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**LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ  
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REGIONAL VARIATIONS AMONG ETHNIC GROUPS IN ONTARIO:  
A CORE-PERIPHERY MODEL

BY  
ROBERT SHARPE

THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for  
the Master of Arts degree

Wilfrid Laurier University

April, 1983

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis performs a spatial analysis of Ontario's structure of ethnic stratification. It examines several spatial manifestations of the contrasts in socio-economic well-being -- income, education, and occupation -- between Ontario's British majority and seven ethnic minority categories. The major data source for this analysis includes published Canadian Census data and special tabulations of the 1971 Census. Regional patterns of spatial distribution shown by the various ethnic categories are described and compared using location quotients and the centrophoric statistical technique. Applying a core-periphery model of regional structure and development, a tendency was found for ethnic categories of subordinate socio-economic status to be disproportionately concentrated in Ontario's geographic periphery of northern Ontario. On the other hand, ethnic minorities with a socio-economic status similar to that of the British majority were shown to be more spatially integrated within the Toronto-centred core of southern Ontario.



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## CHAPTER I - Introduction

### I The Problem

Inequalities of wealth and power between ethnic groups which differ in their language, religion, ancestry, or other ascribed cultural attributes, are a persistent social and political problem throughout Western societies. In Canada, public and academic interest in the well-being of its numerous ethnic minorities became prominent in the early 1960's paralleling growing efforts by the public sector to remove other kinds of social and regional disparities. By 1971 the Canadian government had adopted a policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework. This landmark policy signified an acceptance of increased responsibility for bringing about a more equitable distribution of wealth and power between ethnic groups [Burnet, 1976]. But if the policy of multiculturalism is to be realized, it is necessary to recognize the association between ethnic inequalities and spatial variations in socio-economic development. It is the purpose of this study to demonstrate the relevancy of a geographic or spatial approach to the study of ethnic inequalities, the logic for which is given in the next few pages.

The structure of ethnic inequalities in Canada has generally been described in terms of the socio-economic, political, and cultural stratification of ethnic groups, in which ethnic minorities occupy a status subordinate to the British majority [Porter, 1965; Dahlie and Fernando, 1981]. The Canadian sociologist, Wsevold Isajiw [1976], for example, uses an aspatial core-periphery model to describe the structure of ethnic inequalities in Canada as follows:

" If we look at society as if it were a circle with a centre and a periphery, the centre being the public sphere, then some ethnic communities are closer to the centre, and others closer to the periphery...the more power an ethnic group has in society, the closer its community will be to the public sphere" (p.39).

The core-periphery model in this context refers to an abstract hierarchy of ethnic communities based on their influence over the larger society. As with most sociological concepts, Isajiw's model is not concerned with describing the spatial manifestation of ethnic communities or their spatial interactions. Nevertheless, Isajiw's model is analagous to the core-periphery conceptual model of spatial structure and development. A model which does make several propositions concerning the spatial distribution of stratified social groups. For example, it suggests that groups of higher socio-economic status are in close proximity to the spatial systems's socio-economic core and that less powerful groups are spatially separated from that core.

This kind of core-periphery separation of ethnic groups has been previously noted among the Scots and Welsh in Britain [Hechter, 1975], and among other ethnic minorities throughout Europe [Sharpe, 1983]. Whether such a core-periphery spatial pattern exists among ethnic groups in Canada remains to be demonstrated. Previous studies have revealed distinct geographic differences between ethnic groups in Canada [Hill, 1978; Richmond and Kalbach, 1980]. For example, in contrast to Canada's geographically dispersed British majority, the ethnic minorities tend to be regionally concentrated, with the French in Quebec and northeastern Ontario, Acadians in New Brunswick, Ukrainians in the Prairie Provinces, Native Indians on reserves, and the recent Asian immigrants in the larger cities. There are few studies, however, that have examined the association between these regional concentrations of ethnic groups and their socio-economic status. Moreover, there are fewer studies which have substantiated a core-periphery spatial structure among ethnic groups in Canada.

The present study will contribute to both ethnic and geographic research by examining the relationship between ethnic group disparities and geographic structure. This will involve an empirical application of the core-periphery model of spatial structure and development to ethnic groups in Ontario. More specifically, this study's primary objective is to identify ethnic differences in the spatial variation of socio-economic well-being in Ontario.

## 2 Methodology

The application of the core-periphery model to ethnic differentiation requires that this study adopt an interdisciplinary approach. For a basic understanding of ethnicity and ethnic change it is necessary to review the literature of sociologists and social anthropologists. In addition, although a regional perspective is evident in the sociological literature, it is necessary to this study's spatial focus to review the geographic literature on regional development. Chapter II reviews the literature and integrates the various concepts of ethnicity and regional development into a core-periphery model of regional structure and development. The hypotheses derived from this model are intended to account for some of the spatial variation in the socio-economic conditions of ethnic groups.

Armed with these hypotheses concerning ethnic differentiation in regional economic systems, it is possible in Chapters III to VII to focus on the specific conditions of ethnic groups in Ontario. It is important to note at the outset that by defining Ontario as the region of study limits the scope of this analysis to the economic and cultural forces active within the Province. Therefore it does not consider the national or global forces which have affected regional development in the Province, or changes among its ethnic minorities. Nevertheless, as a relatively autonomous regional system, Ontario is

an excellent area for this kind of analysis. In addition to its primarily British population there are a diversity of ethnic groups with a variety of socio-cultural attributes. These groups are geographically distributed across the Province in different patterns: some are spatially dispersed, some are concentrated in the southern Ontario heartland, and some are concentrated in remote peripheral regions. In order to interpret the origins and effects of these patterns of distribution Chapters III to V of this thesis examine the role of ethnic groups in Ontario's historical processes of regional development. The analysis spans the entire life of the Province, examining the formation, characteristics, and distributions of ethnic groups in Ontario between 1763 and 1971. Chapter III outlines the formation of Ontario's ethnic population and the development of the Province's core-periphery regional structure. Chapter IV focusses on major ethnic categories in Ontario describing some of their socio-cultural attributes and their processes of integration into the larger society. Chapter V examines in detail the changing patterns of geographic distribution among ethnic categories in Ontario between 1763 and 1971.

After Chapter V the focus on ethnic groups in Ontario narrows to the specific time period of 1971. It is for this time period only that detailed Census data were available. Although the 1971 figures are dated this does not detract from the objectives of this thesis. A test of the core-periphery model depends upon substantiating the expected relationships between socio-economic conditions and certain patterns

of geographic distribution. This objective can be achieved by examining a cross-section of the Province in 1971. Further research, employing the 1981 data when they become available will be valuable in considering the dynamics of core-periphery relations.

Chapter VI uses the 1971 Census data extensively to describe and compare conditions of socio-economic well-being among ethnic categories. The various levels of assimilation experienced by the groups are summarized with data on occupations, incomes, and education. Chapter VII employs several statistical methods to compare how socio-economic conditions within different ethnic groups vary across the Province. Finally, in Chapter VIII a regression analysis is used in order to test whether, and to what extent, a core-periphery model accounts for regional variations in well-being. The relevancy of the model will be tested within each group thereby isolating some of the core-peripheral processes which are universal from those which are unique to specific ethnic groups.



## CHAPTER II - Ethnic Groups in the Regional Spatial Structure

The purpose of this chapter is to summarize and integrate both a sociological model of ethnic relations and a spatial model of the core-periphery regional structure. Section 1 of this chapter is concerned with defining the concepts and models used in the subsequent sociological analyses of ethnic groups. Section 2 reviews the origins and propositions of the core-periphery geographic model, explores the links between these models, and generates new hypotheses concerning possible patterns of ethnic differentiation in the core-periphery system. Previous studies of Canada which have adopted similar models are reviewed in Section 3.

### 1 A Sociological Model of Ethnicity

#### A - Ethnic Groups and Ethnic Stratification

The meaning of ethnic groups is very fluid in both the literature and in general usage. Therefore it is important to develop an operational definition of consistent meaning throughout the following analysis. In this study ethnic groups are a primary unit of social organization composed of individual members who are bound together through shared social interactions. Barth defines an ethnic group as a social category made up of of "...a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguished from other categories of the same order" (p.11).

The identity of ethnic categories can be based on a variety of markers, or clusters of markers. A recent international study by Rothschild [1981] identifies several features that serve as markers of ethnic boundaries. These include the following:

- i) race, as a phenotypical feature;
- ii) kinship, through blood ties or alleged common ancestry;
- iii) language, as a vehicle of communication or a symbol of identity;
- iv) religion, as a type of social allegiance;
- v) a customary livelihood;
- vi) a strong territorial identity; and,
- vii) a historical political autonomy .

Within the operational definition of ethnic groups adopted in this analysis the cultural markers, or common bases of ethnic identity, are of importance because they define boundaries of social interaction. Individuals which exhibit, or express an identity with any of these markers can: i) ascribe membership for themselves with a particular group, and/or; ii) be ascribed with membership in a particular group by non-members. Either way the effect of ascription is to constrain social interaction through the inclusion of group members or the exclusion of non-members. Inside ethnic groups social activities can be "canalized", to varying degrees, into a range of behaviour and set of value orientations defined as appropriate by the ethnic group. On the other hand, those activities which move across ethnic boundaries are "dichotomized" between members and non-members which "...implies a

recognition of limitations on shared understandings, differences in criteria for judgement of value and performance, and a restriction of interaction to sectors of assumed common understanding and mutual interest," [Barth, 1969:13].

The social constraints resulting from both kinds of ascription are relevant to this study. However, as there are no available operational measures of ethnic self-ascription, especially at an aggregate level, it is necessary to define ethnic groups according to the markers of ascription used by the Canadian Census. Most of the data analyzed in this study has been collected from the 1971 Census in which the question defining ethnic origin reads as follows:

"To what ethnic or cultural group did you or your ancestor (on the male side) belong on coming to this continent?"

In this operational definition, ethnicity is ascribed by non-members according to ancestry and therefore does not account for differences in ethnic identity resulting from subjective identification, intermarriage, or the number of generations in Canada. Groups defined by ascription in this way do not necessarily have a distinct social structure of their own but include an aggregate of people who experience similar social constraints. Even between such ascribed ethnic categories there are systematic patterns of variation which provide a basis of comparison. The ethnic categories to be analyzed in the following chapters include the British, French, Western Europeans, Eastern Europeans, Jews, Southern Europeans, Visible Minorities, Native Indians. A complete index to the ethnic origin groups defined by the Canadian Census and the analytic categories into which they have been placed is given in Table A-2.

The kinds of social activities constrained by ethnic boundaries depends upon the structure of the social system. In many multi-ethnic societies, such as Canada, it is relevant to examine ethnicity as a basis of inequalities in the distribution of power, prestige and privilege (see for example Porter, 1965). A typical pattern of ethnic cleavage is a system of stratification in which groups are hierarchically ranked by levels of socio-economic well-being. In a series of comparative studies on ethnic differentiation Hechter [1975 & 1976; Hechter and Levi, 1979] focusses on stratification in terms of the "cultural division of labour". He explains that this concept "...refers to the salience of objective cultural distinctions in the distribution of occupations and rewards...." [Hechter, 1975:316]. According to Hechter most ethnic cleavages arise from two basic divisions in the labour market. First there are hierarchical stratifications of ethnic groups between high and low socio-economic strata across a wide range of occupations. Alternately, ethnic minorities can be segmented into a limited number of specialized occupations in which incomes vary widely. Hechter suggests that from these divisions of labour ethnic distinctions extend outside the workplace, constraining social interaction in a wide range of socio-economic dimensions including education, voluntary associations, and residential location.

The cultural division of labour arises when members of one ethnic category have some advantage, such as a numerical majority or unequalled technology which allows them to dominate the social means

of production, exchange and distribution. It is in the dominant group's interest to exploit the ethnic features of more subordinate groups, excluding them from full participation in the society and restricting their opportunities for equal involvement. Barth [1969] specifies that dominant groups employ at least four different mechanisms to:

"...generate and maintain a categorically different distribution of assets: state controls, as in some modern plural and racist systems; marked differences in evaluation that canalize the efforts of actors in different directions, as in systems with polluting occupations; or differences in culture that generate marked differences in political organization, economic organization, or individual skills," (p.15).

Some societies use various cultural markers as a basis for discriminatory state controls and policies which remove subordinate groups from competing for scarce power and resources. In Ontario, however, the stratification of ethnic minorities is primarily the result of their structural disadvantage in terms of low educational achievements, linguistic barriers, inadequate employment experience, and as this study will emphasize - peripheral geographic locations [Block and Walker, 1982: 16-17].

## B - Ethnic Integration

Ethnic groups which are brought together through the experience of immigration undergo changes as they interact with other groups in a new and shared socio-economic system. Reitz [1980:124-125] claims that characteristic stages can be identified within an ethnic group's "life-cycle". Although groups can be at different stages or experience different kinds of life-cycles they generally go through similar phases of formation, adjustment, and gradual integration into the larger society. Although these phases are typical of most social groups over long periods of time, it is not clear if they always lead to the integration of ethnic minorities, or more importantly, if they lead to greater equality in the distribution of resources.

Processes of ethnic integration can occur in many dimensions without disrupting the boundaries that separate and constrain ethnic categories. The integration of ethnic groups is complicated by at least three subprocesses: acculturation, structural assimilation and primary assimilation [Hughes and Kallen, 1974: 150-157]. Acculturation, or cultural integration refers to the processes of adopting the languages, values, behavioural patterns, and skills of unfamiliar cultural groups. The more culturally dissimilar ethnic groups will face the greatest barriers to cultural integration. Even so, the complete acculturation of a minority, which implies a loss of objective cultural identity does not necessarily disrupt a group's boundaries. In other words, acculturation can be associated with, but is not prerequisite to, the structural integration of ethnic groups.

Assimilation refers to the processes whereby a group enters the major social institutions of the dominant society and assumes equal relations with the majority ethnic group. But there are degrees of assimilation. Secondary or structural assimilation refers to the large scale entrance of members from an ethnic minority into the economic, educational, legal, and political institutions of the dominant society. Levels of secondary assimilation are closely related to a groups' life-chances as measured by incomes, occupations and educational attainment. Primary assimilation refers to the acceptance of ethnic minority members into the majority groups' private social relationships through intermarriage and voluntary association.

The argument that the integration of ethnic groups was an inevitable and irreversible process originated with the human-ecological tradition of the Chicago School [Park, 1950]. More recently, the structural-functionalist approach, which is typified by Karl Deutsch [1969] and Talcott Parsons [1971], view ethnic differentiation as a pre-existing phenomena which break down through the processes industrialization, modernization, and national political development. In this view, ethnic, religious, linguistic, or any other ascribed social categories are judged to be impediments to the growth of labour mobility in a meritocratic society. Since ethnic groups perform no vital function in the modern industrial state, their assimilation is seen as inevitable. It is reasoned that as an economy develops and its population becomes more educated and experienced the level of social mobility within and between social groups will

increase. Hence within a few generations ethnic groups become acculturated and then structurally integrated. This functional model attributes the persistence of ethnically stratified structures in North American societies to the successive waves of immigrant groups that begin at the bottom of the social ladder and push up ethnic groups of longer residence [Thomlinson, 1965].

The human-ecological and functional models of ethnic integration do not account for the fact that ethnic groups persist and revive over time. Both Barth [1969], and Glazer and Moynihan [1975] recognize that some ethnic minorities have adopted alternative strategies of ethnic boundary maintenance and integration. Barth [1969] identifies three strategies available to agents of change within an ethnic category as follows:

" (i) they can attempt to pass and become incorporated in the pre-established industrial society and cultural group; (ii) they can accept a 'minority' status, accommodate to and seek to reduce their minority disabilities by encapsulating all cultural differentiae in sectors of non-articulation, while participating in the larger system of the industrialized group in the other sectors of activity; (iii) they can choose to emphasize ethnic identity, using it to develop new positions and patterns to organize activities in those sectors formerly not found in their society, or inadequately developed for the new purposes " (p.33).



The survival or integration of an ethnic group is determined, in part, by its chosen strategy of ethnic boundary maintenance. In addition, sociologists have shown that the processes of ethnic integration are influenced by numerous and complex processes. This study, however, is concerned primarily with how the processes of ethnic integration are affected by physical separation and regional differences in group location. Until recently, the influence of these spatial factors on ethnic relations has been relatively ignored. A central proposition of this study is that the assimilation of ethnic groups can be interpreted according to patterns of spatial integration. It will be shown that regional spatial differences have a significant role in the maintenance of ethnically differentiated social structures.

## 2 A Regional Model of Ethnicity

### A - An Evolving Paradigm

An interdisciplinary paradigm of ethnic studies which incorporates a spatial and specifically regional component is only slowly becoming explicit in the literature on ethnicity. As a result there are very few precedents to the regional analysis of ethnic group interaction. Nevertheless, a recent collection of regional studies by anthropologists [Smith, 1976a & b] shows that a range of geographical models have been drawn on in order to clarify the relationship between

ethnic patterns and the regional space-economy . For example, Smith [1976c] applies central-place theory in order to examine the impact of hierarchical systems of exchange and distribution on patterns of ethnic stratification. Other studies draw on diffusion theory and a core-periphery model to explain the disadvantaged characteristics of populations in remote cultural regions [Beck, 1976; Verdery, 1976]. Although these are valuable perspectives their focus is on the adaptation of specific cultural groups and on the internal characteristics of marginal regions.

An extensive sociological literature on ethnic stratification offers more comprehensive regional approaches. For example, Dependency theories [Frank, 1979; Friedmann and Wayne, 1977; Veltmeyer, 1980] and models of internal colonialism [Hechter, 1971, 1975; Hechter and Levi, 1979] explore themes of social and ethnic stratification in a regional context. Typically, these approaches adopt a core-periphery model of spatial development in order to explain the origin and persistence of regional social structures. Although these studies have not been geographic in focus their use of the core-periphery model has linked geographic differences in ethnicity to a central feature of capitalist economic development - uneven spatial development.

The core-periphery model is an interdisciplinary theory that has been applied from the perspective of political scientists [Pounds and Bell, 1964], sociologists [Pioro, 1977] and geographers [Brookfield, 1975; Friedmann, 1973; Whebell, 1968]. Regardless of perspective the theoretical advantage of the model is to integrate

the extensive set of processes involved in regional development including migration, settlement, cultural change, and political-economic development. The links between geography, economic development, and ethnic differentiation within the core-periphery model will be analyzed in the following five sections.

