and that for this group the average income was \$30,634. Also, this regression model accounts for 22.3% ($R^2=0.2226$) of the variance in Total income.

Examining Model 1, (which does not include any of the interaction terms or variables related to immigration status²) it is found that the most important factors affecting income, i.e., socioeconomic integration, are: age (0.9377, age² -0.7801), sex (-0.3234 [-\$14,664]), and the attainment of a university education (\$17,624). Age and age squared are both

²Variables associated with immigration status are: place of birth, i.e., being foreign born, age at immigration, period of immigration, the interaction terms created for ethnicity* religion, language spoken at home, and having knowledge of an official language.

Table 4-1
Model 1: The Regression of Income on Main Effects Variables, Canada 1991

Variable Name	Unstandardized Regression Coefficient	Standardized Regression Coefficient
Age	\$2,045.85	0.9377***
Age ²	-\$19.77	-0.7801***
Sex	-\$14,664.61	-0.3234***
Education		
Less than High School	-\$4,737.86	-0.0615***
Post-secondary non-University	\$5,411.70	0.1203***
University	\$17,624.23	0.3191***
Ethnicity		
Old European	-\$603.68	-0.0087***
New European	\$819.28	0.0096***
Asian/Arabic	-\$5,564.11	-0.0568***
Black/Caribbean/Central and South American	-\$5,618.56	-0.0368***
French	-\$1,767.71	-0.0382***
Religion		
Catholic	-\$1,272.21	-0.0281***
Protestant	-\$2,421.75	-0.0381***
Eastern Non-Christian	-\$4,681.77	-0.0233***
No Religion	-\$1,511.85	-0.0210***
Constant	-\$14,984.24	
Mean Income	\$30,634.17	
Standard Deviation	\$22,480.99	
N 6,346,194		
R ² 0.2226		

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001, Two-tailed test

Source: Statistics Canada, 1991 Census of Canada, Public Use Microdata File on Individuals.

statistically significant, indicating that the relationship between income and age is not a linear one, but rather a curvilinear one. Thus, individuals' income continues to increase up until a certain point at which it levels off or begins to decline. It should be noted that although age and a university education have a strong positive affect on income, sex, that is being female, has a strong negative effect on income. The least important factors contributing to income were found to be: being from an Old European group (-\$603), and being from a New European group (\$819.28). Again, close attention should be paid to whether the influence is positive or negative. While the influence of being from an Old European group is small and negative, the effect of being from a New European group has a small and positive effect on income. Looking specifically at educational attainment, when comparing educational attainment to having a "High School" education (the reference category for this variable) attaining either some "Post-Secondary non-University" degree/diploma (\$5,411), or a "University Degree" (\$17,624) have a positive influence on income. On the other hand, exiting the educational system with "Less than High School" is found to have a negative effect (-\$4,737) on income.

As mentioned above, coming from an Old European group or from a New European group have the smallest effect on income. The largest negative influence is found to be associated with being of Asian/Arabic ancestry (-\$5,564). Thus, those who come from a New European group earn an average of \$819 more per year than the reference group, (British ancestry) while those from an Asian/Arabic ancestry earn an average of \$5,564 less per year than the British reference group when the influence of other variables are controlled for.

Examining the impact of religious affiliation on income, the data indicate that all

religious denominations, when compared to the reference category of Canadian church, have a negative effect on income. Being of an Eastern Non-Christian faith was the category which had the greatest negative effect at (-\$4,681), while being Catholic had the smallest negative effect on income (-\$1,511). Thus, those who were Catholic earned an average of \$1,511 less per year than the Canadian church reference group, while those who claimed an affiliation to an Eastern Non-Christian church earned an average of \$4,681 less per year than the reference group.

Summary of Model 1

The data indicate that age and a university education have the largest positive influences on income. The largest negative influence on income are associated with sex. The data also indicate that higher levels of education have a marked influence on one's earnings, indicating that continuing on and attaining a post-secondary education increases one's earning potential. Finally, it can be seen from these results that the influence of religion and ethnicity on total income is smaller than is the influence of education, gender, and age.

Model 2: Ethnic-Connectedness Model

Due to the interaction terms created for ethnicity*religion, the categories old European, new European, Asian/Arabic, Black/Caribbean/Central and South American, and French refer, now, only to those in these ethnic groups who claim an affiliation to the Anglican or United church. That is to say that, since there are now interaction terms which control for the effect of ethnicity on income across the different categories of religion, the results in the categories of ethnicity now represent only those in the ethnic group claiming

an affiliation to the Canadian church, i.e., Anglican or United. Old European, for example, now pertains to those who are from an old European immigrant group and who have an affiliation with the Anglican/United churches.

Model 2 (Table 4-2) includes the variables in the base model (Model 1, Table 4-1) as well as the variables associated with place of birth, in this case the effect of being “foreign-born,” “age at immigration,” “period of immigration,” “knowledge of official language,” “language spoken at home,” plus the interaction terms created for ethnicity and religion (ethnicity*religion). These variables are included as they are related to ethnic-connectedness. For “period of immigration” the category “immigrated after 1961” turned out to be a redundant measure of the variable “foreign born” (they are very highly correlated $r=0.81$).

In Table 4-2, Model 2, the results for the regression equation which regresses income on the variables associated with ethnic-connectedness, as well as the base model variables are presented. The results for this model show that this population consisted of 5,845,227 individuals, and that for this group the average income was \$30,926. The decrease in population size is due to the increased specifications of the model, i.e., recoding for the creation of the interaction terms. Also, when compared to Model 1 this model accounts for 22.4% ($R^2=0.2239$) of the variance in total income, a .13% (0.0013) increase in the variance explained, which is significant at an alpha level of .001.

Examining the results for Model 2, and disregarding the effects of the interaction terms for the time being, it was found that the most significant factors affecting income were the same as in Model 1: age (0.9402, age² -0.7891), sex (-0.3206, [-\$14,716]), and the attainment of a university education (\$17,554). Again, age and attaining a university

Table 4-2
Model 2: The Regression of Income on the Base Model plus the Ethnic-Connectedness
Interaction variables, Canada 1991

Variable Name	<u>Model 1</u> <u>Base Model</u>		<u>Model 2</u> <u>Ethnic-Connectedness Model</u>	
	Unstandardized Regression Coefficient	Standardized Regression Coefficient	Unstandardized Regression Coefficient	Standardized Regression Coefficient
Age	\$2,045.85	0.9377***	\$2071.03	0.9402***
Age ²	-\$19.77	-0.7801***	-\$20.18	-0.7891***
Sex	-\$14,664.61	-0.3234***	-\$14,716.79	-0.3206***
Education				
Less than High School	-\$4,737.86	-0.0615***	-\$3,986.63	-0.0507***
Post-secondary non- University	\$5,411.70	0.1203***	\$5,346.08	0.1174***
University	\$17,624.23	0.3191***	\$17,554.31	0.3155***
Ethnicity				
Old European	-\$603.68	-0.0087***	-\$1,310.18	-0.0194***
New European	\$819.28	0.0096***	\$481.88	0.0058
Asian/Arabic	-\$5,564.11	-0.0568***	\$1,330.52	0.0139***
Black/Caribbean/Central and South American	-\$5,618.56	-0.0368***	-\$4,996.40	-0.0332***
French	-\$1,767.71	-0.0382***	-\$1,745.50	-0.0375***
Religion				
Catholic	-\$1,272.21	-0.0281***	-\$1,130.50	-0.0246***
Protestant	-\$2,421.75	-0.0381***	-\$2,397.37	-0.0368***
Eastern Non-Christian	-\$4,681.77	-0.0233***	-\$7,394.99	-0.0378***
No Religion	-\$1,511.85	-0.0210***	-\$1,430.90	-0.0200***
Old European*Catholic			-\$416.14	-0.0036***
Old European*Protestant			-\$64.84	-6.284E-04
Old European *No Religion			-\$466.77	-0.0027***
New European*Catholic			\$258.75	0.0030
New European*Protestant			-\$1,629.36	-0.0037***
New European*No Religion			-\$1,962.92	-0.0043***

Table 4-2 (Contd.)
Model 2: The Regression of Income on the Base Model plus the Ethnic-Connectedness
Interaction variables, Canada 1991

Variable Name	<u>Model 1</u> <u>Base Model</u>		<u>Model 2</u> <u>Ethnic-Connectedness Model</u>	
	Unstandardized Regression Coefficient	Standardized Regression Coefficient	Unstandardized Regression Coefficient	Standardized Regression Coefficient
Asian/Arabic*Catholic			-\$6,206.70	-0.0346***
Asian/Arabic*Protestant			-\$4,922.07	-0.0178***
Asian/Arabic*Eastern Non-Christian			-\$2,415.27	-0.0110***
Asian/Arabic*No Religion			-\$5,270.34	-0.0358***
B./C./C.&SA.*Catholic			-\$2,375.28	-0.0092***
B./C./C.&SA.*Protestant			-\$276.03	-0.0011
B./C./C.&SA.*Eastern Non-Christian			-\$5,400.20	0.0098***
B./C./C.&SA.*No Religion			-\$1,353.93	-0.0029***
French*Catholic			-\$659.23	-0.0140***
French*Protestant			-\$1,781.99	-0.0066***
French*No Religion			-\$2,091.38	-0.0104***
Foreign born			-\$4,424.89	-0.0815***
Age at immigration				
0-14			\$5,422.41	0.0534***
15-19			\$7,316.11	0.0516***
Over 20			\$4,410.22	0.0670***
Period of immigration				
Before 1946			\$1,292.93	0.0019***
Between 1946 and 1960			\$1,676.50	0.0168***
Knowledge of official Language			-\$906.52	-0.0038***
Language spoken at Home			-\$3,948.74	-0.0464***
Constant				
			-\$14,984.24	
				-\$14,627.60

Table 4-2 (Contd.)
Model 2: The Regression of Income on the Base Model plus the Ethnic-Connectedness
Interaction variables, Canada 1991

Mean Income	\$30,634.17	\$30,926.52
Standard Deviation	\$22,480.99	\$22,764.59
 N 6,346,194		 N 5,845,227
R ² 0.2226		R ² 0.2239
		ΔR ² 0.0013

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001, Two-tailed test

Source: Statistics Canada, 1991 Census Canada, Public Use Microdata File on Individuals

education have a strong positive effect on income, while being female has a strong negative effect on income. However, the effects of sex and a university education have decreased slightly in this model, while the effects of variables associated with age have increased in statistical significance. The least important factors contributing to income were found to be: Being Catholic, (-\$1,130) while having no knowledge of an official languages had a small negative effect (-\$906) on income.

The data pertaining to educational attainment and its influence on income indicate that compared to the reference category, having a high school education, attaining any type of post secondary education has a positive effect on earnings (post-secondary non-university (\$5,346), university (\$17,5544)). Attaining less than a high school education has a negative effect on earnings (-\$3,986). Note here that the smallest influence on earning, expressed through educational attainment, is found in attaining less than a high school education.