#### B - The Core-periphery Model

The core-periphery model is concerned with describing and explaining the disparities between actively developing regions and slow or stagnating regions. As wealth and economic growth are key indicators of development it is not surprising that the model has evolved primarily from economics and economic geography. Working from this perspective it was the economist G. Perroux [1964] who first noted in 1950 that economic growth "...does not appear everywhere at once...but concentrates along specific channels and points of industrial activity" [22]. His concept which referred only to economic concentrations around abstract poles in economic space was extended to the analysis of economic concentrations around geographic growth centres. A number of development studies by Myrdal [1957], Friedmann [1963], and Brookfield [1975] demonstrated that economic growth tends to behave in a circular and cumulative fashion, eventually resulting in a concentration of economic activities in geographic space. In his model of "polarized development, Friedmann [1975:41-64] claims that growth centres function as the cores of much larger systems of economic, social, and political relations. This model is the basis of the core-periphery concept applied in this study and should therefore be summarized.

As a centre of economic and political power, the core interacts in an exploitative relationship with a surrounding periphery by removing its unprocessed raw materials and capturing its consumer markets. Consequently, cores have higher standards of living, characterized by employment in secondary and tertiary activities, relatively high incomes, and the provision of superior education, health, and legal services. With these advantages the core becomes a centre of labour migration, industrial agglomeration, and political and economic innovation. Concomittantly, the periphery evolves a less diversified a more dependent economy. It is characterized by a predominance of primary and mono-export industries and few infrastructure investments other than those benefitting the extractive industries. Typically, peripheral populations have low incomes and experience poverty, poor education, health, and legal services. With these disadvantages the periphery has less internal capability of generating growth, innovations, or social change and becomes dependent on the diffusion of developments from the core.

The persistence, and indeed accentuation, of the disparities between core and periphery suggests that even as a region develops core and periphery will continue to diverge. The characteristics of core and periphery, as well as some reasons for this divergence are summarized in Figure II-1.

Figure II-1

FACTORS CAUSING DIVERGENCE

Periphery

- low income
- primary activities
- staples
- loss of capital
- loss of people
- high interest
- no corporate headquarters
- no political power
- poor infrastructure
- low population density
- disproportionate concentration of ethnic minorities

Dependence

1. failure of diminishing returns to set in at the centre
2. failure to perceive peripheral investment opportunities
3. export demand for goods produced at the centre
4. the coincidence of the centre with the national market for goods produced in the modern sector
5. the concentration of high-order services at the centre
6. the intensity of culture contact at the centre
7. inability of the periphery to make adjustments appropriate to constant change at the centre;
  - i) because of high replacement rates due to population growth
  - ii) the disruptive effects of emigration
  - iii) a lack of capital
  - iv) a general national inability to see the regional problem from a nationwide perspective

Directives

Core

- high income
- secondary activities
- Quaternary activities
- innovations/ inventions
- gain of capital
- gain of people
- low cost capital
- cultural center
- political control center
- good infrastructure
- relative good health
- education center(s)
- high population density
- disproportionate concentration of ethnic majority

### C - The Core-periphery Spatial Continuum

The core-periphery model is primarily concerned with power relations which exist wherever "... a core can be shown to dominate some of the vital decisions of populations in areas external to itself..." [Friedmann, 1973:54]. One attribute of these relations is physical space which is expressed as a core-periphery spatial structure. Such a polarized spatial structures can occur as a nested hierarchy of geographic scales, ranging from the World, through nations, regions, provinces, to the urban field. At the regional scale, which is the focus of this study, cores are typically defined as densely populated urban areas, or conurbations, while peripheral regions include the surrounding hinterland.

Several studies have criticised the core-periphery concept as an abstract spatial dichotomy that is irrelevant to the subtle variations of real geographic space [McRoberts, 1979:25; Friedman and Wayne, 1977:402-408]. Although the model expresses the core-periphery structure as a dichotomy this is actually a simplification of an irregular spatial continuum of economic, social, and cultural processes. It has been noted by both geographers and sociologists that the uneven spatial interaction of such processes creates various kinds of core and peripheral regions. A typology of peripheral regions will be developed in the following paragraphs.

Wallerstein [1979] in his core-periphery model of the world capitalist economy, proposes a nested hierarchy of regions in which a 'semi-periphery' lies between the core and periphery. With this

concept he refers to nations which have neither a core nor peripheral status, but occupy a kind of mediatory role in relations of interdependency. The idea of the semi-periphery can be integrated within Friedmann's model by encompassing certain regions which exhibit core characteristics of economic and population growth, but are limited in their capacity to initiate or sustain structural developments. Friedmann identifies two kinds of peripheral regions which have some core-like features: upward transitional regions which are characterized as settled areas with growth potential and an inflow of capital and migrants; and, resource frontiers which are typically zones of new settlement with low population densities and potential for new growth based on staple exports. Hechter similarly observes in Great Britain a concentration of core institutions within, what he calls, 'industrial enclaves' of the Celtic periphery [1975:143].

In addition to these semi-peripheral regions there are those impoverished areas which have little growth potential. Friedmann labels areas where economies are declining, and where migrants are leaving, as downward transitional. This label might apply to the abandoned farmlands along the Precambrian Shield in Ontario. Finally, there are special problem areas where environmental conditions are atypical and said to inhibit development. For example, Collier [1975:183-190] introduces the concept of the 'refuge region' to describe inaccessible areas where marginal populations attempt to isolate themselves from the influences of core expansion. Although these special peripheral areas are primarily remote and destitute

environments, Friedmann also recognizes that impoverished conditions exist within the core. He allows that: "Enclaves of economic backwardness will appear in the areas lying between expanding core regions and/or in the limited urban sectors of cores themselves" [1973:56-57]. The concept of the peripheral enclave within the core is important to the analysis of those ethnic groups in Ontario which have concentrated in the Province's Toronto-centred core.

#### D - Social and Ethnic Groups in Core-Periphery Systems

Core-periphery regional systems arise from uneven economic growth. What begins with distortions in the flow of capital, however, pervades throughout other social dimensions thereby distorting a wide range of class, status and cultural relations within the core-peripheral continuum. The central feature of a core-periphery social system is its dual socio-economic structure. Within the core population is an elite of high status occupations: bankers, entrepreneurs, administrators, and managers. In the periphery are smaller numbers of this same privileged group operating core institutions and core corporations. Most of the peripheral population however, are confined to subordinate positions in the labour force, being unemployed, underemployed, or employed in low status, primary, and seasonal occupations.



These disparities between core and peripheral groups can become a source of great tension and social change in a polarized regional system. Friedmann [1975:49-51] suggests that as peripheral groups awaken to their powerlessness, counter-elites will arise among them demanding greater autonomy for the periphery. In response, the established authorities of the core can suppress, neutralize and co-opt these counter-elites or they can be replaced by them. Evidence of these various outcomes can be seen in the politicization of national [Seers et al, 1979] and subnational regions in western Europe [Feld, 1975].

Core-peripheral distinctions in the regional social structure exhibit the greatest conflict and persistence when they overlap territorial concentrations of ethnic groups. An excellent example of this is found in Michael Hechter's study Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536-1966 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975). Hechter found that the processes of industrialization in Britain between 1536 and 1966 were characterized by the development of a core-periphery regional structure which became superimposed on a population differentiated by the dominant Anglo-Saxons of England and the Celtic minorities of Scotland and Wales. Hechter interprets the peripherality of the Celtic minority to be the source of recent Scotch and Welsh nationalism.

Studies like Hechter's, which use the core-periphery structure to analyze regional variations in ethnic stratification are known as models of 'internal colonialism'. Very simply, the internal colony is

a special type of peripheral region in which a subordinate ethnic minority predominates. In such a case both the region and the group are described as peripheral. It must be noted, however, that studies of internal colonialism have shown that such peripheral ethnic groups do not always match the conditions of the peripheral region defined by the conceptual model. Ethnic groups are a special case within the core-periphery concept and peripheral ethnic groups are therefore expected to exhibit exceptional characteristics.

The model of the internal colony has been applied to regional minorities around the world including ethnic populations in South America [Gonzales-Casanova, 1965], Africa [Wolpe, 1975; Wayne, 1975], Israel [Zureik, 1979], Europe [Beer, 1980; Sharpe, 1983], the United States [Blauner, 1969; Walls, 1976], and Canada [Watkins, 1977; McRoberts, 1979; Hecht, Wesol and Sharpe, 1983]. Nevertheless, the question remains are these models universally applicable? More specifically, are they appropriate to the analysis of ethnic stratification in Ontario?

The central characteristic of the internal colony is an autonomous ethnic region which is politically and socio-economically subordinated to a central power. More specifically, Walls [1976], citing van den Berghe [197?] argues that the model must be rigorously defined according to the following criteria:

- " 1) Rule of one ethnic group (or coalition of such groups) over other such groups living within the continuous boundaries of a single state.

2) Territorial separation of the subordinate ethnic groups into 'homelands', 'native reserves', and the like, with land tenure rights distinct from those applicable to members of the dominant group.

3) Presence of an internal government within a government especially created to rule subject peoples with a special legal status ascribed to the subordinate groups...

4) Relations of economic inequality in which subject peoples are relegated to positions of dependency and inferiority in the division of labour and the relations of production " (pp.235-236).

These conditions are satisfied only in ethnic group relations where a dominant power forcibly invades, conquers and subjugates an ethnic population in a previously autonomous territory. As a test of these criteria Walls applied this model to the impoverished conditions of whites in central Appalachia, concluding that the Appalachian region is better described as a "...peripheral region within an advanced capitalist society" [232], rather than an internal colony.

Similarly, in Ontario internal colonialism might describe the position of the native Indians but not the position of most of the Province's ethnic minority population. Only the indigenous Indian peoples were conquered and pushed onto separate reserves and then ascribed with a special legal status by the European majority. Ontario's population consists of a diversity of scattered ethnic minorities most of whom voluntarily emigrated to Ontario. As

Schermerhorn [1970:156] points out, ethnic relations under conditions of voluntary immigration are conceptually distinct from those evolving out of indigenous multi-cultural relations . Concurrently, the cleavages between ethnic majorities and minorities in Ontario are neither as distinct nor as severe as the disparities found between the internal colony and its surrounding colonizers. The model of internal colonialism is therefore inappropriate to the analysis of Ontario's ethnic minorities, although some of its concepts serve as a basis for an alternative model that can be called ethnic polarization.

#### E - Ethnic Polarization

This study proposes a distinct model of ethnic differentiation that retains a core-periphery structural basis, and that can be applied to regional social systems formed through voluntary immigration. In this kind of system the stratification of ethnic minorities is not a result of colonization but develops from more gradual processes of polarization. Sant [1977] quoting from Harris [1973] defines the concept of polarization in three ways, which include:

"...a change in the distribution of social [groups] in a defined geographic area such that, either the percentage of the population at the two extremes of the social continuum increases; or the percentage of the population at one point only on the continuum increases; or the distribution becomes more unlike an actual or hypothetical norm distribution"  
[Sant, 1977:245].

In this study polarization can refer to either of Harris's last two definitions. That is, when ethnic minorities voluntarily enter into a core-periphery regional structure either they tend to be disproportionately represented in the peripheral extremes, or their patterns of distribution tend to be unlike those of the dominant or core groups.

The process of ethnic polarization is represented in Figure II-2. As this conceptual model emphasizes, polarization is hypothesized to occur in both socio-economic and geographic space. It is assumed that the initial cleavages between ethnic categories will arise in the socio-economic dimension, and specifically in the workplace. Seeking an improved standard of living, the majority of immigrants enter with a depressed status and have little choice other than to join a peripheral labour force characterized by unemployment, underemployment, low status and segmented occupations. Hechter [1976] offers several factors which account for the low occupational status of many ethnic minority immigrants.

" Immigrants from peripheral areas are willing to work for a lower wage than laborers from the core since they come from regions with a lower standard of living. The new immigrants typically do not qualify for skilled jobs, as these can occasionally appear, because of educational and cultural 'disadvantages' (from the perspective of the core!) inherited from their region of origin. It is also likely that employers can perceive culturally distinct groups to be

harder to discipline or to train than less exotic indigenous workers. They can believe the immigrants are likely to return to their region of origin. Finally, due to the immigrants' relative lack of experience in the urban-industrial setting they do not have access to as many social networks as indigenous workers. Hence, if better jobs arise, the immigrants will generally be the last to learn of them " (pp218-219).

The disadvantages experienced by ethnic minority immigrants in the workplace extend throughout most socio-economic dimensions. Consequently, it can be hypothesized that an ethnic groups entrance status will be a major factor in determining the overall socio-economic position of the group in the core-periphery system.

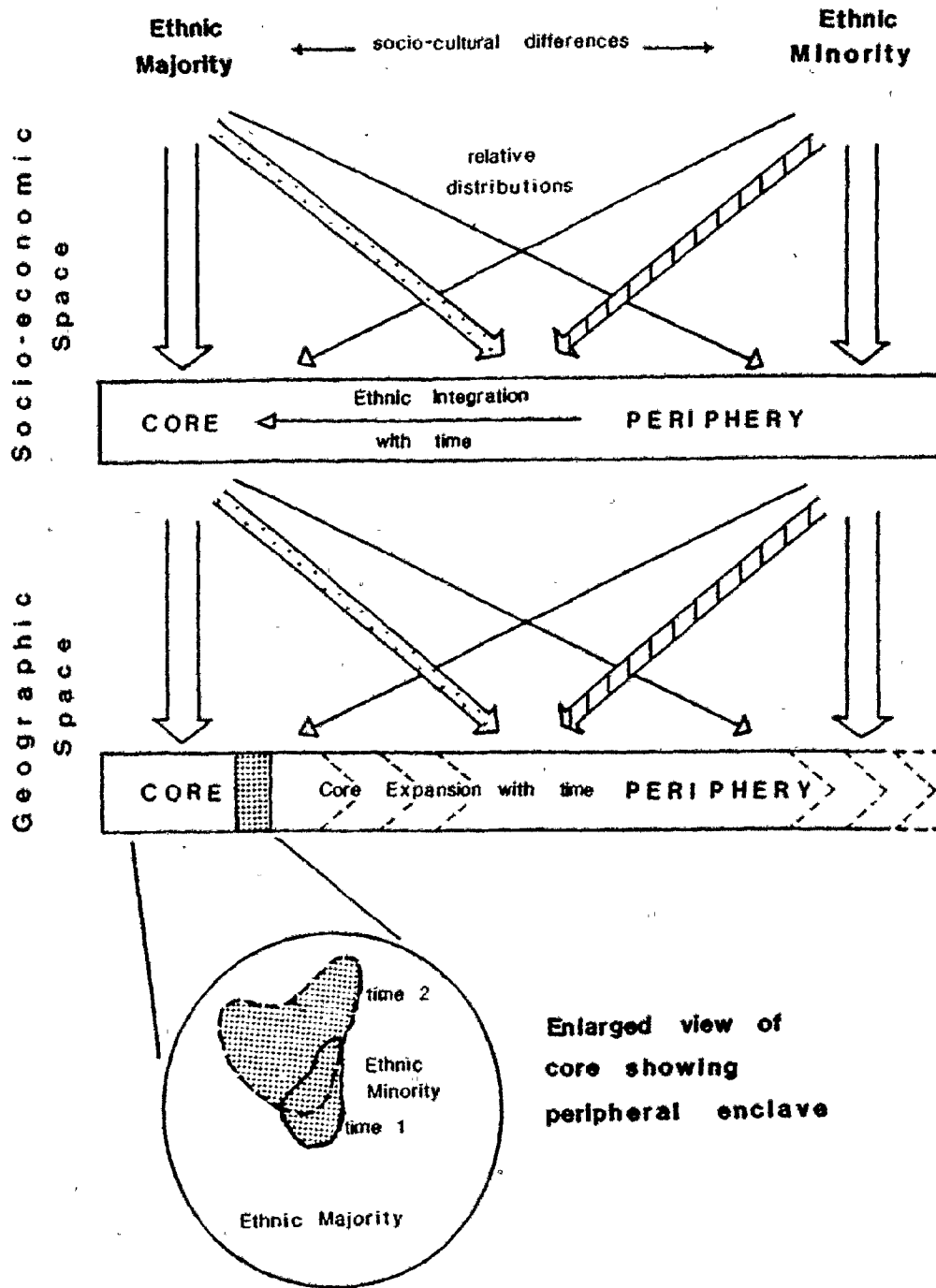
Entrance status will also have a significant influence on the location of minority populations in the geographic dimension of the core-periphery structure (see Figure II-2). Although some individuals from ethnic minorities will settle in preferred areas, most minority populations will have their destinations determined by the location of occupational opportunities available in the regional space-economy. According to the core-periphery model, peripheral occupations are found with the primary industries of rural areas and resource frontiers, or with the manufacturing and labouring industries found in peripheral enclaves of the core. Hence it is logical to hypothesize that if ethnic minorities are over-represented in lower socio-economic strata they will also be disproportionately represented in peripheral

geographic space. With this simple hypothesis it is possible to test the association between ethnic stratification, as a model of social organization and the core-periphery structure, as a model of spatial distribution.

To this point the model of ethnic polarization is static, dealing with the relative distribution of ethnic minorities on their entrance into a core-periphery regional system. In order to assess changes in group status and distribution after settlement, it is necessary to account for processes of ethnic integration and regional development. Models of national and regional economic development have proposed at least three evolutionary stages of interaction within the space-economy. According to Friedmann [1973] the first stage is pre-industrial in which the the core and periphery are isolated and show significant differences in levels of development. At the second stage, levels of interaction between the the core and periphery increase as the processes of industrialization and urbanization expand across the system. Initially it is expected that the regional system will become increasingly differentiated and polarized as capital concentrates and centralizes in the core. At a third stage, however, economic growth, technological change, and social innovations will diffuse from the expanding core into the periphery. In this post-industrial stage it is assumed that a growing concern for solving regional inequalities prompts the state to intervene and facilitate this process of equalization. In Figure II-2 the expansion of the core is represented by the arrow directed towards peripheral geographic space.

Figure II-2

**Core-Periphery Model of  
Ethnic Group Distributions in Ontario**





4

Some studies of regional development that apply the diffusion model have argued that peripheral areas are eventually transformed and converge with the core [Williamson, 1965]. The implication of regional economic convergence is that developments in the periphery and among peripheral groups will contribute to the process of ethnic integration in socio-economic space. This is the hypothesis of the structural-functional model. Hechter [1975] notes that in this functional view of regional integration: "The core and peripheral cultures must ultimately merge into one all-encompassing cultural system to which all members of the society have primary identification and loyalty" (p.5). In Figure II-2 the assimilation and acculturation of peripheral ethnic groups is represented by the arrow directed towards the core in socio-economic space.

The integration of peripheral ethnic groups is a complex process which needs to be examined more closely. Ethnic minorities in the periphery are at a much greater disadvantage than members of the majority. Poor conditions and a lack of opportunities in peripheral regions impede the processes of acculturation and structural assimilation. To the advantage of the core group this phenomena contributes to and maintains the system of ethnic stratification. In order to reinforce and rationalize this structure, the core can attribute the peripheral conditions among ethnic minorities to their alleged inferiority regarding them as "...`lazy,' `feckless,' `shifty,' `unruly,' `wild,' `clannish,' `parochial,' `backward,'...[Rothschild, 1981:54].

All ethnic minorities, however, are not equally constrained by peripheral disadvantages. Groups which share common socio-cultural attributes or common historical experiences with the core experience fewer barriers to integration. Similarly, groups with small and dispersed populations can be less committed to ethnic group maintenance and can have fewer capital and political resources with which to perpetuate separate ethnic communities. In addition, the poor conditions experienced by small peripheral groups can discourage further immigration and drive the younger and more skilled members away in search of better opportunities.

Models of internal colonialism, however, have shown that ethnic groups of significant size and territorial concentration do not tend to become structurally integrated. These models suggest that processes of core expansion and regional development bypass peripheral regions thereby exacerbating conditions within ethnic enclaves [Matthews, 1978; Sant, 1977:244]. Consistent with Friedman's propositions concerning peripheral opposition to the core, ethnic minorities disadvantaged in this way tend to become mobilized and politicized around their ethnic identities in reaction to the ethnic majority of the core.

Overall, the model of ethnic polarization to be tested in the following empirical analysis implies a critical research hypothesis relevant to the stratification of ethnic groups in Ontario. This is that ethnic majority dominance over the Province's political-economic structure has resulted in the disproportionate distribution of ethnic minority groups in peripheral positions. A geographic and

socio-economic analysis of ethnic groups in Ontario should reveal that disproportionate numbers of ethnic minority members tend to remain concentrated in locations which are socio-economically and geographically peripheral to the core. In order to test the validity of this hypothesis as applied to the regional structure of Ontario it was necessary to empirically establish at least the following conditions:

- i) The formation of dissimilar ethnic groups, and the domination of one group over the others;
- ii) Relative spatial separation of ethnic minorities from the ethnic majority at a regional scale;
- iii) Relative economic inequality between ethnic majority and ethnic minority through stratification and segmentation in the labour force;
- iv) Dissimilar patterns of regional economic integration between the ethnic majority and the ethnic minorities;
- v) Persistence of economic disparity in peripheral geographic locations, and economic integration within the region's core.

### 3 Ethnic Groups in Canada

#### A - Ethnic Stratification

A recent survey of the Canadian literature on ethnicity by Palmer [1982] indicates that most ethnic studies focus on single ethnic groups examining themes relating to their history, immigration experience, group structure, discrimination, urban experience, and participation in labour movements. Nevertheless, there are ample analyses of Canada's social structure which emphasize the wider role of ethnicity as a basis of social differentiation and social change. Several studies use ethnic origin data from the Canadian Census in multi-ethnic, comparative and thematic approaches [Kralt, 1977; Richmond and Kalbach, 1980; deVries and Vallee, 1980]. Although the research findings of these studies differ in focus and in their interpretation of current trends, they generally support the findings of John Porter's The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965) in which he analyzed the patterns of ethnic stratification in Canada. He observed that Canada's system of stratification arose from the dominance of the British ethnic group over the processes of immigration. Being the first group to establish permanent settlement in Ontario, the British assumed a charter status, which meant that they had control over the Province's administration and key economic functions. Porter states that the British, in their charter capacity have historically made "...decisions about what other groups are to be let in and what they will be permitted to do" (p.6).

Applying the ethnocentric attitudes and racial stereotypes prevalent in social thought during the 19th century, the charter group actively discouraged the immigration of dissimilar non-British ethnic groups. The less-preferred groups entering Canada assume an "entrance status" which "...implies lower level occupational roles and subjection to processes of assimilation laid down and judged by the charter group" [Porter, 1965:63-64]. In other words entrance status was a major determinant of an immigrant's occupational status in the cultural division of labour. Using census data for the years 1931, 1951, and 1961 Porter reveals a persistent hierarchical stratification of ethnic groups in Canada in terms of occupational classes. Later analyses, in particular Wallace Clement's volume on The Canadian Corporate Elite: A Study of Economic Power (Toronto:McClelland and Stewart, 1975) reinforced these conclusions and elaborated on the significance of ethnicity in the recruitment of individuals to positions of power in government, multinational corporations and the media.

At the top of Canada's social hierarchy are the British, the largest population whose ethnic markers are typically described as white, Anglo-Saxon, and Protestant. Ethnic origin groups from western Europe (Germans, Dutch, Swiss) and northern Europe (Norwegian, Danish) that resemble the British physically, linguistically, and culturally, also have a similar status as the British. Clustered at the bottom of the ethnic hierarchy are the visible minorities that are most dissimilar to the British majority. These include the indigenous

Indian, Inuit, and Metis peoples and to a lesser extent the Chinese, Asian and Black populations. In the middle, occupying a wide range of positions are the French, South Europeans (Italians, Portuguese, Greeks) and East Europeans (Ukrainians, Poles, Slavs).

Historical replications of Porter's approach suggest that the differences between ethnic categories in Canada have declined over time but that the rank-ordering of categories by occupational status persists [Darroch, 1980; Reitz, 1980]. Although some groups of European origin have become integrated throughout most occupation and income classes it is not clear that other groups are following a similar strategy of integration. The French and native Indian populations, for example, are both long-term residents and yet retain a low status. Because of this Porter contends that the theoretical process of assimilation (ie. formation, adjustment, integration) has not been encouraged in Canada. Summarizing Porter's analysis Reitz [1980] explains that "Immigrants have often been brought in at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder, but Canada also tends to tap foreign sources of more highly skilled when needed rather than train its own population" (p.40).

Ultimately, an explanation of the complex structure of ethnic stratification in Canada will involve the interaction of numerous factors. Several dimensions of this structure have been explored in the literature, including occupations, incomes, residential segregation, cultural persistence, and the power structure. Regional patterns of ethnic stratification have been studied less often and are not explicitly documented in the literature.

## B - Regional Approaches to Ethnicity in Canada

In the Canadian literature the most common spatial perspective to ethnic variation is derived from interprovincial comparisons. Several descriptive and analytical studies of Canadian census materials make overall comparisons between the ten Provinces using a variety of cultural and socio-economic variables [Hill, 1978]. Often special emphasis is placed on French/English relations or attention is focussed on the metropolitan areas [Richmond and Kalbach, 1980; Murdie, 1969].

There are few studies which examine ethnic differentiation within the Provinces. This is surprising because as early as 1968 the Canadian anthropologist Vallee [1969] was supporting "...arguments in favour of the description and analysis of ethnic groups by region instead of by society-as-a-whole or by such large political units as Provinces " (p.19). Vallee's own research into the conditions of French-Canadians across Canada makes this point, showing that within Ontario there are considerable variations in the rates of assimilation between northern, southern and eastern concentrations of Franco-Ontarians (p.22).

Only a few Canadian geographers have been interested in ethnic differentiation, and most have focussed on single ethnic groups or regions (1). D.M. Ray seems to be the first to analyze patterns of ethnic variation in Canada through the use of geographical models. Applying multivariate analyses of socio-economic and cultural census data, Ray [1969, 1971] observed significant patterns of core-periphery variation. He concludes that :

"Economic and cultural characteristics in Canada exhibit significant national heartland-hinterland, urban hierarchy, and sectoral variations. Heartland-hinterland contrasts occur in all dimensions of both economic status and cultural variation" [1969:23].

Reflecting developments in the theoretical literature, several Canadian studies have applied the core-periphery approach to analyze various aspects of ethnic variation at the provincial scale. McRoberts [1979] for example, discusses some difficulties in applying the core-periphery spatial structure to French/English relations in Quebec. Hecht, Wesol, and Sharpe [1983], however, found a strong association between the socio-economic conditions of Ontario's native Indian population and their distribution throughout the Province's peripheral areas. These studies establish the core-periphery model as an appropriate geographical model with which to analyze multi-ethnic relations in Ontario.

#### 4 Endnotes

- 1 - A survey by this writer of directories for the Canadian Association of Geographers between 1973 and 1981 indicated that only 25 faculty members in Geography departments at Canadian universities had published, or were studying in the field of ethnicity. These focus on a variety of specific groups and few are comparative in scope.



CHAPTER III - The Formation and Regional Distribution of Ethnic  
Majority/Minority Populations in Ontario 1763-1971

1 The Formation of Ethnic Majority/Minority Populations

Throughout the Province's history it has been the dominant ethnic population, comprised of the British charter group, that has directly and indirectly dominated such processes as immigration and settlement. This first section outlines the formation of the British as Ontario's charter population focussing on their principle mechanisms of ethnic minority dominance. For this purpose, the analysis must begin as early as 1763 with British colonial legislation involving crown land disposal, and extend to more recent changes in immigration policy. The effects of the evolving immigration policy on the changing percentages of various ethnic categories between 1871 and 1971 will be examined with the aid of Census data. The ethnic categories employed include the British, French, Northern Europeans, Southern Europeans, Visible Minorities, and Native Indians. At least four periods can be differentiated on the basis of changing political and economic conditions in the Province and in the homelands of immigrants [Manpower and Immigration, 1970; Kalbach, 1976]. These are as follows:

- A - Colonial settlement and land policy (1763-1886);
- B - Immigration boom and increasing immigrant selectivity (1886-1945);
- C - Labour expansion and ethnic diversification (1945-1961);
- D - Modern Period (1962-1971).

A - Colonial Settlement and Land Policy 1763-1886

For many decades before the British conquest of New France in 1763 the indigenous Indian peoples of the Great Lakes region had been trading extensively with a small and scattered population of French settlers and traders. Neither the Indians' small and seasonal encampments nor the military and trading outposts of the French were the essential determinants of future population patterns in Ontario. Rather in a few decades after the British conquest, new military garrisons, colonial administrators and American settlers had overwhelmed these two small groups and had established new and permanent agricultural and urban settlements. From this time the original Indian and French populations grew very little through further immigration, although they remained significant percentages of the Provincial total.

In 1780, after the American revolution, Upper Canada began to undergo a rapid process of agricultural settlement and economic development. Although entry to Upper Canada was open to all ethnic

origin groups, settlement was not a simple matter of individual choice. On the contrary, in the first few decades of immigration, the costs of transportation alone were prohibitive to all except the wealthy, those Americans in geographic proximity, and any British with direct lines of transportation. The largest group of immigrants during this early period were between 6,000 and 10,000 United Empire Loyalist refugees from New York, Pennsylvania, and the New England states [Harris and Warkentin, 1974:116]. From among the Loyalists and the British colonists arose the original government of Upper Canada - a colonial oligarchy made up of white, Anglo-Saxon Protestants, who were concentrated along the shores of Lake Ontario [Armstrong, 1981]. Although initially a closed network of administrators known as the Family Compact, this elite quickly evolved into a much larger commercial and professional class.

One of the first objectives of the new government was to ensure the defense of the colony against the United States. For this purpose as early as 1792 agricultural settlement was actively being encouraged on Crown lands. Disposal of these lands was a complex instrument in the administration's power which had a significant impact on Upper Canada's social structure [Gates, 1968]. In general land policies reflected ethnocentric attitudes prevalent in the social sciences and social policy at that time. This was a belief that individuals of British ancestry became immigrants and settlers of superior qualities, while ethnically dissimilar individuals were less desirable. In terms of land policy, the disposal of Crown lands was to maintain the

British dominance in Upper Canada. The historian L. Johnson [1975] has identified four applications of land policy which illustrate the intent of the charter group to structure the colonial population by favouring specific immigrant groups and classes. He points out that:

"When Loyalists demanded repayment for losses, land was awarded; when militia and military begged rewards for valour and service, land was given; when Lieutenant-Governor John Graves Simcoe and his successors dreamed of creating an aristocracy, land was seen as its basis, and when the Colonial Office decided to create a class of labourers and servants in Upper Canada, land policy was seen as the mean" (p.32).

Initially the colonial administration granted free lands to favoured colonists. Although these grants did not exclude minority ethnic groups they preferred individuals with close ties to the British such as the Loyalists, military claimants and government officials. By the first decade of the 1800's this incentive had attracted thousands of settlers to the shores of Lakes Ontario and Erie. Among the recipients the only major population of non-British origin were Iroquois Indians who had been allies of the British during its wars with the United States.

Up until the War of 1812 settlement flourished in Upper Canada attracting increasing numbers of settlers from the United States. Many of these were experienced United States settlers, who constituted a surplus needed for the expansion of the American frontier. Although

not granted lands outright they were eager to accept land in exchange for developing their properties and clearing roadways. Among this wave of settlers were several religious sects such as the Quakers and Mennonites who were opposed to the new American republicanism and preferred the British form of government. Most of these sects segregated themselves in agricultural communities. The majority of Americans, however, were indistinguishable from, and intermingled with the Loyalists and British whom they soon outnumbered. It has been established that by 1812, Americans who were neither Loyalists nor their descendants comprised approximately 60% of Upper Canada's population of 100,000 [Harris and Warkentin, 1974:116]. Adapting successfully, their efforts at land clearance and road-building contributed to the transformation of Upper Canadian agriculture from a subsistence level to an international commercial enterprise.

After the closure of the American border in 1812, immigration into Upper Canada dropped greatly. At first settlement was unintentionally discouraged by a system of land speculation which withheld large tracts of land from development. However, between 1818 and 1824 the colonial administration in Britain began to realize the potential of Upper Canada as an outlet for its surplus population. Paupers, displaced farmers, urban poor and military veterans were offered cheap transportation in the cargo and timber ships which were returning empty to the colony. Likewise, the colonial oligarchy in Upper Canada advocated increased immigration believing it would expand their commercial enterprises through the development of resources, the

growth of markets, and the provision of cheap labour. Various government measures and a growing demand for arable land swelled the number of British immigrants coming into Canada. At the same time a gradual migration began of the surplus rural population from Francophone Lower Canada into Eastern Ontario. Perhaps as a reflection of this new stock, the powers of Upper Canada's core elite were challenged in the unsuccessful rebellion of 1837. Although this was essentially a rural movement against the urban oligarchy there is no evidence suggesting that either its leaders or followers were affiliated with ethnic minority groups.

Unrestricted entry into Ontario ended after the British North America Act in 1867 gave the new Canadian Government legislative control over immigration. This power was soon used by the predominantly British legislature as a means of maintaining British dominance in Canada. The first immigration Bills in 1869 and 1879 defined undesirable classes of immigrants as "criminals and other vicious classes" and "paupers and destitute immigrants". Nevertheless, it was not until 1885 that the first legislation was passed restricting immigration by racial and ethnic origin, the initial impact of which was to reduce the influx of Chinese into British Columbia. Similar to the previously discussed land policy, immigration legislation reflected ethnocentric attitudes prevalent at the time by introducing notions of social Darwinism and racial superiority into the process of immigrant selection.

At the end of this period the British origin group was firmly established as Ontario's dominant ethnic population. The Census data for 1871 indicate that of the total population of over 1,620,000 approximately 82% are of British origin (see Table III-1). As the charter group they encouraged immigrants of similar European origins. Table III-1 indicates the Northern Europeans are the largest minority with 11.2% of the population. The original French population of Upper Canada retains a substantial percentage with 4.7% of the total. Finally, the four remaining ethnic origin categories all had populations of less than 14,000 amounting to no more than 2% of Ontario's total.

#### B - Immigration Boom and Increasing Immigrant

##### Selectivity 1885-1945

Before the turn of the nineteenth century, Ontario was undergoing a period of rapid economic expansion and industrialisation. This development was spurred by the construction of railways throughout Northern Ontario and west to Canada's Prairies. These rail lines opened new areas for agricultural settlement but more importantly accessed huge forest and mineral resources of the north. Using these resources, Southern Ontario industries grew rapidly, manufacturing those goods needed in the development of the west. It was therefore in the interests of eastern Canada's manufacturers and merchants to encourage the agricultural settlement of the west and promote the export of wheat.

Table III-1

## Populations of Ontario's Ethnic Categories 1871-1971

Ethnic Category*	1871	1911	1931	1951	1971
British	% n= 82.2 (1333042)	76.4 (1927099)	74.0 (2539771)	67.0 (3081919)	59.4 (4576010)
French	% n= 4.7 (75383)	8.0 (202442)	8.7 (299732)	10.4 (477677)	9.6 (737360)
Northern European	% n= 11.2 (180676)	11.9 (300151)	12.8 (438056)	13.8 (634121)	19.8 (1525515)
Southern European	% n= - (524)	1.0 (24052)	2.9 (99681)	5.5 (251265)	8.0 (614135)
Visible Minority	% n= .8 (13443)	.4 (9565)	.6 (19183)	.5 (22138)	1.6 (123605)
Native Indian	% n= .8 (12980)	.9 (23044)	.9 (30368)	.8 (37388)	.8 (63175)
Other & Unknown	% n= .3 (4803)	1.5 (36921)	.1 (4892)	2.0 (93034)	.8 (63305)
Total	N= (1620851)	(2523574)	(3431683)	(4597542)	(7703105)

Source: 1871 Census of Canada, Vol. I Table III; 1911 Census of Canada, Vol. II Table VII; 1931 Census of Canada, Vol. II Table 32; 1951 Census of Canada, Vol. I Table 34; 1971 Census of Canada, Vol. I Pt. 3 Table 4.

1- see Appendix I for ethnic origin groups combined in these categories.  
n- population count in category.



Responding to economic pressures and labour demands, the Canadian government pursued policies encouraging the further immigration of agricultural settlers. Between 1896 and 1914, as traditional sources of British and Western European settlers declined, it was necessary to recruit over 3 million immigrants from Eastern, Central, and Southern Europe. At the same time, more selective policies were introduced to restrict immigration to those ethnic minorities that were believed to assimilate most readily. Undesireable immigrants now included charity cases, the diseased, and;

"...any nationality whose customs were sufficiently different to suggest an inability or unwillingness to assimilate, or whose mode of life and occupations are likely to (make them) crowd into urban centres and bring about a state of congestion which might result in unemployment and lowering of the standard of our national life," [Kalbach, 1979:19].

Although this definition was less racially prejudiced than previous legislation, its assessment of an immigrants ability to assimilate continued to be based on groundless cultural stereotypes. The intent was to restrict the influx of Asians and other groups not previously encouraged to immigrate.

Despite these increasingly selective policies, the percentage of British in Ontario began to decline. Table III-1 shows that by 1911 the British comprised 76.4% of the total, while the North Europeans remained fairly stable at 11.9% and the Southern European groups

increased notably to 1% of the total population. The large growth in the French group was the result of Quebec's surplus rural population continuing to migrate into Ontario's eastern and northern Counties. The Native Indian population continued to grow primarily through natural increase although their percentage of the Province's total population remained constant at less than 1%.