Recall, that in this section “ethnicity” reflects the effects of being in the ethnic

category and claiming an affiliation with the Canadian church. With the inclusion of the ethnic-connectedness variables the effect of being from a New European group has become statistically non-significant as a factor influencing income. On the other hand being from Asian/Arabic descent has become positive factor (\$1,330). Thus, those from Asian/Arabic descent earn an average of \$1,330 more per year than does the British reference group. This being the case, other factors which are now included in the model acted to moderate the effect of being from Asian/Arabic descent in Model 1. The effects of being of Black/Caribbean/Central and South American and French descendent are still negatively associated with earnings (-\$4,996 and-\$1,745 respectively). As such, those of Black/Caribbean/Central and South American descent earn an average of \$4,996 less per year than the reference group.

All the religions specified have a negative impact on earnings when compared to the reference group, Canadian church. The largest negative effect occurs in the category eastern non-Christian religion (-\$7,394) and the smallest negative effect occurs in the category being Catholic(-\$1,430). Specifically, those claiming an affiliation with an eastern non-Christian religion earn an average of \$7,394 less per year than reference group, Canadian church while those who claim to be Catholic earn an average of \$1,430 less per year than the reference group.

The effects of the interaction terms created to express different categories of ethnic-connectedness, i.e., ethnicity*religion, will be examined.³ For those from an Old European

3

There were no cases in the categories Old immigrant*Eastern Non-Christian, New immigrant*Eastern Non-Christian, or French*Eastern Non-Christian, therefore no coefficients were calculated.

group, being Anglican or United is more beneficial than being either Catholic or having No religion. The effect of being from an Old European group, and claiming to be Protestant, is not statistically significant, as the coefficient associated with Old European*Protestant is not statistically significant. This means that for Old European immigrants, the effect of being Protestant is equal to the effect of claiming an affiliation to a Canadian church. The category New European*Catholic proves to be statistically non-significant. However, being New European*Protestant and being New European*No religion are statistically significant when compared to the reference category (New European group and an affiliation to either the Anglican or United church). The categories New European*Protestant and New European*No religion both have a negative effect on income (-\$1,629 and -\$1,962 respectively), while the reference category, being New European and Canadian church, was not statistically significant.

In the categories created by Asian/Arabic*religion (Asian/Arabic*Catholic, Asian/Arabic*Protestant, Asian/Arabic*Eastern Non-Christian, Asian/Arabic*No religion) all coefficients proved to be statistically significant and negative. The reference category here is Asian/Arabic and claiming an affiliation to either the Anglican or United church. The most negative effect is related to Asian/Arabic*Catholic (-\$6,206) while the least negative effect was found in the category Asian/Arabic*Eastern religion (-\$2,415), when compared to the reference category.

Black/Caribbean/Central and South American and claiming an affiliation to the Canadian church was the reference category for Black/Caribbean/Central and South American*Religion. The results indicate that the category Black/Caribbean/Central and South American*Protestant was statistically non-significant. The categories

Black/Caribbean/Central and South American*Catholic and Black/Caribbean/Central and South American*No Religion were both found to be negatively associated with earnings (-\$2,375 and -\$1,353). However, the category Black/Caribbean/Central and South American*Eastern Non-Christian religion was statistically significant in a positive direction indicating that those who are Black/Caribbean/Central and South American and claim an Eastern Non-Christian religion are economically better off than those Black/Caribbean/Central and South American claiming any other religious affiliation, including either Anglican or United.

For the French, the reference religion was also Anglican or United, i.e., Canadian church. Compared to the reference group, all other categories for the French*religion (French*Catholic, French*Protestant, French*No religion) were statistically significant and negative. The French the reference category was the least disadvantaged of all. The largest negative effect is found to be associated with French*No religion.

The data indicate that being foreign born has a moderate negative effect on income (-\$4,424). Immigrating before 1946 was found to have a positive association with income as was immigrating between 1946 and 1960 (\$1,292 and \$1,676 respectively). Thus, those who immigrated before 1946 earned an average of \$1,292 more per year than the native born, while those who immigrated between 1946 and 1960 earned an average of \$1,676 more per year than the reference group. Recall that the effect of immigrating after 1960 could not be calculated as it is a redundant measure of "foreign born." All categories of "age at immigration" proved to be statistically significant and positively associated with income. The largest influence in the age categories was found to be for those who were "over 20" when they immigrated (\$4,410). As mentioned above, having no knowledge of an official language

proved to have a very small effect on income. However, speaking a language other than an official one in the home has a moderate negative effect on income (-\$3.948).

Summary of model 2: The Ethnic-connectedness Model

To summarize, in this model, as in the first model, the effects of age, sex, and attaining a university degree were found to be the most influential factors with regard to their effect on income. Again, the effect of sex (and age²) was negative, while the effects of age and attaining a university education were positive. Being from a New European group and claiming an affiliation to a “Canadian church” was found to be statistically non-significant. Therefore, this category is not statistically different than the reference group with regards to income. The interaction terms which represented ethnic-connectedness were all determined to be statistically significant with the exception of the terms for Old European*Protestant, New European*Catholic, and Black/Caribbean/Central and South American*Protestant. The coefficients for these interaction terms were not statistically significant when compared to the reference group. Given these results it can be asserted that there is a statistically significant contribution to the variance accounted for in income by including measures of ethnic-connectedness to the model. This shows that when the definition of ethnicity is redefined by adding religion, a better understanding is attained with respect to the complexities of ethnicity, and its influence on income.

Model 3: The Ethnic-connectedness and Sex Model

Recall from Model 2 that, due to the interaction terms created for ethnicity*religion, the categories Old European, New European, Asian/Arabic, Black/Caribbean/Central and

South American, and French refer only to individuals in these ethnic groups who claim an affiliation to a Canadian church. Model 3 includes those same interaction terms but also includes the interaction terms for sex*ethnicity, sex*religion, sex*education, and sex*knowledge of official language. Given these new interaction terms, the *ethnic categories* (Old European, New European, etc.) refer only to *men* of that particular ethnic origin who claim an affiliation to a Canadian church. For all of the categories within “religion,” the results represent the effect for men only. For example, “Catholic,” under the category religion, refers only to Catholic men. The value associated with women is given by “Female*Catholic”. However, this value can only be compared to the counterpart within the category. For example, Female*Catholic can only be directly compared to Catholic; in order to compare to the reference group, the value for Female*Catholic and the value for Catholic must be added together. This new value will give a direct comparison to the reference group, which in this case would be male Anglican or United. So, with this model, direct comparisons can be made between men and women of the same group (for instance Catholic) as well as comparisons to the reference group, Canadian church.