Between 1914 and 1946, the two wars and a major economic depression resulted in a decrease and then virtual shutdown of immigration into Canada. At the same time, resentment towards some ethnic groups caused the list of prohibited immigrants to grow. During the wars, policy changes added enemy aliens (Germans, Italians) and such pacifist groups as the Mennonite and Hutterites to the growing list of excluded [Kalbach, 1979:20]. Nevertheless, during this period Ontario's ethnic diversity grew as a result of poor economic prospects on the Prairies which prompted a migration of its largely non-British population into Ontario. Similarly, the surplus French population from Quebec continued to push into northeastern Ontario. As Table III-1 indicates the percentage of British in Ontario had dropped to 74% by 1931. The French, the Northern Europeans, and the visible minorities had all grown a few percentage points. Notably the Southern European population increased significantly for the first time to almost 3% of the provincial total.

### C - Labour Expansion and Ethnic Diversification 1946-1960

During Ontario's post-war recovery and economic expansion immigration policy would be continuously adjusted in response to changing labour force demands. The increased demands for skilled labour at the beginning of the period were met by large numbers of British, American and Northern Europeans [Porter, 1965:40-48]. Also accepted were smaller numbers of refugees forced to relocate because of the second world war, the Hungarian uprising and the Suez crises. Nevertheless, admission continued to be restricted to those immigrants the Federal officials considered would successfully adapt to Canadian life. Even a newly implemented and more liberalized system of immigration quotas based on national origins reflected a continuing bias against the influx of Asians and West Indians.

Although the bulk of immigrants arriving in Ontario at this time were of British origin, by 1951 their percentage of the total population had declined to 67% (see Table III-1). Except the Visible Minority and Native Indian groups, whose percentages decreased, all other groups increased their representation in the total. In particular, the Southern European population swelled dramatically to 5.5% of the 1951 total.

In the last few years of the 1950's economic recession caused the government to develop further policies lowering immigration quotas. Although not intended to discourage particular ethnic groups it limited the growth of groups with rural and unskilled occupation backgrounds. Moreover, the growth of secondary and tertiary sectors in

the urban economy demanded a workforce not readily available in Canada. Consequently, independent immigrants were to be encouraged, regardless of ethnicity, if they could upgrade the educated and skilled labour force. This was successful in attracting the more privileged strata of several ethnic groups not previously admitted in large numbers, such as the Chinese, East Indians, and other Asian groups. As a result many immigrants of this period are structurally distributed in patterns more typical of industrialization than earlier groups. Immigrants not qualifying according to labour requirements could enter Canada only if sponsored by a citizen of Canada. Inevitably this favoured the chain migration of ethnic groups whose kin were already established in Ontario. A dramatic example of the effect of these policy changes was the subsequent population increase of the Southern European group.

#### D - Modern Period 1961-1971

The 1960's saw the unexpected revival around the World of what have been called ethnonational [Connor,1975], or ethnoregional movements [Feld,1975; Hechter & Levi,1979]. In Canada, for example, the French-English conflict led to the politicization of a Quebecois identity, and its associated Quiet Revolution. At the same time, the Federal Government's Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism was pushed by the powerful response of the other ethnic minorities to recognize the contributions and political rights of all cultural

groups in Canada. These developments reflected the adjustment of Canadian society to a population structure in which the dominant British group had fallen to 44.6%, and the non-British, non-French minorities had grown to 25% of the total [Anderson & Frideres, 1981]. Even in Ontario, the British majority had fallen to approximately 59% of the total. The French and native Indian populations had remained fairly stable at 9.6% and .8% of the Provincial population. In contrast the Northern and Southern European populations increased dramatically to almost one third of Ontario's total population. Similarly, the Visible Minority population increased significantly for the first time to 1.6% of the Provincial total.

Associated with these developments was a gradual liberalization of immigration policy which in 1967 eliminated direct references to racial and ethnic origin in the immigration selection procedures [Department of Manpower and Immigration, 1974]. Since 1967 admission criteria has emphasized an individual's potential for being absorbed into the labour force. The result was a large influx of new immigrants including Chinese, East Indians, West Indians, Filipinos, and several other previously discouraged groups.

By 1971 Canada's historical policy of Anglo-conformity was officially adjusted to the country's changed ethnic composition through the adoption of the current policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework. This policy advocated the increased interaction of all ethnic groups on an equal basis while promoting the cultural identities of these groups [Burnet, 1976]. From 1971 to the present

the trend for increasing numbers of "new" immigrants has persisted . Notably, further changes in immigration policy, specifically refugee regulations, have encouraged the immigration of large numbers of Ugandan Asians, southeast Asians, and South Americans. Between 1966 and 1973, the percentage of immigrants coming to Canada who were Asian grew from 6% to 23%, and by 1976 had exceeded the percentage of Europeans coming to Canada [Anderson & Frideres, 1981]. These recent and rapidly changing trends in the ethnic composition of immigrants coming to Canada are of great social consequence and worthy of a separate inquiry. It is left for future research, however, to examine how these recent developments are spatially manifest in Ontario's core-periphery structure.

#### F - Summary

This section traced the formation of the British ethnic majority in Ontario and its relations with a growing ethnic minority population. Focussing on government policy these relations were shown to change from an initial unquestioned dominance of the British, through a period when minority immigration was encouraged, although they were expected to conform to the Anglo-Saxon norm, to more recent times when the Province's ethnic diversity was first recognized and then encouraged as a important social phenomena. Concurrently, within these shifting relations British dominance has had less to do with the exercise of control over government legislation and more with

automatic structural processes that favoured British economic interests. Subsequent chapters focus on the extent of polarization in these structural processes and the resultant effects on ethnic groups. The following section examines the impact of British dominance on regional patterns of ethnic minority distributions.

## 2 Historical Distributions of Ontario's Ethnic Majority/Minority Populations

Levels of regional development in Ontario at the time of an immigrant's entrance have been a major determinant in the historical distribution of the Province's ethnic populations. In general immigrants have located in regional space according to where employment opportunities have been found. Ontario's core-periphery processes of development, however, have not had the same affect on all ethnic categories. In this section an historical and descriptive analysis will demonstrate how the British with their charter and majority status became the predominant ethnic population in Ontario's evolving core region, while ethnic minorities with their lower entrance status became disproportionately represented in more peripheral areas. For this purpose three stages of regional growth can be distinguished in Ontario. These are consistent with the stages of regional development suggested by Friedmann [1973]: a pre-industrial stage of agricultural colonization (1763-1860), during which the location of groups was determined primarily by the effects of land

grants and group settlement; a phase of industrialisation (1860-1945), during which the labour force and immigrant population became mobilized and penetrated into Ontario's Northern frontier; a current period which can be roughly categorised as post-industrial (1945-1982), during which the Toronto-centred core has become the major determinant of the Province's population distribution and policies relating to regional development.

#### A - Colonization and Group Settlement 1763-1860

During the period of agricultural colonization the Crown policy of granting free lands to members of the British charter group had a significant influence over the distribution of the ethnic minority populations. The general pattern of settlement toward the end of this period is shown by Figure III-1. Free land grants placed early recipients at a distinct advantage in future developments. Before the first handful of settlers had arrived many of the best lands along the shorelines, on good agricultural lands, and around the capital at York, had been claimed by the established British elite. Avoiding the hardships of the rural frontier which tended to level class distinctions, the elite became part of an advantaged class of land owners residing around the western end of Lake Ontario. Eventually only the independently wealthy or groups of settlers could afford land close to the developing core around York. Meanwhile the numerous and less wealthy settlers were pushed to more inaccessible and marginal



lands. Over time the advantage of those settled near York was compounded by that town's increasing dominance in Upper Canada's evolving urban hierarchy. As a result these conditions encouraged a polarized social structure in which the British administrative and commercial elite were concentrated in the core while the less advantaged or late arriving immigrants were forced to the transitional frontier.

As land became scarce and expensive the number of landless workers began to exceed the number of farmers. According to Johnson [1975:53] it was the intention of the British charter administration to combine high land costs with high rates of immigration in order to create and enlarge a landless labouring class. By 1851 this policy had contributed to drastic drop in wages, a surplus of rural labourers and an increased migration into new industrial and urban occupations.

Before the great migrations of the British to North America between 1825 and 1846 it was necessary for the colonial administration to encourage the settlement of unopened frontiers in southwestern and southeastern Ontario. A variety of colonization schemes attracted settlers through assisted transportation, road construction, surveyed land, and free tools and supplies. Although the evidence is poor it is probable that these early pioneers settled in mutually supportive and ethnically homogeneous groups. Harris and Warkentin [1974] explain that:

"Group settlement was often related to the accessibility and availability of lots but also to the need for social contact and a local labour pool to contribute to clearing and building...Often such ties were strengthened because a settler's neighbors were of his own national background. In some cases immigrants who had crossed the Atlantic together eventually settled together in the same Ontario township. In others an early arrival had written, perhaps sending money to relations in the homeland. At the moment the best inference from the thin evidence is that settlers took up land as close to neighbors, kin, or their own national groups as was possible without obvious economic sacrifice" (pp.122-123).

The majority of these group settlements comprised British immigrants, including the Irish, Scottish, and English. For example, early in the 19th century Scottish Highlanders were brought in clan groups to settle in Glengarry County. In 1815, by way of improving the colony's defenses, British and Northern European veterans from the European Wars were settled in Carleton and Lanark counties. Further group migrations were destined for the eastern counties with the construction of the Rideau Canal. Between 1820 and 1832 thousands of Irish labourers were settled between Perth and Ottawa and in Peterborough County.

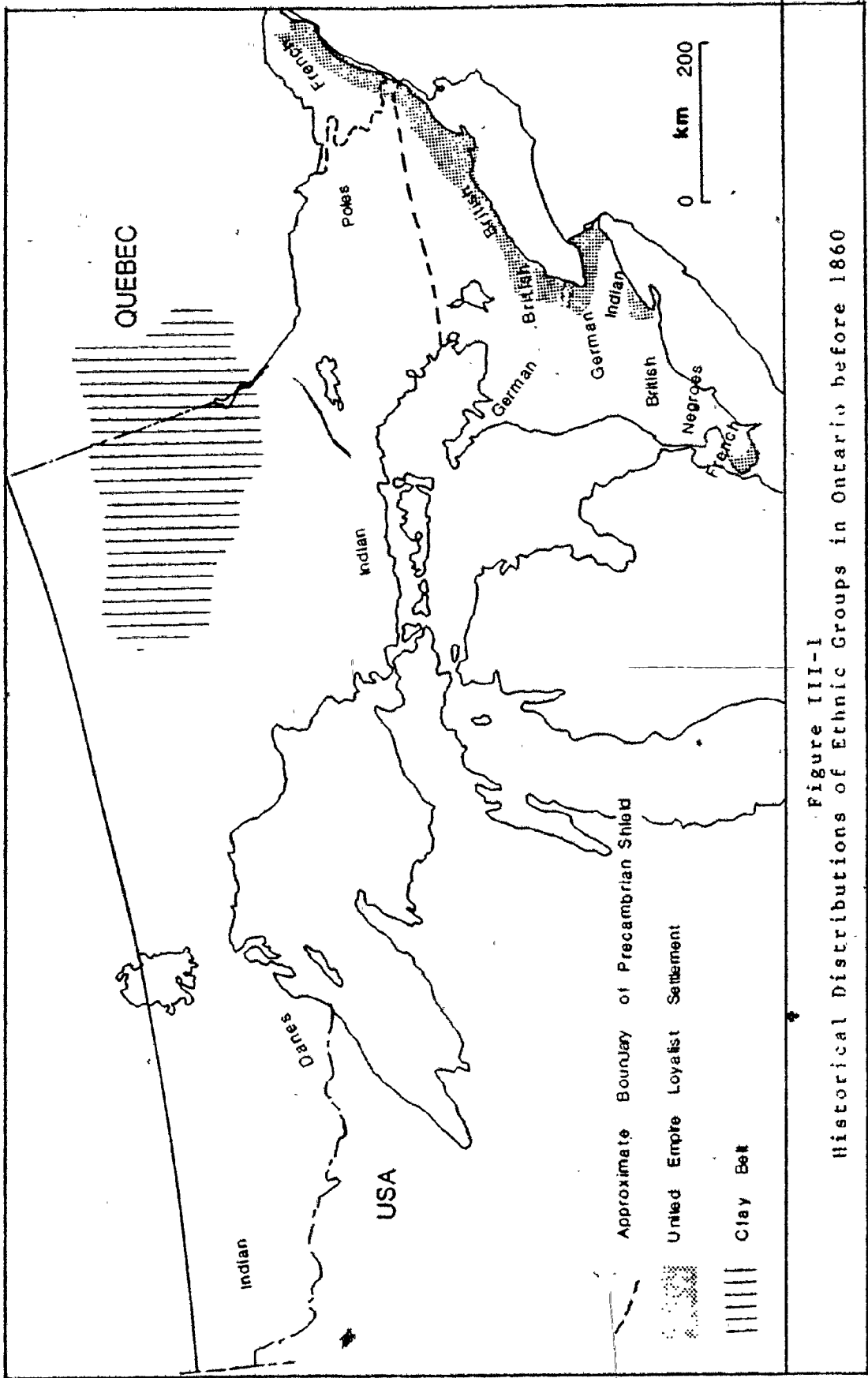


Figure III-1  
 Historical Distributions of Ethnic Groups in Ontario before 1860

More ambitious colonization schemes were attempted in western parts of Upper Canada. For example, the Talbot settlement of Scotch immigrants opened the London and Chatham areas in 1820. Similarly, the Canada Land Company, a creation of Britain's Colonial Office, opened settlement roads in Huron and Perth counties and lured thousands of British and Northern European farmers with cheap land.

Ethnic minority immigrants such as the Germans and French, and religious minorities such as the Quakers tended to settle in homogeneous ethnic communities at the frontier. The most notable minority concentration was the large German population which settled along the Grand River. For the most part, however, ethnic minorities tended to comprise only small communities. Although it can not have been official policy, there is evidence which suggests that the British encouraged the dispersion of ethnic minorities in order to prompt their assimilation. For example, Mennonites in Waterloo County were prevented from purchasing large continuous blocks of land [Schott, 1936:71].

A more extreme case of group settlement as a tool of ethnic domination involves the location of Ontario's Native Indians on Reserves. Demands by settlers for good agricultural lands had been so great during the first half of the 19th century that the colonial administration was pressured to free native Indian territories for cultivation by Europeans. In favour of the European settlers a reserve policy was begun in the 1830's which alienated Indian bands from their extensive grants of prime agricultural lands and relocated them as groups on isolated reserves [Surtees, 1975].

Although by mid-century a large percentage of settlers, particularly the British, were arriving as independent immigrants the group settlement of ethnic minorities continued. Reserves for the Native Indians were created as late as the 20th century. Towards the end of the 19th century a distinct regional population became evident in Ontario's most easterly counties. This arose from the gradual migration of Quebec's surplus rural population along the Ottawa valley and into Prescott, Russell and Glengarry Counties. In a short time the Francophone migrants had outnumbered the original British inhabitants driving many out of the region, and, it has been suggested, assimilating many of those who remained [Cartwright, 1973].

By mid-century land grants and group settlement had firmly established an agricultural and commercial landscape on most of the deep soils of Southern Ontario. Before 1850 the largely rural population was still fairly stable with the result that the Province's landscape was characterized by distinct ethnic differences [Cross, 1970:178]. By the late 1850's, however, the railways, industrial development, and the growth of cities had begun to mobilize much of the existing population, tending to create a more heterogeneous and less culturally distinct settlement pattern [Harris and Warkentin, 1974:165]. At the same time increased labour demands and new occupational roles could not all be filled from traditional sources of immigration or the existing agricultural workforce. Consequently, an ethnic minority population of increasing size was required to supply cheap labour in the development of the Province's

frontier and industry. With most of the land occupied by early groups of British and Northern Europeans, ethnic minority immigrants in the last half of the 19th century comprised a large percentage of the landless labouring class.

#### B - Industrialisation and Northern Expansion 1880-1945

By 1880 the agricultural lands of Southern Ontario had exceeded their capacity to absorb further agricultural settlers. In the search for land more people would leave Ontario than enter during the next four decades. The majority migrated west drawn by expanding agricultural frontier on the Canadian and American prairies. Many of those immigrating into Ontario settled in Northern Ontario on marginal farms or found employment in the resource industries that had sprung up to supply the burgeoning markets of the south and the United States [Zaslow, 1971; Nelles, 1974].

Some of the first settlers in Northern Ontario were railway construction and maintenance crews of which a large percentage were ethnic minorities. Later agricultural settlers followed the railways from the south into the Sudbury basin and the Nipissing plains. Although some farming was possible most were employed in the pulp and paper, and mining industries. Settlements along the Quebec-Ontario border and within the great clay belts of Timiskaming and Cochrane had different origins [Hottenroth, 1968]. Before 1890 lumber camps had pushed settlement north up the Ottawa River. Upon discovering arable

soils, the Ontario government began to encourage settlement and around the turn of the century small numbers of settlers migrated into this region from some of the abandoned lands of Southern Ontario. As with the previous land grants, settlement assistance was offered to those who had shown loyalty to Canadian and British interests, such as veterans of the Fenian raids, the Riel Rebellion, and the Boer War [Ontario Ministry of Education, 1981:129].

The initial trickle of settlers into the north changed dramatically in 1904 with the construction of the Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway. During its construction the discovery of precious metals led to a rush of mineral exploration and resource development. Numerous settlements sprung up between North Bay in Nipissing County and Haileybury in Timiskaming County. Subsequent agricultural settlement pushed further north onto the great clay belts between Timiskaming and Hearst. With the construction of the National Transcontinental railway between New Brunswick and Manitoba the clay belt became more accessible to French and European immigrants. Consequently, settlements of distinctly French and European composition grew throughout northeastern Ontario alongside the railway right-of-ways [Schott, 1936].

Outside of the clay belt, west to the Manitoba border and north to Hudson's Bay the lack of arable lands delayed or prevented most permanent settlement. Nevertheless, a Danish agricultural settlement was established near Thunder Bay in 1835. Subsequently other agricultural settlers trickled into the Thunder Bay and Rainy River

Districts. Distance to the major markets and the short growing season, however, made these farms only marginally profitable and did not encourage concentrated settlement. Other major settlements did not arise until the Canadian Pacific Railway accessed the area in 1887. Afterward the development of mineral deposits and forest resources as well as maintenance of the rail system attracted representatives of a diversity of ethnic minorities from the United States, Europe, Quebec and the Prairies.

It wasn't until between 1914 and 1946 that large numbers of immigrants settled in Northern Ontario. With the onset of the economic depression a major internal migration began from the ethnically diverse Prairies into northwestern and Southern Ontario. In addition French agricultural settlers continued to push into northeastern Ontario from Quebec. As a result, by 1921 the north had become ethnically distinct from Southern Ontario. Zaslow [1971] notes that the

" One feature that differentiated the north from other parts of Ontario (and certainly from the new north of Quebec, which was consciously held for French settlement) was its polyglot society. Whereas Ontario in 1921 was predominantly of British extraction (78 per cent) and only about 8.5 per cent French Canadian, in the Northern districts the British percentage fell to a bare 51 per cent, while the French rose to almost one-quarter of the total (23.7 per cent). Other groups comprised one-quarter of the population, nearly double their fraction in the province as a whole" (p.192).



By the end of this period of industrialization Ontario's labour force was considerably intermixed. However, although differences between distinct ethnic communities had declined, especially in the south, the ethnic population had become strongly polarized between Northern and Southern regions of Ontario.

#### C - Urbanization and the Toronto-centred Region 1946-1971

The large-scale immigration and rapid economic expansion occurring since the end of World War II has had the most visible impact on current patterns of ethnic distribution in Ontario. Although there was a polarized distribution of ethnic groups during Ontario's colonization and industrialization, the effect of Toronto's increasing dominance has been more dramatic. Not only has Toronto been Ontario's major point of entry, especially since the advent of air travel, but the Toronto-centred region has become a strong industrial and manufacturing core attracting most of the recent immigrant groups.

From its inception as Provincial capital in 1793, Toronto's role as Ontario's economic and administrative core has grown. Ray [1972] describes Toronto's position within Ontario's economic structure using the core-periphery model. He identifies "... a growing disparity in the industrial and urban growth between the 'Golden Horseshoe' extending from Toronto to Niagara Falls, and the rest of Ontario". In his description of Ontario's polarized structure structure Ray [1972] identifies two patterns of variation between the Toronto core and its periphery. He states:

" First there are contrasts in education, occupation, income, and housing characteristics that are primarily urban-rural in nature, for urbanization itself is concentrated in the heartland. Second, there is a distinctive heartland-hinterland group of characteristics which contrasts the relative emphasis on manufacturing in the heartland with lumbering-fishing-mining economy and associated higher unemployment rates and greater economic disparity at the periphery..." (p.46).

S. Ansari's [1979] more recent analysis of 1976 Census data identifies a similar core-periphery disparity in variations of socio-economic activity across the Province. High levels of income, education, housing quality, and occupation status are associated with corridors of development that parallel highways 401 and 400, and centre on Toronto. In addition both Ray's and Ansari's studies recognize a strong cultural dimension in the Province's core-periphery structure. Although they do not elaborate on this point, it is clear that Toronto's regional dominance is associated with patterns of cultural differentiation.

Having all the characteristics of a core, Toronto is Ontario's major centre of employment growth and labour migration. This directly affects the ethnic population in two ways. First, more recent immigrant groups, such as the Southern Europeans, Visible Minorities, and "new" immigrants enter the Province through Toronto and tend to remain there. Second, among the older groups a significant percentage are drawn from declining peripheral areas and migrate into Toronto.

Although some minority groups are concentrated in the core region it does not necessarily imply that they have become spatially integrated with the core group. On the contrary, there are significant levels of ethnic segregation and socio-economic differentiation between ethnic groups in urban areas throughout the core region of Ontario. For example, there are studies documenting ethnic segregation by socio-economic class in Toronto [Murdie, 1969; Kalbach, 1980; Wong, 1982], Hamilton [Chandler, 1965; Wilk, 1977], and Ottawa [Robineault, 1970; Phelan, 1975]. In terms of the regional core-periphery model, the segregation of ethnic groups in the core is a phenomena described by the concept of peripheral enclaves within the core. The characteristics and dynamics of such ethnic enclaves in Toronto are discussed in more detail in Wong [1982].

#### D - Conclusion

In this chapter patterns of ethnic group settlement in Ontario were related to the historical development of the Province's core-periphery economic structure. This structure was interpreted as a product of temporal and spatial variations in the division of labour. It was established that the British charter group held core positions within this regional division of labour and that through their regulation of land and immigration policies they allocated much of the ethnic minority population to peripheral positions. Then it was argued that the charter group was distributed throughout the geographic core

of Southern Ontario, while minority populations were concentrated initially in the Northern Ontario periphery, and later within the peripheral enclaves of the Toronto-centred core. Current distributions of ethnic groups in Ontario reflect the accumulation and persistence of these historical settlement processes. In order to test these hypotheses, and describe the settlement patterns of specific ethnic categories, more precise and detailed measures of spatial distribution are examined in subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER IV - Socio-Cultural Attributes of the Major Ethnic  
Categories in Ontario

Before turning to the regional distributions of specific ethnic categories in Chapter V, it is necessary to discuss some of the socio-cultural markers basic to ethnic identities in Ontario in 1971. Such attributes can include a group's language facility, reasons for emigration, religion, kinship patterns, and strategies of group boundary maintenance. These characteristics can influence the regional settlement patterns of ethnic groups. In addition such attributes can have a significant role in determining the entrance status and mobility of groups once in Ontario. The nature and importance of these attributes varies widely between ethnic categories and must be empirically determined in each case. For this purpose a brief overview of each ethnic category is provided, describing their significant socio-cultural attributes and rates of acculturation into Ontario's British majority.

Although much of the following analysis is historical and descriptive, some quantitative data useful for comparative purposes has been drawn from the 1971 Census. Specifically, the socio-cultural variables examined are the percentage's of a group who were born in Canada (NATIVE); who migrated into Ontario between 1966 and 1971

(IMMIG); who claim a Protestant (PROTES), or Roman Catholic (ROMAN) religious affiliation; who claim English as their mother tongue (ENGTON), and as the language they speak most often at home (ENGHOM); and who claim to be married to a spouse of British origin (BRIMAR). These variables are presented on Table IV-1.

#### 1 The British

The British ethnic group has been a numerical majority population throughout Ontario's history. Although a charter and core status is associated with the group as a whole, not all its members have experienced the same opportunities or conditions. During early immigration periods (1780-1850) settlers from the British Isles came to Ontario in distinct groups of varying origin, namely the English, Welsh, Catholic Irish, Scottish Highlanders, and Protestant Lowlanders. At the same time Ontario received numerous Americans of diverse origins but whose primary allegiance was to Britain. Each of these groups originally entered Ontario with a different status. Typically, Irish Catholics were employed as urban and migrant labourers; Americans were superior agricultural pioneers; while many of the English and Scots gravitated to the cities as merchants and artisans.

Despite an initial period of conflicts and varying rates of adjustment, the cultural similarity of these groups hastened their structural assimilation. Burnett [1972] explains that the commercial

expansion of Upper Canada in the middle of the 19th century disturbed the traditional ethnic cleavages within the British population. The resultant intermixing of British origin groups accelerated after 1850 when most immigrants came as independent settlers with little preference for settling with others of similar ethnic origin. As well as intermixing the various origin groups within the British majority became proportionately represented throughout Ontario's social structure. For example, a recent historical analysis by Armstrong [1981] concludes that even in Upper Canada's colonial oligarchy the various British origin groups were equally represented.

As a result of their charter status and numerical majority the British were established as Ontario's core ethnic group. The literature indicates that it is the elite of this group (the colonial oligarchy) who have persisted at the top of Ontario's social hierarchy. Most members of the core group closely resemble this elite, being white, English-speaking, and Protestant.

In a system of ethnic stratification the status of an ethnic group will depend on its socio-cultural similarities to the core group. Throughout the remainder of this study the British are used as the reference core group to which the ethnic minorities are compared. Table IV-1 shows some of the socio-cultural attributes of Ontario's ethnic majority population. The British are well established in Ontario with 92% having arrived before 1966 and with 86.3% born in Canada. As expected the British core population is almost entirely of English mother-tongue (99%) and speak English most often at home (99.5%). In terms of religion, however, it is not this homogeneous with 66% Protestant, 19% Roman Catholic, and 10% other religions.

Table IV-1

## Socio-cultural Profile of Ethnic Categories in Ontario - 1971

Ethnic Category	NATIVE (native born) %	IMMIG (1966-71) %	PROTES (Protestant) %	ROMAN (Roman Catholic) %	ENGTON (English Tongue) %	ENGHON (English Spoken) %	BRIMAR (British Spouse) %
British	86.3	7.3	66.1	19.0	99.0	99.5	84.4
French	97.5	8.3	10.0	85.0	39.3	55.1	32.2
Western European	64.1	8.1	46.1	30.8	60.5	83.2	35.1
Eastern European	56.4	10.6	20.2	70.9	42.3	66.1	20.3
Jewish	63.2	11.0	1.9	1.2	74.0	87.4	5.4
Southern European	40.3	20.7	3.3	93.8	25.0	37.3	10.5
Visible Minority	31.7	54.5	32.4	21.5	51.6	63.6	9.3
Native Indian	95.7	4.9	42.2	40.2	54.9	66.8	21.5

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, custom tabulations.



An indication of the persistence of British ethnicity in the core group is the extent of inter-marriage between groups. As Table IV-1 shows, in over 84% of all husband and wife families, both spouses are of British ethnic origin. With such low rates of interaction at the primary level of assimilation the British core group can be characterized by its relatively stable socio-cultural attributes.

## 2 The French

In several respects the French in Ontario are in striking contrast to the British core group. These differences can have arisen from the special status of French-Canadians as a conquered people, and as a charter group within the Canadian Federation. Between the conquest in 1763 and the early 1830's, French immigration into Ontario and all of Canada was virtually nonexistent. Table IV-1 indicates that almost all of this minority were Canadian born and that over 90% resided in Ontario before 1966. Despite the lack of population growth from immigration the French-Canadian population continued to grow through high rates of natural increase and low rates of emigration. As a result of the insular nature of this growth French settlements have retained their cultural distinctiveness successfully resisting British attempts at acculturation.

Confederation in 1867 strengthened the position of French Canada in national decision-making. Beginning in the middle of the 19th century the French population in Ontario swelled through the influx of

Quebec's rural surplus population; first into the eastern counties and later into northeastern Ontario. The charter status of the French within Confederation ensured this inter-provincial migration, although not without opposition from Ontario (1).

Social and cultural indicators in 1971 reflect the historical circumstances of the French in Ontario. Table IV-1 contrasts the cultural dissimilarities of the French to the British. A great difference is evident in religion, with 85% of all the French being Roman Catholic and only 10% being Protestant. A second critical characteristic of French-Canadian ethnicity is their language. Despite their long-term residence in Ontario, in 1971 less than 40% of the Franco-Ontarians learned English as their mother-tongue, while only 55.1% spoke English most often at home. Among French families, almost a third are French and British inter-marriages, indicating that in spite of cultural dissimilarities a significant percentage are integrating at the primary level of social relationships.

### 3 The Northern Europeans

Northern Europeans have been the largest minority group throughout Ontario's history. In 1971 they totalled 1,525,515 persons or 19.8% of the total population. The group is made up of diverse ethnic origins among which there are at least three important distinctions in terms of socio-cultural attributes and entrance status. These categories are as follows: Western Europeans, including

Germans (6.2%), Dutch (2.7%); Eastern Europeans, including Ukrainians (2.1%), Polish (1.9%); and as a distinct group the Jews (1.8%). Included within the Western and Eastern European categories are numerous other ethnic origin groups each with less than 1% of the total population, such as, the Slavic and Scandanavian groups (2).

#### A - Western Europeans

Western European origin groups were among Ontario's earliest immigrants, coming as agricultural colonists from their original settlements in the United States. Much of the current population which comprised 11.8% of Ontario's total population in 1971 immigrated to Ontario during the industrial expansion after the second world war. Table IV-1 indicates that almost 66% of the Western European group was native born, and that like the British and French, close to 92% had been established in Ontario before 1966. Except during the wars Europeans were a preferred group of immigrants. They originated from countries where levels of development, occupational structures, and socio-cultural attributes were similar to those of Britain. In addition, most Western European groups had a great desire of becoming integrated and little interest in forming or maintaining ethnically distinct communities. Of all minority groups in Ontario the Western Europeans are the most similar to the British.

Table IV-1 indicates that in terms of religion the Western European group is similar to the British group, with the greatest percentage being Protestant and smaller, but significant, percentages being in the Roman Catholic and Other categories. Maintaining the use of their traditional languages has not been a vital concern of the Western European group. For example, elsewhere it has been noted that German was eliminated as a language of instruction even in remote parts of northern Ontario between 1890 and World War I [McLeod, 1979:80]. Table IV-1 indicates that in 1971 60.5% claimed English as their mother tongue and over 83% said English was spoken most often at home. Finally, in over 35% of Western European families a spouse was of British origin, which is the highest rate of primary assimilation into the British reference group shown by any ethnic minority.

#### B - Eastern Europeans

Eastern European origin groups, including the Ukrainians, Polish, Yugoslavs, Estonians, Czechs and Croatians comprised 6.6% of the Province's total population in 1971. Although small numbers of some of these groups established agricultural settlements in Ontario in the early 1800's, significant numbers did not immigrate to Canada until the end of the century. Porter [1965:65] observes that the British majority regarded the Eastern Europeans as immigrants of inferior quality. Nevertheless, Eastern European immigrants had to be encouraged in order to develop agricultural settlement in Western Canada. Subsequently a surplus of immigrants, economic depression, and increased urbanization led many Eastern Europeans to the industrial and manufacturing job opportunities in Southern Ontario.

The majority of Eastern Europeans immigrated into Ontario immediately after World War II. As Table IV-1 indicates, only 56.4% were born in Canada, while 89.4% resided in Ontario before 1966. These more recent members of the Eastern European group contrast with the older residents, being more highly educated and skilled. Eastern European groups as a whole have shown a strong tendency towards structural integration while retaining distinct cultural identities.

As an indicator of their socio-cultural distance from the British in 1971, the Eastern Europeans were primarily Roman Catholic (70.9%) with only 20% claiming a Protestant affiliation. Only 42.3% had English as a mother tongue, although a majority of 66.1% spoke English most often at home. Similarly, the percentage of intermarriages between Eastern Europeans and the British represented only 20.3% of all Eastern European families.

#### C - The Jews

The first few Jews settling in Ontario came from the United States during the early period of colonization. Subsequent waves of Jewish immigration coincide with the influx of Western and Eastern European groups. As in these other groups the motivation for the early Jewish immigrations included a quest for a better standard of living and greater religious freedom. These early Jews established a foundation for the present close-knit religious and business communities in Toronto. The initial period of Jewish immigration was

interrupted by the advent of World War I. Dislocations resulting from the War, as well as increasing discrimination became new motivations for European Jews to immigrate to Canada. Immigration was restricted between the wars and it wasn't until after 1947 that Jews were again admitted this time as refugees from Europe, Hungary, Egypt, and North Africa. In 1971 the Jewish population in Ontario was 135,195 or 1.8% of the Provincial total. Table IV-1 indicates that 63.2% of the Jews were born in Canada and 89% arrived in Ontario before 1966. As previously mentioned, these percentages are very similar to the Eastern European group.

It must be noted that the 1971 Census data does not relate to all Jews in Ontario. Unlike most of the other ethnic groups in the Census who are ascribed ethnic membership on the basis of ancestral national origin, the Jewish category is primarily a religious marker to which all Jews do not identify. As a result the Census data indicates that, despite a diversity of national origins, the Jewish origin group is a highly cohesive ethnic community. Their strategy has been to become integrated within the larger society, while retaining their distinct community organization and religious identity [Shaffir, 1979]. Table IV-1 illustrates that they show strong homogeneity in religion with only 1.9% being Protestant. Moreover, the fact that only 5.4% of Jewish families had a British spouse is evidence of this group's low rates of primary assimilation into the British reference group. The use of English, however, indicates a contrasting degree of integration with 74% of the Jewish population learning English as their mother tongue and over 84% speaking English most often at home.

#### 4 The Southern Europeans

From 1911 to 1971 the Southern Europeans comprised Ontario's third largest ethnic minority after the French and Northern Europeans. In 1971 the largest southern European group in Ontario were the Italians with 6% of the total Provincial population. Other Southern European groups made up another 2% of the total including Greeks, Portuguese, Spanish, and Syrian-Lebanese.

Before 1900 Southern European origin groups were regarded as undesirable immigrants and very few entered Ontario [Reitz, 1980:74-75]. Between 1900 and 1914 the first large immigration of Southern Europeans began with the influx of Italian migrant labourers. Escaping poor conditions in Europe at this time, Italian males came to Ontario to find seasonal employment in heavy labour on the railroads and in the mines. Initially, their intent was not to settle permanently but to improve their capital holdings and send money to relatives in their homelands. Later, however, the money sent home facilitated a large migration of Italians into Ontario in a chain-like fashion along kinship networks. As in other groups, levels of Italian immigration decreased dramatically during the years of war and recession. The majority of the current Italian population did not arrive in Ontario until after the Second World War. At that time changes in immigration policy allowed the earlier Italian settlers to sponsor the arrival of increasing numbers of their kin.

Other Southern European origin groups, such as the Greeks, Spanish, and Portuguese also began to arrive in large numbers after the liberalization of immigration policy in the 1960's. Reflecting their recent arrival, only 40.3% of the Southern Europeans were Canadian born, while 20.7% migrated into Ontario between 1966 and 1971. In general, these groups have followed a pattern of immigration and adjustment similar to that of the Italians. Most members of these groups being poor and unskilled found employment primarily as labourers in the urban areas of southern Ontario. Urban occupations of the Southern European males were typically in the construction trades, building services, and landscaping. Women frequently found employment in textile mills, garment factories, and as domestic cleaners in hospitals and other large institutions. Less often members of this group became entrepreneurs and opened travel agencies and restaurants which catered to the needs of the ethnic community [Harney, 1979].

The recent arrival and admittance of most Southern European ethnic origin groups reflects their cultural dissimilarities from the British Charter group. As Table IV-1 indicates the Southern European population in 1971 had the largest percentage of Roman Catholics compared to all other groups at 93.8%. Similarly, the language facility of the Southern European category differed greatly from all other groups, with only 25% learning English as their mother tongue, and less than 38% speaking English most often at home. Like the Jewish group, the Southern Europeans are a cohesive group characterised by a relatively closed kinship network, with only 10.5% of all families including a spouse of British origin.



5 The Visible Minorities

The Visible Minority population includes numerous groups of different ethnic origins, languages and political sympathies. As a group, however their distinct phenotypical features identified them equally as undesirable immigrants and prohibited most from entering Canada until the 1960's. Since 1967 the percentage and diversity of Visible minorities in the immigrant and total populations has been increasing. As Table IV-1 illustrates only 31.7%, the smallest percentage of any ethnic category, were native born, with over half of the group having arrived in Ontario between 1966 and 1971. By 1971 the largest origin groups in this category were in their descending order of size the Chinese, Japanese, East Indian and West Indians (3). In relation to the Province's total population the Visible Minority group has always been the smallest minority until 1971 when its numbers exceeded those of the native Indian population.