Referring to Table 4-3, Model 3, in addition to the results for the regression equation which regresses income on the variables of the base model, those associated with ethnic-connectedness as well as the interaction terms created for gender, i.e., sex*education, sex*ethnicity, sex*religion, sex*knowledge of official language) are presented. The results for this model show that this population consisted of 5,845,227 individuals, and that for this group the average income was \$30,926. Also, when compared to model 2 this model accounts for 22.8% ($R^2=0.2282$) of the variance in income, an added increase of .43% (0.0043) in the variance explained, which is significant at an alpha level of .001.

Table 4-3

Model 3: The Regression of Income on the Base Model, Ethnic-Connectedness Variables, and Gender Interaction Terms, Canada 1991

Variable Name	Model 1 Base Model		Model 2 Ethnic-Connectedness Model		Model 3 Ethnic-Connectedness and Gender Model	
	Unstandardized Regression Coefficient	Standardized Regression Coefficient	Unstandardized Regression Coefficient	Standardized Regression Coefficient	Unstandardized Regression Coefficient	Standardized Regression Coefficient
Age	\$2,045.85	0.9377***	\$2071.03	0.9402***	\$2,063.87	0.9370***
Age ²	-\$19.77	-0.7801***	-\$20.18	-0.7891***	-\$20.11	-0.7863***
Sex	-\$14,664.61	-0.3234***	-\$14,716.79	-0.3206***	-\$17,569.02	-0.3827***
Education Less than High School	-\$4,737.86	-0.0615***	-\$3,986.63	-0.0507***	-\$3,883.14	-0.0494***
Post-secondary non- University	\$5,411.70	0.1203***	\$5,346.08	0.1174***	\$5,458.07	0.1199***
University	\$17,624.23	0.3191***	\$17,554.31	0.3155***	\$19,233.18	0.3456***
Ethnicity						
Old European	-\$603.68	-0.0087***	-\$1,310.18	-0.0194***	-\$1,866.49	-0.0273***
New European	\$819.28	0.0096***	\$481.88	0.0058	-\$716.34	-0.0086*
Asian/Arabic Black/Caribbean/ Central & South American	-\$5,564.11	-0.0568***	\$1,330.52	0.0139***	-\$1,879.14	-0.0197***
French	-\$5,618.56	-0.0368***	-\$4,996.40	-0.0332***	-\$9,858.47	-0.0656***
	-\$1,767.71	-0.0382***	-\$1,745.50	-0.0375***	-\$2,870.95	-0.0161***

Table 4-3 (Contd.)
Model 3 : The Regression of Income on the Base Model, Ethnic-Connectedness Variables, and Gender Interaction Terms,
Canada 1991

Variable Name	<u>Model 1</u> <u>Base Model</u>		<u>Model 2</u> <u>Ethnic-Connectedness Model</u>		<u>Model 3</u> <u>Ethnic-Connectedness and</u> <u>Gender Model</u>	
	Unstandardized Regression Coefficient	Standardized Regression Coefficient	Unstandardized Regression Coefficient	Standardized Regression Coefficient	Unstandardized Regression Coefficient	Standardized Regression Coefficient
Religion						
Catholic	-\$1,272.21	-0.0281***	-\$1,130.50	-0.0246***	-\$2,075.03	-0.0451***
Protestant	-\$2,421.75	-0.0381***	-\$2,397.37	-0.0368***	-\$2,842.65	-0.0436***
Eastern Non-Christian	-\$4,681.77	-0.0233***	-\$7,394.99	-0.0378***	-\$9,736.99	-0.0498***
No Religion	-\$1,511.85	-0.0210***	-\$1,430.90	-0.0200***	-\$3,269.07	-0.0462***
Old European*Catholic			-\$416.14	-0.0036***	-\$418.92	-0.0037***
Old European*Protestant			-\$64.84	-6.284E-04	-\$84.65	-8.203E04
Old European*No Religion			-\$466.77	-0.0027***	-\$358.94	-0.0021***
New European*Catholic			\$258.75	0.0030	\$299.20	0.0035
New European*Protestant			-\$1,629.36	-0.0037***	-\$1,643.77	-0.0037***
New European*No Religion			-\$1,962.92	-0.0043***	-\$1,652.17	-0.0036***
Asian/Arabic*Catholic			-\$6,206.70	-0.0346***	-\$6,359.83	-0.0355***
Asian/Arabic*Protestant			-\$4,922.07	-0.0178***	-\$4,887.46	-0.0176***
Asian/Arabic*Eastern Non-Christian			-\$2,415.27	-0.0110***	-\$1,756.63	-0.0080***
Asian/Arabic*No Religion			-\$5,270.34	-0.0358***	-\$4,928.65	-0.0335***

Table 4-3 (Contd.)
Model 3: The Regression of Income on the Base Model, Ethnic-Connectedness Variables, and Gender Interaction Terms,
Canada 1991