The first individuals of a Visible Minority group in Ontario were the Black slaves accompanying Loyalists into Niagara, York, and Essex Counties [Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation, 1981]. Before the American Civil War the abolition of slavery in Upper Canada and the underground railway attracted further Black immigrants who established a commercial community in York and an agricultural settlement in Essex and Kent Counties. After the Civil War, however, a large percentage of the Black population returned to the United

States. The Black population did not significantly grow again until the Visible Minority populations were encouraged by the liberalization of immigration policy in 1967. Since that time most Blacks entering Ontario have been of West Indian origin.

As the term implies the Visible Minorities have distinct physical or racial differences from the British. Table IV-1 also indicates several socio-cultural contrasts to the Charter group. Although 53.9% of the group were Protestant or Roman Catholic, the remainder were of diverse religious traditions. Many of the Visible origin groups have entered Canada from countries such as Britain and the United States where they have previously learned English. Hence, it is not surprising that 51.6% learned English as a mother tongue, while almost 64% spoke English most often at home. A good indicator of the social distance between the Visible Minorities and the charter group is provided by the small percentage (9.3%) who have intermarried with the British.

#### 6 The Native Indians

The native Indian population is Ontario's smallest and most dissimilar cultural minority. As the Province's indigenous population their diverse languages, values, and patterns of behaviour have historically been in great contrast to the majority population. Of all Ontario's minorities their movement towards integration into the larger society has been the most difficult (4).

Ontario's native Indians have not always held a status of such great contrast to majority. During early colonial periods the Indians had a vital role in the Province's exploration and its fur-trading economy. Later, their importance increased when they became political and military allies of the British in wars against the French and United States. In return for their military service in the American revolution and the war of 1812 the British gave large land grants to the Iroquois along the Grand River in Norfolk, Brant, and Waterloo Counties. In addition other Indian peoples seeking refuge from persecution in the United States migrated into southern and northern Ontario.

After the war of 1812 the Indian population became increasingly irrelevant to the political-economic system created by the agricultural colonization of southern Ontario. With the insatiable demands by European agricultural settlers for land, attitudes of the majority turned against the Indians, whose activities were seen as unproductive uses of the land. Similarly, their traditional skills and levels of proficiency were seen as unsuited to the majority economic system. Finally, the agricultural transformation of the southern Ontario landscape depleted the wildlife resources on which the traditional livelihood of the Indian people was dependent.

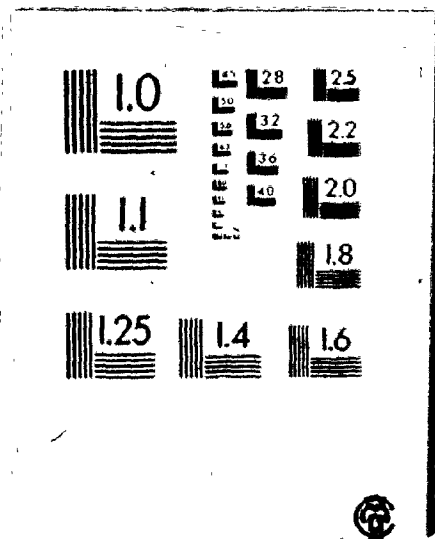
In response to the troublesome presence and impoverished conditions of the Indian population, the colonial government initiated a treaty and reserve system in the pre-Confederation period which was later formalized through various amendments to the Indian Act. As a

result the natives were alienated from their often productive agricultural lands and relocated on smaller, more isolated and marginal reserve lands. Under the Indian Act the natives were assigned a special legal status which denied their self-government and made them dependent upon government administration and welfare. As southern Ontario's frontier of development expanded increasing numbers of native peoples were incorporated into the treaty and reserve systems and were pushed further north onto the least productive lands.

The census data used in this study is not representative of the entire Native Indian population in Ontario. The Census includes only the 63,175 individuals defined as 'status Indians' by Federal legislation. As a result the Census data relates only to conditions among the status Indians who are entitled to government benefits, and not to non-status Indians whose conditions can be far worse. In 1978 the estimated population of non-status Indians in Ontario was 184,000 [Ministry of Culture and Recreation, 1981], for which there is little data available.

Attempts by the British majority at acculturating the Native Indian population first by missionaries, and later through compulsory education, has influenced the socio-cultural characteristics of the group. As the census data from Table IV-1 suggest, the group as a whole is no more dissimilar from the British than the Western or Eastern Europeans. Approximately equal percentages of this group claimed Protestant and Roman Catholic affiliations; almost 55% learned English as a mother tongue, while over 66% spoke English most often at

2



home. The percentage of intermarriages between the Native Indians and the British is 21.5%, which is above that of the Eastern European group. It is important to recognize that, like the Visible Minorities, the Native Indians are racially distinct from the other ethnic categories analyzed in this study. The variables chosen to illustrate socio-cultural attributes do not reflect the great contrast in value orientations, behaviour, or physical features between these categories and the British and European categories.

#### 7 Summary

Although the ethnic categories described in this chapter are neither homogeneous nor distinct social groups, each has several socio-cultural attributes which are typical of actual ethnic groups within these categories. The ethnic categories of longest residence in Ontario are the Native Indians, French, British, and Western Europeans. In contrast to more recent groups these longer-term residents have much larger percentages of their members residing in rural settings. Despite their long residence only the Western European category shows significant signs of acculturation towards the British, while both the French and Native Indians retain strong ethnic distinctions from the British. All of the more recent ethnic categories, the Eastern Europeans, Jews, Southern Europeans, and Visible Minorities are highly urbanized. Ethnic groups within these categories tend to be young and have not necessarily had time to

experience integration. Consequently, these groups are characterized by a cohesiveness that centers around distinct religious traditions and that is perpetuated through low rates of intermarriage. Language facility does not appear to be a distinctive difference between most ethnic categories in Ontario. Only among the Southern Europeans is English not commonly spoken by the majority of group members.

The many dimensions of cultural and social integration make it impossible to rank the degree of integration among Ontario's seven major ethnic categories. Doubtless each ethnic group experiences different rates and kinds of integration which are not easily measured by aggregate Census data. How these socio-cultural differences and processes of integration become manifest in geographic space are examined in the subsequent chapter.

## 8 Endnotes

- 1 - Opposition from "Old Ontario", which was essentially the southern Ontario core, to French settlement in "New Ontario" is expressed in "Is Toronto and Western Ontario to be Sidetracked and New Ontario made a Greater Quebec," brochure of the collection of the Public Archives of Ontario, around 1902.

2 - For a complete breakdown of all Census Ethnic Origin Groups aggregated into the Northern European category see Appendix I

3 - Although not included in the 1971 Census as separate origin groups, other visible minorities entering Ontario at this time include the Vietnamese, Sri Lankans, Laotians, Pakistanis, Koreans, Filipinos, Cambodians, Bangladeshis, and Nigerians. Less than a few thousand of these groups were found in Ontario in 1971 (and primarily in Toronto) although they have since come in large numbers.

4 - Most of this discussion is drawn from a previous geographic analysis of Ontario's Native Indian population by Hecht, Wesol, & Sharpe [1982].



CHAPTER V - Spatial Distributions of the Major Ethnic Categories  
in Ontario

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the distribution of Ontario's major ethnic categories across the Province's core-periphery structure using various statistical techniques. This analysis focusses on the six ethnic categories used in the previous historical analysis, namely the British, French, Northern Europeans, Southern Europeans, Visible Minorities, and Native Indians. In addition, for part of the analysis, the Northern European category is broken down further into Western Europeans, Eastern Europeans, and Jews. The distributions of each of these groups across Ontario's 54 Census are indicated in Table V-1 by listing the five largest county populations in each group. The relative distributions of the ethnic groups were then compared using maps of centographic measures and location quotients. These three statistical techniques are described in detail in Appendix 2.

1 The British

Due to their similarity to the core elite, it was expected that the British majority would be characterized by high levels of social and spatial mobility, and hence that they would be found in proportional numbers in each census division across Ontario during all historical periods. A centographic analysis of the British population

distribution confirms this expected pattern. The location, dispersion, and orientation of the group remains fairly stable across the five periods between 1911 and 1971. Figure V-1 shows the similarity of the population at the beginning and end of this period. Although it indicates a tendency to shift southwest and disperse slightly, each of the 53 census divisions retains a similar percentage of British in each period.

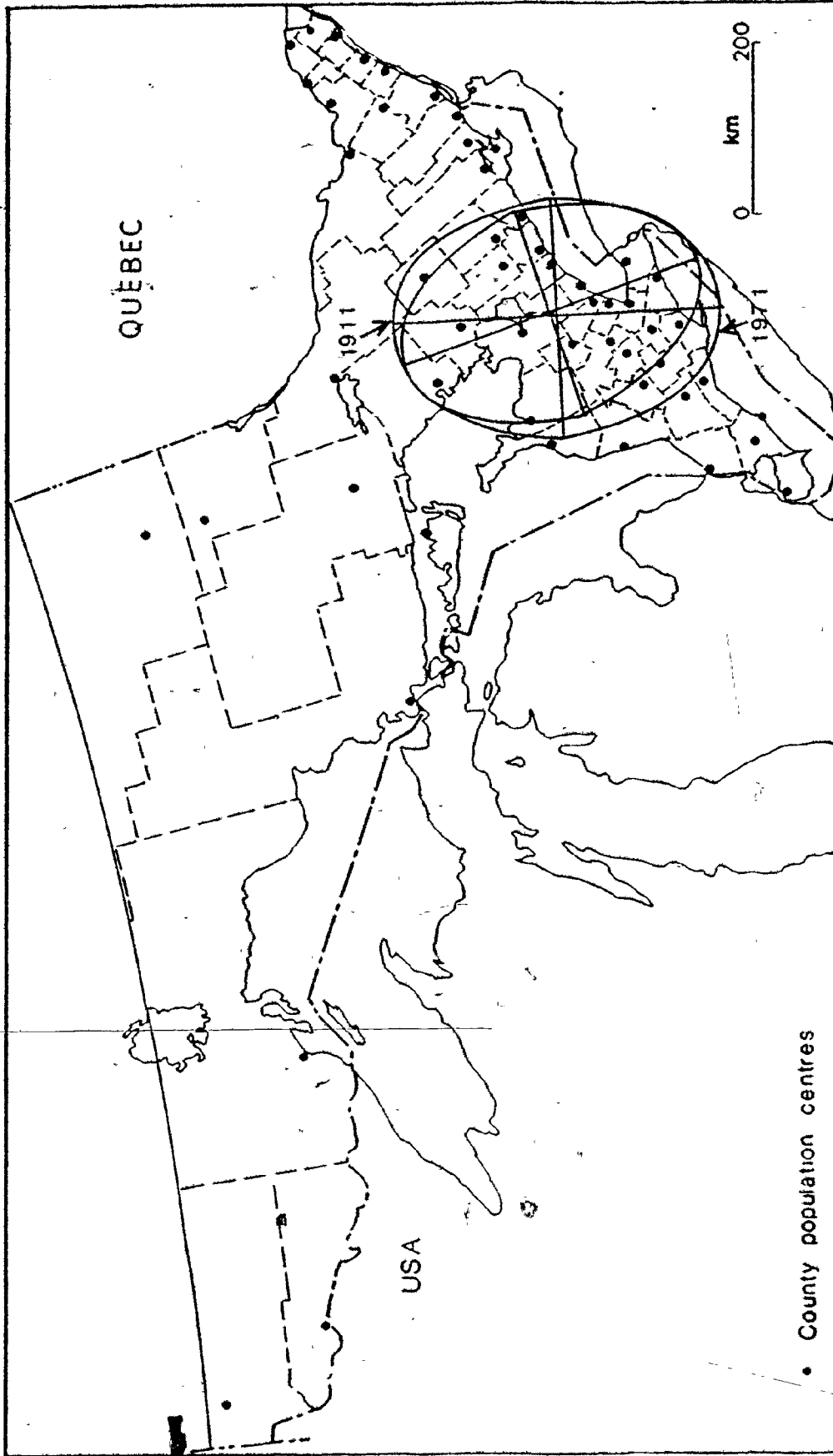
Table V-1 shows that in 1971 over one third of the group lived around the western end of Lake Ontario in Toronto, Peel, and Niagara. Another 10% live in two of southern Ontario's largest urban centres, namely Ottawa and London. During the periods of agricultural colonization most British immigrants settled on the land. A massive off-farm migration into the urban areas beginning late in the 19th century left 18.6% of the British in rural areas and 5.1% on farms by 1971. Over 75% of the British were urbanized in 1971 with half of the group in large urban centres and over one quarter in smaller centres.

Location quotients were used as a measure of British concentration in each of Ontario's 54 Census divisions. The statistic was calculated by comparing the percentage of the British within a particular Census division to the percentage of the total Provincial population in that Census division. A location quotient of 1.5 or more was assumed to indicate that the British were over-concentrated in that Census division. Conversely, a quotient of .5 or less indicates an under-representation of the group. Figure V-2 indicates that the concentrations of British in the core and periphery were not as

Table V-1  
Spatial Distribution of Ethnic Categories in Ontario - 1971

Census Divisions	Counties	British	French	Western European	Eastern European	Jewish	Southern European	Visible Minority	Native Indian
49	Toronto	24.3	9.8	19.4	34.1	79.1	56.4	64.1	9.5
33	Ottawa-Car.	5.8	15.9			5.3	3.4	5.7	
26	Middlesex	4.4		4.2					
28	Niagara	4.1		6.5	7.0		5.3		
36	Peel	3.9						3.1	
9	Essex		8.0		5.7	2.0	4.6		
53	Wentworth			5.0	8.8	3.1	7.0	4.4	
51	Waterloo			9.4		1.4			
54	York								
46	Sudbury		10.3						
4	Cochrane		6.8					2.8	
47	Thunder Bay				4.9				7.6
19	Kenora								17.7
3	Brant								6.4
1	Algoma								5.6
TOTAL of five counties		42.5	50.8	44.5	60.5	89.5	76.7	80.1	46.8
URBAN									
	>30,000	49.9	49.0	39.3	53.6	88.9	75.5	80.4	20.9
	<30,000	26.4	25.0	16.7	34.5	9.8	21.4	18.7	15.4
RURAL									
	non-farm	18.6	21.9	34.6	9.2	1.1	2.5	1.7	61.9
	FARM	5.1	4.1	9.4	2.7	.2	.6	.2	1.8

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, custom tabulations



• County population centres

Figure V-1  
 Historical Centrogography of the British in Ontario, 1911-1971

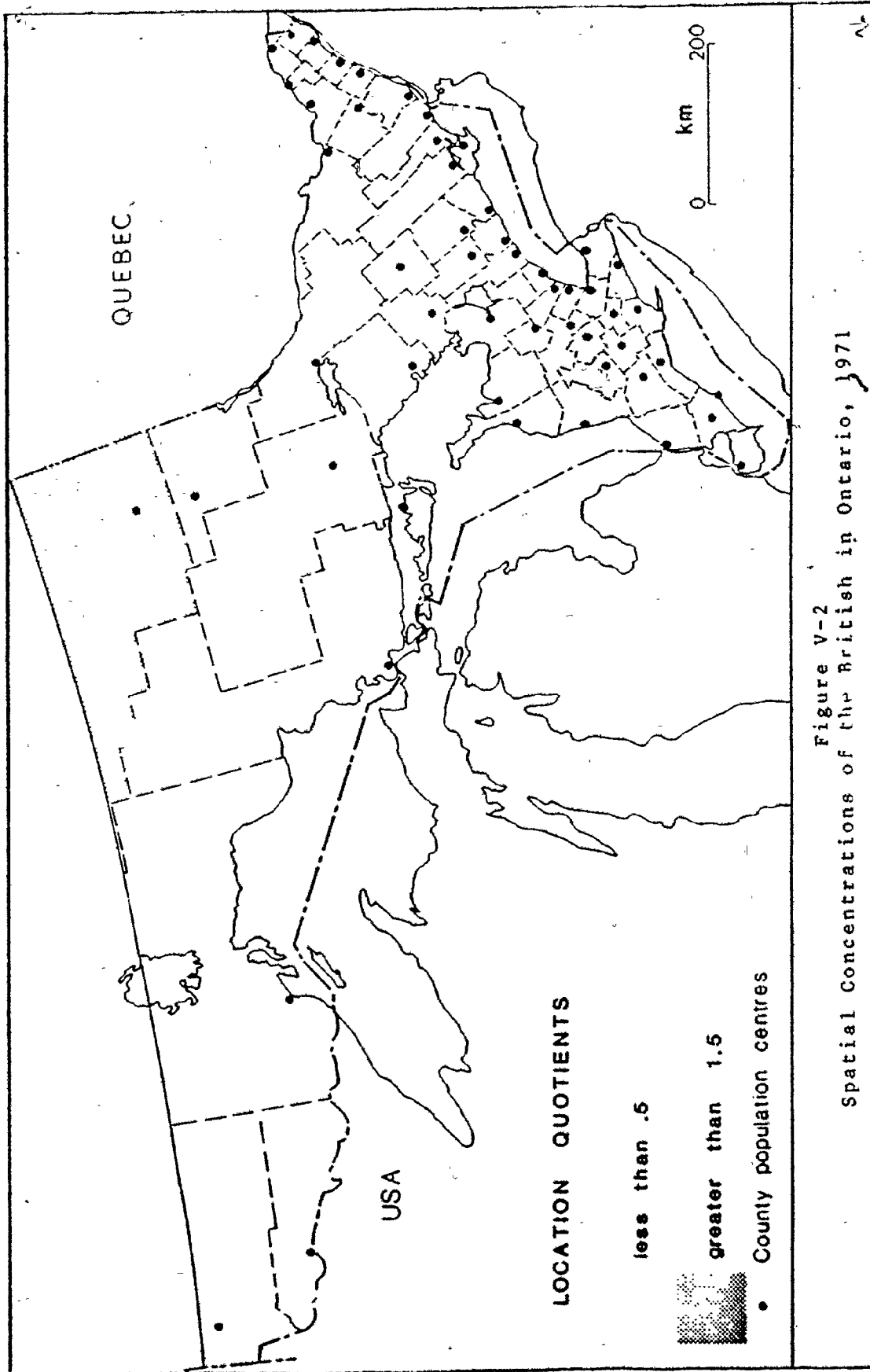


Figure V-2  
 Spatial Concentrations of the British in Ontario, 1971

strong as predicted by the conceptual model (Figure II-2). Nevertheless, although there are no census divisions in the core or elsewhere with over ~~1.5~~ times the expected percentage of British (59.4%), the British are under-represented in Cochrane, Glengarry, and Russell Counties. The British groups which originally settled these counties, have since been outnumbered by French immigrants from Quebec. Overall, the spatial characteristics of the British population, as described by the centographic measures and location quotients, represents the greatest concentration of Ontario's population around the western end of Lake Ontario.