Variable Name	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	Base Model		Ethnic-Connectedness Model		Ethnic-Connectedness and Gender Model	
	Unstandardized Regression Coefficient	Standardized Regression Coefficient	Unstandardized Regression Coefficient	Standardized Regression Coefficient	Unstandardized Regression Coefficient	Standardized Regression Coefficient
B./C./C.&SA.*Catholic			-\$2,375.28	-0.0092***	-\$2,369.74	-0.0092***
B./C./C.&SA.*Protestant			-\$276.03	-0.0011***	-\$582.61	-0.0023***
B./C./C.&SA.*Eastern Non-Christian			-\$5,400.20	-0.0098***	-\$6,298.03	-0.0114***
B./C./C.&SA.*No Religion			-\$1,353.93	-0.0029***	-\$638.14	-0.0014**
French*Catholic			-\$659.23	-0.0140***	-\$641.94	-0.0136***
French*Protestant			-\$1,781.99	-0.0066***	-\$1,714.19	-0.0063***
French*No Religion			-\$2,091.38	-0.0104***	-\$1,905.83	-0.0095***
Foreign born			-\$4,424.89	-0.0815***	-\$4,596.39	-0.0846***
Age at immigration						
0-14						
15-19			\$5,422.41	0.0534***	\$5,530.31	0.0545***
Over 20			\$7,316.11	0.0516***	\$7,451.52	0.0526***
			\$4,410.22	0.0670***	\$4,555.92	0.0693***
Period of immigration						
Before 1946			\$1,292.93	0.0019***	\$1,260.53	0.0019***
Between 1946 and 1960			\$1,676.50	0.0168***	\$1,739.56	0.0174***

Table 4-3 (Contd.)
 Model 3: The Regression of Income on the Base Model, Ethnic-Connectedness Variables, and Gender Interaction Terms,
 Canada 1991

Variable Name	Model 1 Base Model		Model 2 Ethnic-Connectedness Model		Model 3 Ethnic-Connectedness and Gender Model	
	Unstandardized Regression Coefficient	Standardized Regression Coefficient	Unstandardized Regression Coefficient	Standardized Regression Coefficient	Unstandardized Regression Coefficient	Standardized Regression Coefficient
Knowledge of official language			-\$906.52	-0.0038***	-\$2242.21	-0.0094***
Language spoken at Home			-\$3,948.74	-0.0464***	-\$3849.31	-0.0452***
Sex*Religion						
Female* Catholic					\$2,132.71	0.0408***
Female* Protestant					\$924.67	0.0099***
Female* Eastern Religion					\$5,110.04	0.0165***
Female* No Religion					\$4,240.58	0.0376***
Sex* Ethnicity						
Female* Old European					\$1,215.22	0.0121***
Female* New European					\$2,671.68	0.0208***
Female* Asian/Arabic					\$6,653.05	0.0756***
Female* Black/Caribbean/Central & South American					\$9,771.87	0.0469***
Female* French					\$2,466.04	0.0411***
Sex* Education						
Female* Less than High School					-\$266.87	-0.0021***

**Table 4-3 (Contd.)
Model 3: The Regression of Income on the Base Model, Ethnic-Connectedness Variables, and Gender Interaction Terms,
Canada 1991**

Variable Name	Model 1 Base Model		Model 2 Ethnic-Connectedness Model		Model 3 Ethnic-Connectedness and Gender Model	
	Unstandardized Regression Coefficient	Standardized Regression Coefficient	Unstandardized Regression Coefficient	Standardized Regression Coefficient	Unstandardized Regression Coefficient	Standardized Regression Coefficient
Female*Post-secondary non- University						
Female*University					-\$351.05	-0.0065***
Knowledge of official language*Female					-\$3,893.43	-0.0492***
Constant	-\$14,984.24		-\$14,627.60		\$1,626.49	0.0048***
Mean Income	\$30,634.17		\$30,926.52		\$30,926.56	
Standard Deviation	\$22,480.99		\$22,764.59		\$22,764.59	
N	6,346,194		N 5,845,227		N 5,845,227	
R ²	0.2226		R ² 0.2239		R ² 0.2282	
			AR ² 0.0013		AR ² 0.0043	

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001, Two-tailed test

Source: Statistics Canada, 1991 Census Canada, Public Use Microdata File on Individuals.

Examining the results in Table 4-3 (Model 3) and disregarding the effects of the interaction terms for the time being, it is found that the most significant factors affecting income are the same as in Models 1 and 2: age (0.9370, age² -0.7863), sex (-0.3827, [-\$17,569]), and the attainment of a university education (\$19,233). Again, age and attaining a university education have a strong positive affect on income, while sex has a strong negative affect on income. However, in this model, as opposed to in Model 2, the effects of sex and a university education have slightly increased. The least influential factors contributing to income, overlooking the effects of the interaction terms, were found to be the same as those specified in Model 2: immigrating to Canada before 1946 had a small positive effect (\$1,260) belonging to a New European group (-\$716).

Much of the data in Model 3 is similar to that exhibited in Model 2. For instance, the values reported for all but the university category of education, those reported for all ethnic-connectedness variables (excluding Black/Caribbean/Central and South American*Religion), being foreign born, age at immigration, period of immigration, and knowledge of official language are all very similar to those values expressed in Model 2. A moderate difference is found in the influence of a university education (from \$14,716 to \$17,569), and the interaction term for Black/Caribbean/Central and South American*Protestant is now statistically significant at the 0.001 level (recall that in Model 2 this interaction term was not statistically significant). The effects of all the religion categories have altered as have the effects of all ethnicity categories.

Recall that the categories within religion now represent the effect for males only and that they are directly comparable to the reference category Anglican/United males. For religion, all of the values increased in their negative effect. Thus, it can be asserted that the

inclusion of the sex terms moderate the effect of religion on earnings. In other words the effect of sex on income varies across the categories of religious groups. The standardized regression coefficients among the categories within religion are all similar. However, the largest negative effect is associated with claiming an affiliation to an Eastern religion (-\$9,736), and the smallest negative effect is reported by those who claim an affiliation to a Catholic church (-\$2,075). So, those who claim an affiliation to an Eastern non-Christian religion earn an average of \$9,736 less per year than do those who claim an affiliation to either the Anglican or United church, while those who claim an affiliation to the Catholic church earn an average of \$2,075 less per year than the reference group.

When interpreting the coefficients for the ethnic categories, e.g., Old European immigrant group, New European immigrant group, it must be kept in mind that the coefficients refer only to those within the reference category who are male and Canadian church. This is due to the interaction terms which were created to capture the influence of the different religious categories and the effects of sex. Referring now to "ethnicity" and its effect on income, the data shows that all categories of ethnicity are negatively associated with income when compared to the reference category, males of British descent. That is to say that Anglican/United males from an Old European immigrant group, a New European immigrant group, Asian/Arabic, Black/Caribbean/Central and South American, or French will have lower earnings when compared to Anglican/United males from British ancestry. The smallest negative effect on income was reported by those belonging to a New European immigrant group (-\$716). The largest negative influence on income, when compared to the reference group, was shown to exist for those coming from Black/Caribbean/Central and South American descent (-\$9,585). Thus, the results indicate that there is a marked

difference in income based on ethnic origin.

With respect to ethnic-connectedness, the only coefficients which exhibited a notable change in value occur in Black/Caribbean/Central and South American*religion. Specifically, changes were apparent in the categories of Black/Caribbean/Central and South American*Protestant, where the category is now statistically significant (-\$582) and in the category Black/Caribbean/Central and South American*No Religion, where the category is now significant at the .01 alpha level, instead of at the .001 alpha level.

An examination of the coefficient for sex reveals that compared to males who are British, belong to either the United or Anglican church, who have a high school education, and who speak English or French at home, their female counterparts on all dimensions, earn an average of -\$17,569 less per year.

The data indicate that all the interaction terms created for sex, i.e., sex*education, sex*ethnicity, sex*religion, sex*knowledge of official language, are all significant. This indicates that the effects of education, ethnicity, religion, and having knowledge of an official language are different for women than for men.

Looking at the effect of sex*education on income, the unstandardized regression coefficients are all negative. This indicates that women do not benefit as much from an advanced education as men, and furthermore, that they suffer greater financial losses than men for not completing at least a high school education. Notably, the data indicates that men, and women, with some form of post-secondary degree or diploma earn more, on average, than do men with a high school education. Women with some form of a "post-secondary non-university" degree or diploma earn, on average, \$351 less per year than their male counterparts. University educated women earn an average of \$3,893 less than their

male university educated counterparts. However, women who have “Less than High School” earn \$266 less per year than their male counterparts. Thus, we can see from these results that women and men benefit in the same general pattern relative to their educational attainment, but that women do not benefit economically to the extent that their male counterparts do. However, it should be noted that women do benefit greatly from a university education. They just don’t benefit nearly as much as do their male counterparts.

Referring now to religion and its impact on income, the results indicate that all the unstandardized regression coefficients for men are negative, while all unstandardized regression coefficients for women are positive. This indicates that for men, “religion,” across all categories presented in the model, has a greater negative effect on income than it does for women. That is, women are not affected, economically, as negatively by their religious affiliations as are their male counterparts. In fact, the data indicate that “Catholic” women and women with “No Religion” fare better than their male counterparts. When all other factors are held constant, “Catholic” women, earn, on average, \$57 more per year, and women with “No religion” earn, on average, \$944 more per year, than the reference group.

The results indicate that the unstandardized regression coefficients for religion and ethnicity are negative for men, while for women the unstandardized regression coefficient values are positive. In this case, a direct comparison between sex*ethnicity and ethnicity is comprised of a comparison between women of that particular ethnic origin and males of that particular ethnic origin who have an affiliation to the Anglican/United church. This is due to the fact that the effect of the other religions has been taken out and is accounted for by the interaction terms related to ethnic-connectedness. For males all of the regression coefficients are negative, while for females all the regression coefficients are positive. This indicates that

women are not as negatively effected by their ethnic origin as are men when looking at the effect of ethnicity on income. In fact, what is quite interesting is that women from a new immigrant group and women who are of Asian/Arabic descent make more money, on average per year, than does the reference group (British-Anglican/United- males) when all other factors are controlled for. New immigrant group women earn an average of \$1,955 (\$2,671.68 - \$716.34) more per year than the reference group, while Asian/Arabic women earn an average of \$4,773 (\$6,653.05 - \$1,879.14) more per year than the reference group.

Referring briefly to the effect of language practices and acquisition, i.e., language spoken at home and knowledge of an official language, on income, the results indicate that both of these variables negatively impact earnings. Speaking a language other than English or French in the home has a negative impact on income (-\$3,849). Holding all other factors constant, men with no knowledge of one of Canada's official languages earn an average of \$2,242 less per year than those who do have knowledge. Women with no knowledge of one of the official languages are not as negatively effected by their status, earning only \$615 less per year than the reference group.

Summary of Model 3: Ethnic-connectedness and Sex

To summarize, in this model, as in the Model 1 and Model 2, the effects of age, gender, and attaining a university degree were found to be the most influential factors with regard to their effect on income. Again, the effect of sex (and age²) was negative, while the effects of age and attaining a university education were positive.

The interaction terms provided to represented ethnic-connectedness were all determined to be statistically significant with the exclusion of the categories "old

immigrant*Protestant,” and “new immigrant*Catholic.” These interaction terms proved to be statistically insignificant compared to the reference group.

As well, the interaction terms created for sex and education, sex and ethnicity, sex and religion, and sex and knowledge of an official language were also determined to be statistically significant with no exceptions. Thus, it can be concluded that the effect of religion, ethnicity, education, and having knowledge of an official language is different for women than it is for men.