## 2 The French

There are four regional concentrations within Ontario's French population, each characterised by a separate origin and distinct evolution. The first French settlements in what is now Ontario were small agricultural communities located in Essex, Niagara, and Frontenac Counties. These communities were planned by the French colonial government of New France in the mid 1700's, but after the British conquest did not attract further French immigrants until well into the next century.

A second wave of French settlement began in 1837 as a result of economic depression in Quebec which forced the rural surplus population to migrate [Cartwright, 1977; Ray, 1961]. The majority of these migrants located along the Ottawa and St. Lawrence Valleys

although some went as far as the French settlement in Essex County. A few decades later with the establishment of the Federal capital in Ottawa the French population began to spread north. Although the majority remained in farming an increasing percentage found employment in the forestry industry and smaller numbers worked for the civil service in Ottawa.

The construction of railroads in the late 1800's attracted a third wave of French into northern Ontario. Between 1890 and 1920 the French migrated along the railways from northwestern Quebec into the clay belt of northeastern Ontario [Hottenroth, 1968]. Here they found employment in agriculture, forestry and in the surface operations of the mining industry. Although the majority were French-Canadians of Quebec origin, smaller numbers of French-speaking immigrants came from the United States, France, and Belgium.

Towards the middle of the 20th century a fourth influx of immigrants swelled an existing French community in Metropolitan Toronto. The members of this group came to Toronto independently in a broad range of occupational roles. Unlike their rural counterparts, the French in Toronto are neither cohesive nor concentrated and have been described by Maxwell [1979] as an "invisible minority".

In 1971 the majority of the French population remained concentrated in the same regions of their historical settlement. Table V-1 indicates that half of the French population were located in Ottawa-Carleton, Sudbury, Toronto, Essex, and Cochrane Counties. Although these regional concentrations are of contrast to the British

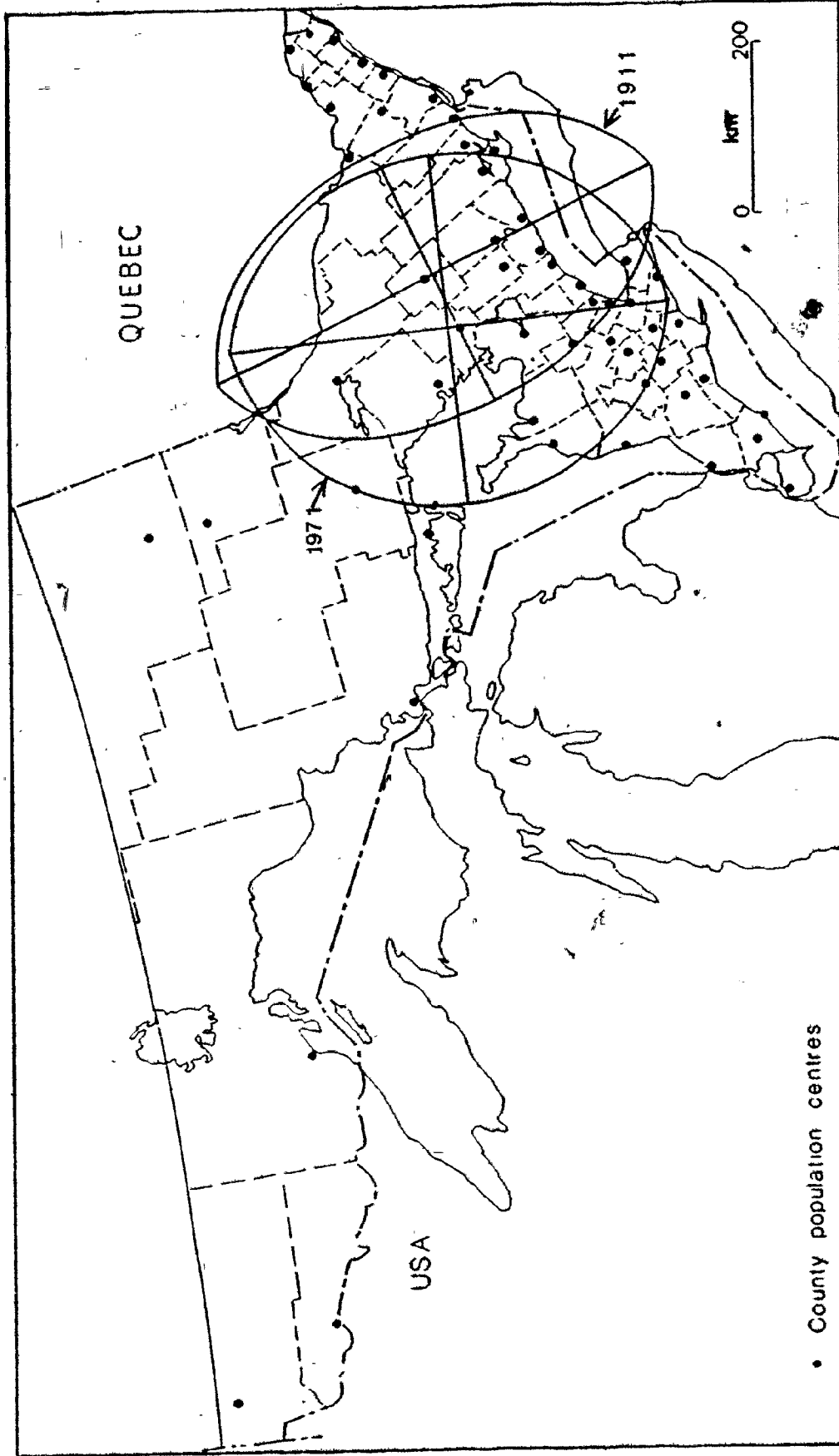


Figure V-3  
 Historical Centrogamy of the French in Ontario, 1911-1971



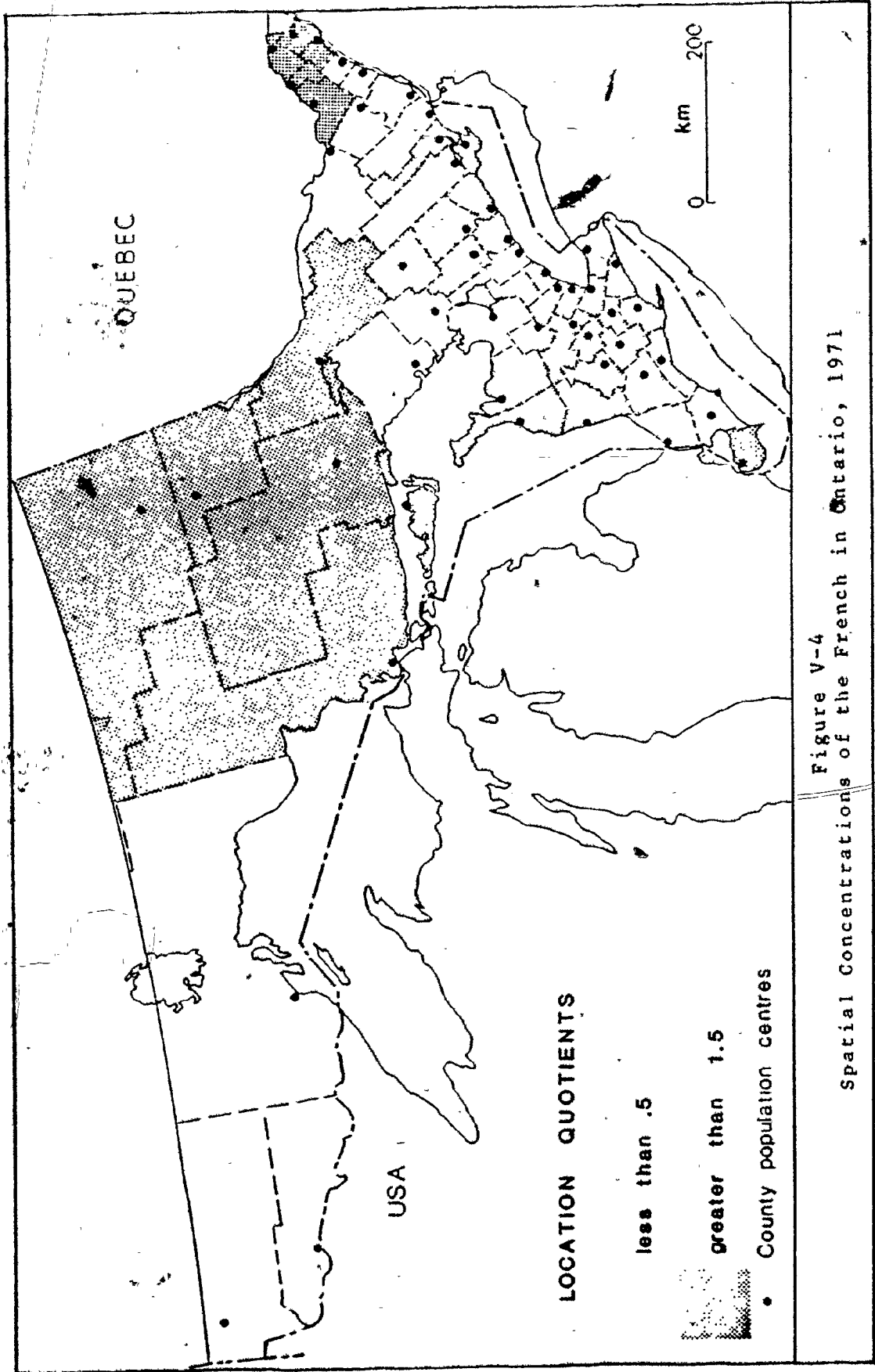


Figure V-4  
 Spatial Concentrations of the French in Ontario, 1971

distributions, there is a close similarity between the percentages of the groups in urban and rural areas. Over time the regional distribution of the French in Ontario has changed as is reflected in the centographic analysis. It is evident from Figure V-3 that the centre of the French population was located northeast of the Toronto-centred region in 1911 and then shifted slightly south and considerably west by 1971. This reflects the increasing movement of Francophones into Toronto. In addition between 1911 and 1971 the minor axis of the population ellipse has elongated considerably in response to the growth of the French group in the Ottawa Valley.

In relation to Ontario's total population, the French in 1971 were strongly over-concentrated within 11 Counties. They comprised over 8 times the expected percentage of 9.6% in both Russell and Prescott Counties. Figure V-4 shows that these over-concentrations form three separate regions. The eastern Counties have the highest concentrations followed by the Sudbury/ clay belt area and finally the community in Essex County. Overall, the French are noticeably under-represented within and around the Toronto-centred core and disproportionately represented in Ontario's peripheral regions.

### 3 The Northern Europeans

During Upper Canada's initial period of settlement the northern European population was almost entirely made up of German agricultural settlers. Between 1792 and 1837 German-Loyalists and German-Americans

settled in Niagara, Haldimand, Waterloo and York Counties. Accompanying these groups were both the Mennonite and Amish religious sects. While the Mennonites settled among the German population the Amish group located in Perth, Oxford, and Huron Counties as well as further east near Belleville.

Among the early Europeans were Lithuanians and Swiss soldiers disbanded after serving the British in the war of 1812. They were located in Perth county. Danes settled near Thunder Bay in 1835 while the Poles located in Renfrew County shortly afterward. By 1870 the growing percentage of Northern Europeans in southwestern Ontario had pushed German settlements north into Bruce, Grey, Wellington, and Perth Counties.

Towards the end of the century a second influx began of northern Europeans characterized this time by more diverse ethnic origins. Finns from Europe and the United States became labourers on the Welland Canal and in the industries in Hamilton and Windsor. Many other Finns migrated to northern Ontario seeking employment in mining, lumbering and railroad construction. Smaller numbers of Norwegians, Swedes as well as Czechs, Croats, Slovaks and Slovenes followed a similar migration route settling in communities throughout northern Ontario such as Timmins, Kirkland Lake, Thunder Bay and Sudbury [Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation, 1981].

Also around the turn of the century a distinct pattern of settlement evolved among Jewish immigrants who were settling in urban areas of southern Ontario. Through voluntary segregation the great majority of Jews concentrated in Toronto, where in 1911 they were the largest ethnic minority group. In 1971, over 80% of the Jewish population in Ontario was located in Metropolitan Toronto.

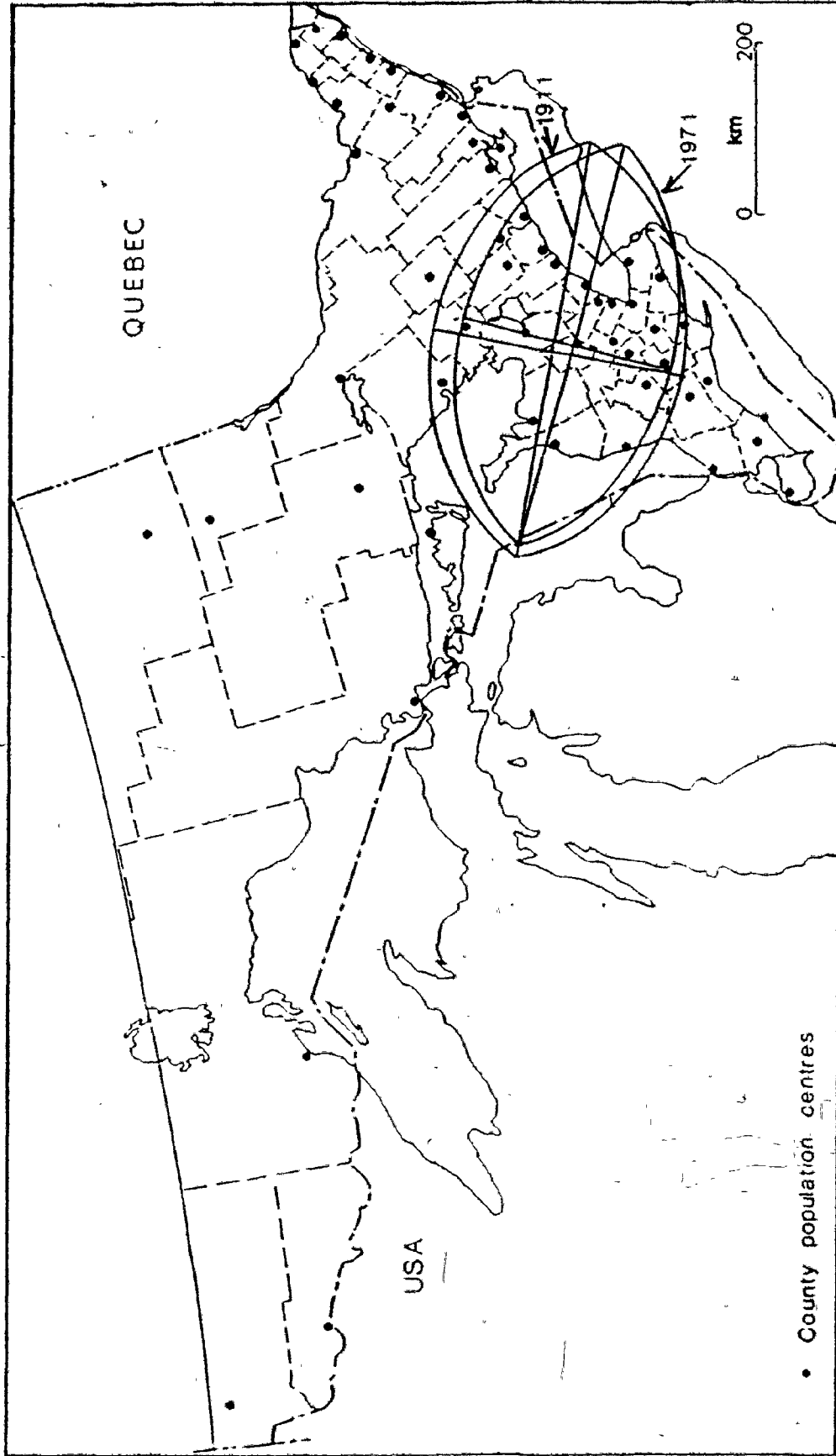


Figure V-5  
 Historical Centroggraphy of the Northern Europeans in Ontario, 1911-1971

In the early 1900's the final influx of agricultural settlers came to southern Ontario. These included refugees from the tensions in Europe, such as the Belgians, Dutch, Estonians and Mennonites. They established sugar beet and tobacco farms in southwestern Ontario, as well as fruit and vegetable gardens in the Niagara region and the Holland Marsh.

After World War II refugees from Europe swelled the ranks of immigrants with a new diversity of ethnic origin groups. These included Danish, Germans, Hungarians, Norwegians, Jews, Czechs, Poles, Latvians, Ukrainians, Slovaks, and Armenians. Arriving in Ontario as poor rural labourers many Eastern Europeans found employment on the tobacco and sugar beet farms of southwestern Ontario. In this migration, however, the former percentages of poor labourers and rural settlers had declined being replaced by greater numbers of well-educated, skilled and professional classes. The post-war immigrants from northern Europe had a diverse occupational structure well suited to the new labour demands of Ontario's urban-industrial centres. As a result many of the Europeans were able to find employment as skilled tradesmen in the automotive and manufacturing industries around Toronto.

The centographic summary of the total Northern European population in Figure V-5 suggests that their distribution did not shift substantially between 1911 and 1971 (1). In both periods the centre of the group was located in the Toronto-centred region just northwest of Toronto. Overall this pattern reflects that the majority

of the group was located in central and southwestern Ontario. Nevertheless, the skewness and orientation of the major axis towards northwestern Ontario indicates a significant concentration of Northern Europeans in Ontario's northern periphery.

Using the 1971 census data it was possible to break down the Northern European category into Western and Eastern Europeans and Jews. Each of these groups is characterized by distinct patterns of regional distribution which are revealed by the location quotients shown in Figures V-6 and V-7.

#### A - Western Europeans

The census shows that by 1971 approximately 19% of the Western European population was located in Metropolitan Toronto. Table V-1 indicates that almost a quarter of this group was located in four highly urbanized counties of southwestern Ontario. However, in great contrast to the British, 44% of the Western Europeans resided in rural areas, over 20% more than percentage of rural British. Almost twice as many Western Europeans resided on farms than any other group. Figure V-6 shows 10 counties in which there are small over-representations of Western Europeans. These areas include the historical centres of Western European settlement in Niagara, Norfolk, Perth, and Waterloo, as well as in the more peripheral counties of Rainy River and Thunderbay. Overall, although the Northern European population is found throughout most of the Province it remains disproportionately concentrated in the rural counties of the core, and in the industrial counties of the northern Ontario periphery.