Summary of Findings

For each of the models presented in this study, the results consistently indicate that age, sex, and a university education are the most important factors influencing income. Specifically, in every model, age and attaining a university education have a positive effect on income, while sex consistently has a negative effect on income. Furthermore, data consistently indicate that ethnicity, and religious affiliations with other than the Canadian church, also have a negative effect on total income.

In Model 2 the results added further support to the Kalbach’s assertion regarding the complexity of ethnicity, by showing that different religious pathways were more beneficial for some ethnic groups than for others. Introducing ethno-religious variables into the base model made a statistically significant contribution to the explanatory power of the model. Thus, it can be ascertained that integration is not a uniform process, but rather it is governed by the complexities of ethno-religious combinations. Thus, there are ethno-religious differences with regard to the most successful paths of assimilation and integration, depending on ethnic background and religious affiliation.

Model 3, with the inclusion of the sex interaction terms, showed that the process of assimilation and integration not only varies according to ethno-religious groupings, but also varies with regard to sex. These results indicate that all of the factors included in the analysis do not affect men and women equally or in the same direction. These models show that men and women do not experience the same advantages and disadvantages.

The three models presented in this study demonstrate the many different existing pathways to assimilation and integration, depending on ethnicity, religious affiliation, and gender. Also, these models address the complexities associated with the definition of ethnicity what it means to be ethnic.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter summarizes the findings of this study and discusses the implications of sex and ethno-religious differences regarding socioeconomic integration in Canadian society.

Summary

It was consistently the case, with all three of the models presented in this study, that the variables age, sex, and having a university education were the most significant factors with regard to influencing income. In addition age and having a university education were a positive influence on income while being female, was a negative one.

As expected, when all other factors were controlled for, both ethnicity and religion were found to be statistically significant factors negatively affecting income. Every one of the religious groups identified in this study were affected in a negative manner when compared to the Canadian churches (the reference group). Relatively speaking, church membership in other than the Canadian churches was a handicap to earnings. Surprisingly enough, however, the effects of religion were not as negative for women as they were for men. In every case, women's earnings were not affected as negatively by their religious affiliations as were men. In some cases (Catholic and no religion), women actually fared better than men who had an affiliation to a Canadian church (the reference group). Perhaps women earn some sort of benefit from church networks. Perhaps church affiliations help them find jobs or help "make ends meet." However, both men and women with affiliations to Eastern non-Christian religions were the most detrimentally effected by their religion.

This research indicates that ethnicity affected income negatively. However, the effect was not a uniform one across categories of ethnicity. Just as with religion, the effect of belonging to each group was different. Being ethnic is not a homogeneous category or description. Without the effect of the ethnicity and religion, the least negatively affected group were the new immigrant group. The most negatively affected group was the Black/Caribbean/Central and South Americans. Once again women were not as negatively affected by their ethnic status as were their male counterparts. For women, both new immigrant group and Asian/Arabic women fared better than British males when all other factors in the equation were controlled for.

Being foreign born, speaking a language other than English or French in the home, and having no knowledge of one of Canada's official languages all had negative effects on earnings. However, for women the effect of not speaking one of Canada's official languages was not as negative as it was for their male counterparts. This may be because of the occupations women tend to populate. Furthermore, women may look for work within the network of the ethnic group, which would also explain why they are not as negatively affected by ethnicity or religion, but do not gain as much from an education. Perhaps for women of all ethnic groups, the real negative effects still come from trying to infiltrate the public workforce. A more specific account of occupation would be beneficial to gain more insight into this finding.

Another unexpected finding occurred with age at immigration. The data here indicated that, when all other factors in the equation were controlled for, no category of "age at immigration" was negatively associated with income. This could be due to the fact that most of the immigrants in this study immigrated after 1960, and therefore entered Canada

under the point system, and were therefore more highly educated than the native-born British reference group.

Once the sex interaction terms were introduced into the equation, the values for religion, ethnicity, and knowledge of an official language all increased in their negative value. This indicates that sex was moderating the effect for men in these categories. Thus, the results varied for women and men.

With respect to the data pertaining to the French it should be mentioned that the results could be affected by issues of regionalism. As most individuals of French ancestry in Canada reside in the province of Quebec, the regional economy, politics, unemployment rate, could effect this group unilaterally with no indication or fallout to the rest of the Canadian population. It would be interesting to pursue a regionalised analysis of assimilation and socioeconomic integration.

Mobility Paths

The results support Kalbach and Kalbach's assertion (1995a, 1995b; Kalbach and Richard, 1991a, 1991b, 1991c, 1990b, 1985a, 1985b, 1980) that there is a dimension called ethnic-connectedness and that this can add to our understanding of assimilation and integration. With the exception of Old European *Protestant and New European *Catholic all of the interaction terms created for ethnic-connectedness were found to be statistically significant. Furthermore, the data supported their suppositions that different pathways are more successful for some than for others. That is to say that there is no one way to gain upward mobility for all immigrants. So, there are differences between the different pathways provided with regard to the "best" or most successful ways to assimilate. For example, all

groups benefit from claiming an affiliation to the Canadian churches (Anglican and United). However, old immigrant group Protestants experience some upward mobility, as do new immigrant group Catholics.

Recall that Kalbach and Kalbach (1991b:145) examined three potential mobility paths to assimilation in their research. The mobility paths were related to ethnic-connectedness. For each ethnic group, a different ethnic-religious affiliation combination would effect the success of socioeconomic mobility and integration. Kalbach and Kalbach identified three potential paths: 1) the ethnic church, 2) the mainline Canadian churches, and 3) having no preference for any religion or church. As reviewed in the literature, Kalbach and Kalbach discovered that the same path was not the most or least beneficial for each ethnic group. In other words, differing groups found different paths to be more beneficial. Thus, not one path is best for all ethnic groups.

Referring to Model 3 (which included all variables and interaction terms) for the Old European immigrant groups, the best path of assimilation was associated with being a member of an Old European immigrant group and claiming an affiliation to either the Canadian church or the Protestant church. Although neither one was equal to the reference group, each did fare better than the other ethnic*religious categories specified in this ethnic category. For those from New European immigrant groups the best paths to assimilation proved to be having an affiliation to either the Canadian church or the Catholic church. Equally disadvantageous were the Protestant church and having no religious affiliation.

For those from Asian/Arabic ancestry the most successful path to assimilation and economic mobility, i.e., socioeconomic integration, was with the Canadian churches followed by the Eastern Non-Christian churches. The least successful path was with the Catholic

church. Compared to the reference group, those of Black/Caribbean/Central and South American were most successful when affiliated with the Canadian churches followed by the Eastern non-Christian religions. Once again, as with those of Asian/Arabic descent, the most unsuccessful mobility path was associated with the Catholic church. Lastly, for those of French ancestry the most successful path to economic mobility was associated with an affiliation to the Canadian churches followed by the Catholic church.

Thus, this analysis found that for all groups, one of, if not the most, advantageous path to economic mobility, and therefore to socioeconomic integration, was to have an affiliation with one of the Canadian churches.

There are several possible reasons why the results attained in this study could vary from previous research. One of the primary, and most obvious reasons as to why the results of this analysis vary somewhat could be attributed to the different statistical methods used to analyse the data. While much of the Kalbachs' work used cross-tabulation, this research used regression analysis. Using regression analysis enabled statistical control of several more factors at once. This allowed for some control of possible spuriousness rendering the unobstructed influence each individual variable had on the dependent variable. Furthermore, while the Kalbachs' preferred to select a monetary cut mark point (either \$25,000 or \$50,000), in dollars, which represented the point at which economic mobility was expressed, in this study all variables were compared to the mean income of the reference group. Thus, a comparison of means was done. That is, this study performed a direct comparison to the mean wages of the reference group for each category. Therefore, all variables were compared to the mean of the reference group. Furthermore, this study controlled for the effects of age, sex, education, religion, ethnicity, and several interaction

terms, to calculate the effect of ethnic-connectedness and sex on income. Thus, the effect of ethnic-connectedness and sex were calculated while controlling for other factors.

While this study used individual income as the dependent variable, the work of Kalbach and Kalbach (or Richard) used “family income” as the dependent variable. Also, in the final model (Model 3) the mean income was calculated to be just short of \$31,000 dollars with a standard deviation of just over \$22,000 (recall that in the work of Kalbach and Kalbach the income cut off was often either \$25,000 or \$50,000 per annum). As such, approximately 68 percent of the incomes within this population were between \$9,000 and \$53,000 dollars per annum. So, an income under \$9,000 or over \$53,000 per year would be one standard deviation, in either direction, away from the mean income of this population.

Conclusion

Surprisingly, women were not found to not be as negatively affected by their religion or ethnicity when compared to their male counterparts. On the other hand, women did not benefit as much from their educational attainments as did their male counterparts. The results indicated, at the time of the 1991 Census, that all ethnic groups were economically disadvantaged when compared to the British.

It is obvious that Canada still has a way to go in regard to the equal opportunities experienced by ethnic minorities and women. It is also obvious from this study that being an “immigrant” or a “woman” are not homogeneous classifications. The process of assimilation and integration is not a simple one. And it cannot be universally explained for all ethnic groups in a cookie-cutter fashion. The experiences of ethnic groups in Canada,

and the path best associated with a smooth transition into the host society, is complex and varies across ethnicities and between men and women.

With the inclusion of sex in this study, the results indicated that men and women do not have the same immigration experience. Furthermore, these results might somehow reveal that women share more in common with one another than they do with their male counterparts. Are there gendered pathways to assimilation? Is the process associated with assimilation and socioeconomic integration a gendered one? Do men and women differ in the ways in which they utilize their networks to assure their successful integration? Or are the established networks themselves gendered? These and other questions could be the subject of future research.

Future research could be expanded by controlling for factors such as regionalism. A more specific examination of the home life, including marital status, ethnic origin of spouse, religious denomination of the spouse, the presence of children, form of daycare, number of people living under one household, and external family responsibilities, e.g., taking care of elderly parents, could shed some light into cultural and or gender differences. Additional variables which could control for more variation in the analysis might include: number of weeks worked, days of absence from work in the past year, frequency of church attendance, number of family members who are also in Canada, educated here or in their country of origin, occupation, and number of members in the household working outside the home.

Exploration with uncollapsed ethnic categories could shed some light into possible new groupings based on similarities between the host country and the country of origin. An index could be constructed to represent the degree to which cultures are similar or different. Perhaps the immigrant groups should be classified according to the similarities present

between their country of origin and the host culture. Perhaps the difficulties in assimilation and integration are linked with how much they have to adapt. A point or scale could be constructed which would measure the extent of similarity between Canada and the origin country. The variables used in this research could be used on a scale to compose the index. Similarities based on, religion, political system, education system, language, i.e., Romance, Germanic, Hellenic, economic system, average education level, historical ties . As such, one would expect those who immigrated from the United Kingdom, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand, to have the least amount of trouble assimilating. And, tests could be conducted to see if individuals from these nations have an easier time assimilating and integrating.

The possibilities are numerous in this area of research, and as Canada has made a commitment to multiculturalism, there is no doubt that further research is needed. Canada is still a vertical mosaic where opportunities are not offered to everyone equally. Understanding the challenges faced by men and women of varying ethnic groups will enable Canada as a country, Canadians, and immigrants to better adapt to, and understand, the struggles faced by this country.

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