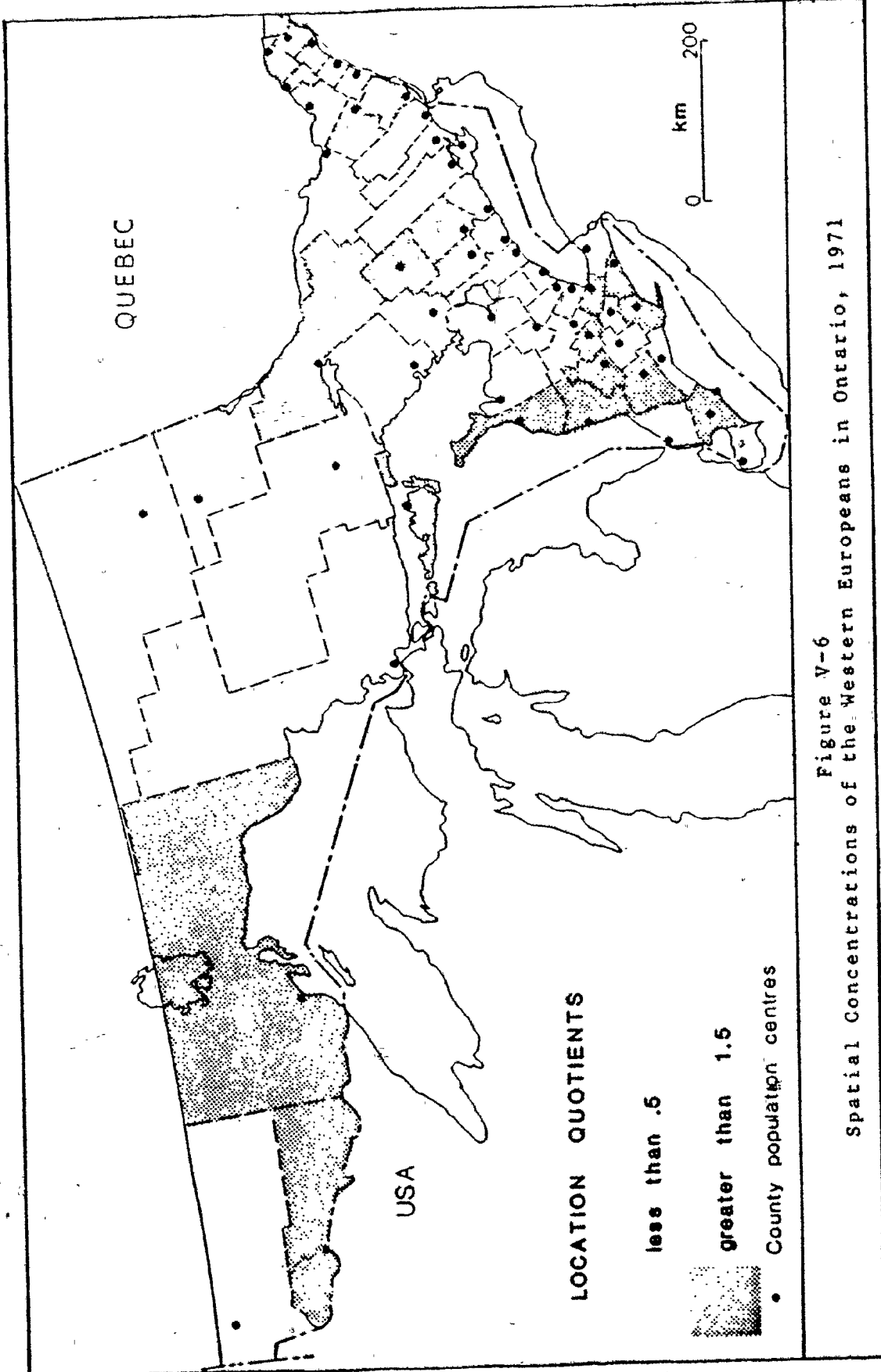


Figure V-6  
 Spatial Concentrations of the Western Europeans in Ontario, 1971

#### B - Eastern Europeans

Table V-1 shows that 34.1% of the Eastern Europeans were located in Metropolitan Toronto in 1971. Another 21.5% were located in southwestern Ontario, while almost 5% resided in Thunder Bay. With most of the group arriving in Ontario after the period of agricultural colonization less than 10% were located in rural areas in 1971. Also, a much smaller percentage of Eastern Europeans lived in small urban areas than any other group. In relation to the Province's total population Figure V-7 indicates that the Eastern Europeans are concentrated in the industrial counties of Welland and Niagara, and in the extreme northwestern counties of Kenora, Rainy River, and Thunder Bay.

#### B - Jews

Table V-1 indicates that almost 80% of the Jews are located in Toronto, while another 10% are found in Ottawa, Wentworth, Essex, and York. Close to 90% lived in large urban areas and less than 1.3% in rural areas. Only in Toronto are the Jews over-concentrated with 2.9 times their percentage in the Provincial total. The Jews are greatly under-concentrated throughout the rest of the Province, and with the only high concentration of Jews being in Metropolitan Toronto, there is no need to map the location quotients of this group.



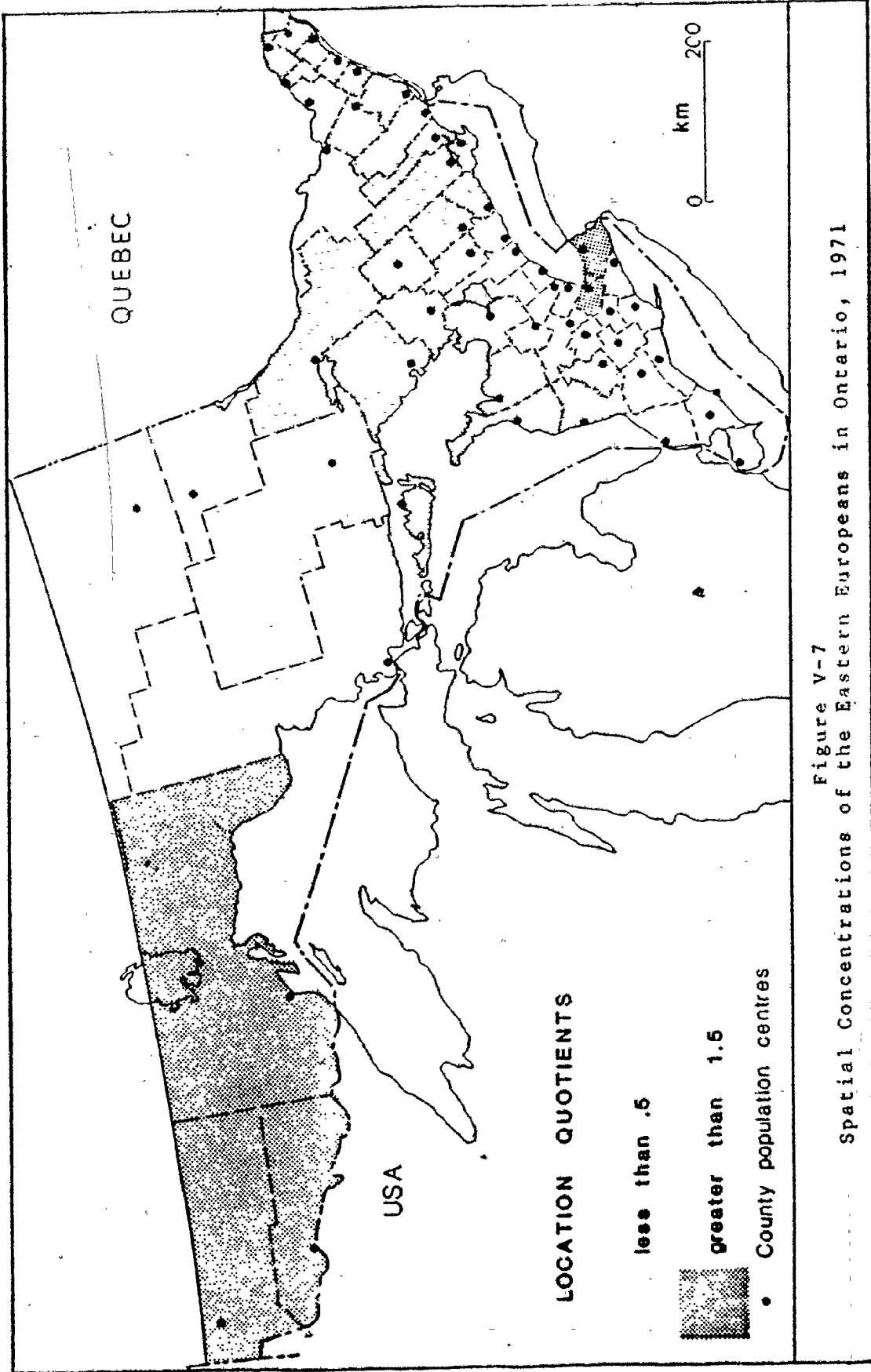


Figure V-7  
 Spatial Concentrations of the Eastern Europeans in Ontario, 1971

#### 4 The Southern Europeans

Most of the Southern European population that arrived in Ontario at the beginning of the 20th century were Italians. Initially the majority of this group lived in isolated work camps of northern Ontario where they found seasonal employment in heavy labour on the railroads and mines. Preferring a warmer climate in winter many Italians migrated to Toronto and Montreal where their families had begun to congregate in growing communities [Anderson and Higgs, 1976: 56-59]. Whether in southern or northern Ontario the Italians typically congregated in urban enclaves. Herbert Gans has described the Italians as "urban villagers" a term which

"...describes immigrants from relatively isolated village backgrounds who live in a small community of their own within a North American city. Usually they have their own stores, associations and other informal meeting places. Frequently they work for others of their own ethnic group who speak their own language. Often contact with the wider community is minimal" [Rose, 19 :295].

Subsequent immigrants from southern Europe, including the Greeks and Portuguese have followed similar settlement patterns with many working first as rural and then urban labourers. Table V-1 indicates that by 1971 over 75% of the Southern European population was located in five of the largest urban-industrial counties of southern Ontario. Over 56% were concentrated in Toronto and only 3.1% resided in rural areas.

The centrographic analysis (Figure V-8) reveals a dramatic shift in the Southern European population between 1911 and 1971. In 1911 the centre of this group was far to the northwest of the Toronto-centred region reflecting the settlement pattern of the Italian migrant labourers in northern Ontario. By 1971 post-war Italian, Portuguese, Spanish and Greek immigrants had outnumbered the earlier settlers and as a result pulled the minority group's centre very close to Toronto. Between 1911 and 1971 the ellipse shrinks dramatically along its major axis reflecting the migration of Italians into Toronto from the north. Nevertheless, the orientation of the group has not shifted signifying a continuing presence of Southern Europeans in northern Ontario.

The location quotients indicated the expected concentrations of Southern Europeans in Toronto as well as in the north (see Figure V-8). Although these concentrations are small with only 2.1 and 1.6 times the expected percentage of 8.0%, the map shows a distinct bipolar distribution of Southern Europeans. According to Figure V-8 there is a percentageal presence of Southern Europeans in 3 counties of the north and in 6 counties around the western end of Lake Ontario. Overall, the distribution of the southern European population contrasts to all previous groups. Although they are considerably over-represented in the core region, they are found nowhere else in significant numbers other than in the peripheral north.

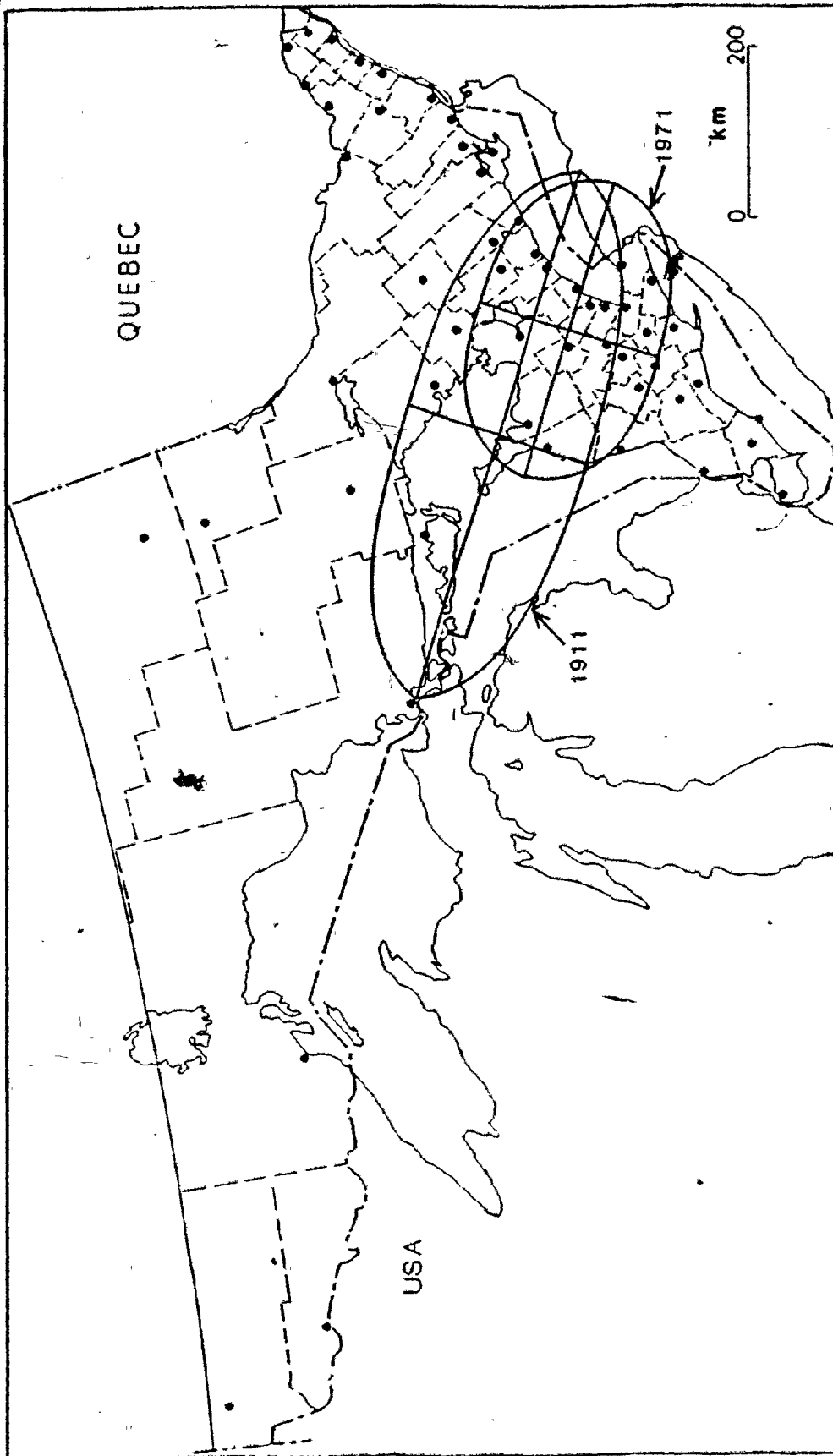


Figure V-8  
 Historical Centroglyphy of the Southern Europeans in Ontario, 1911-1971

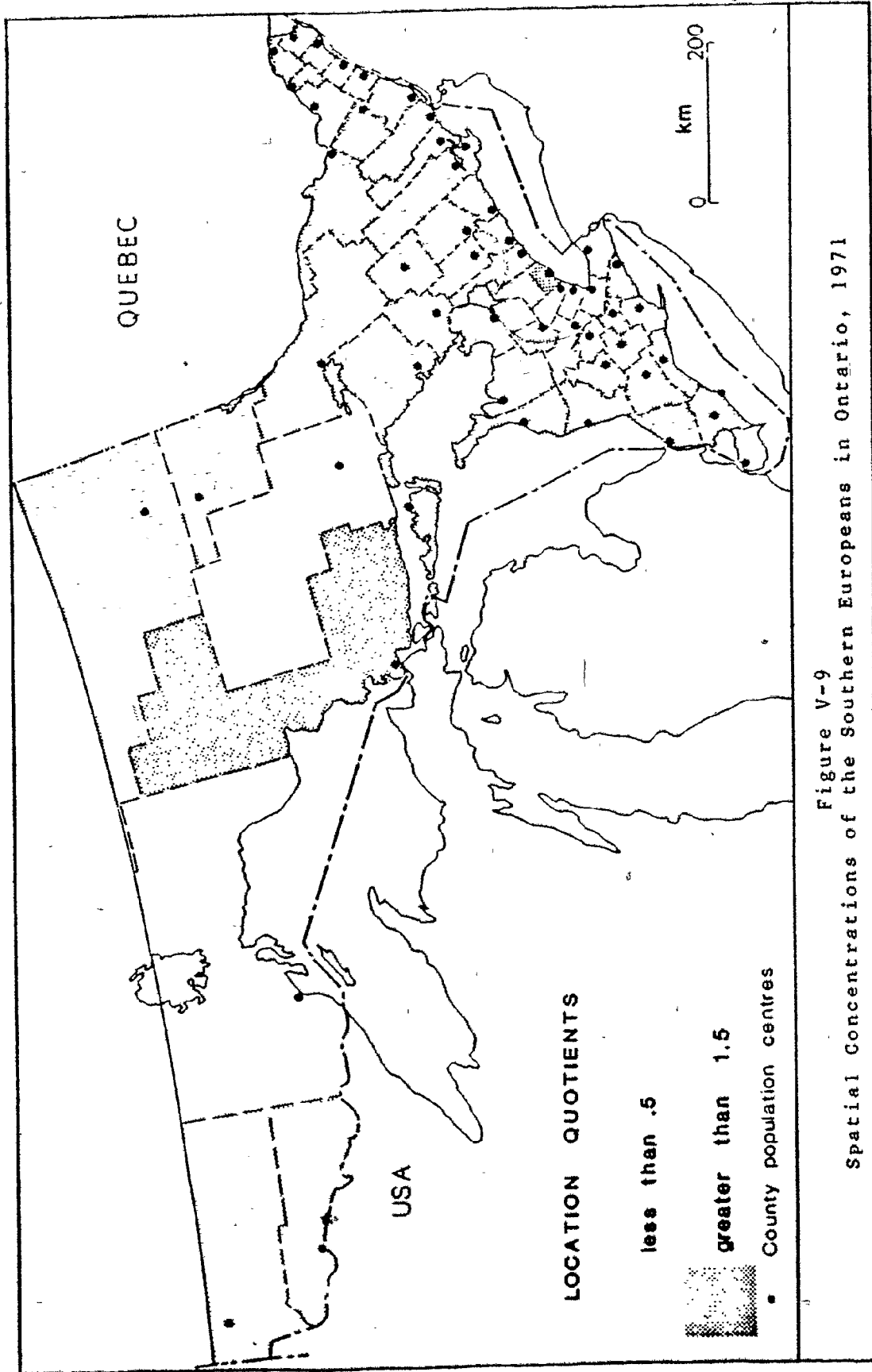
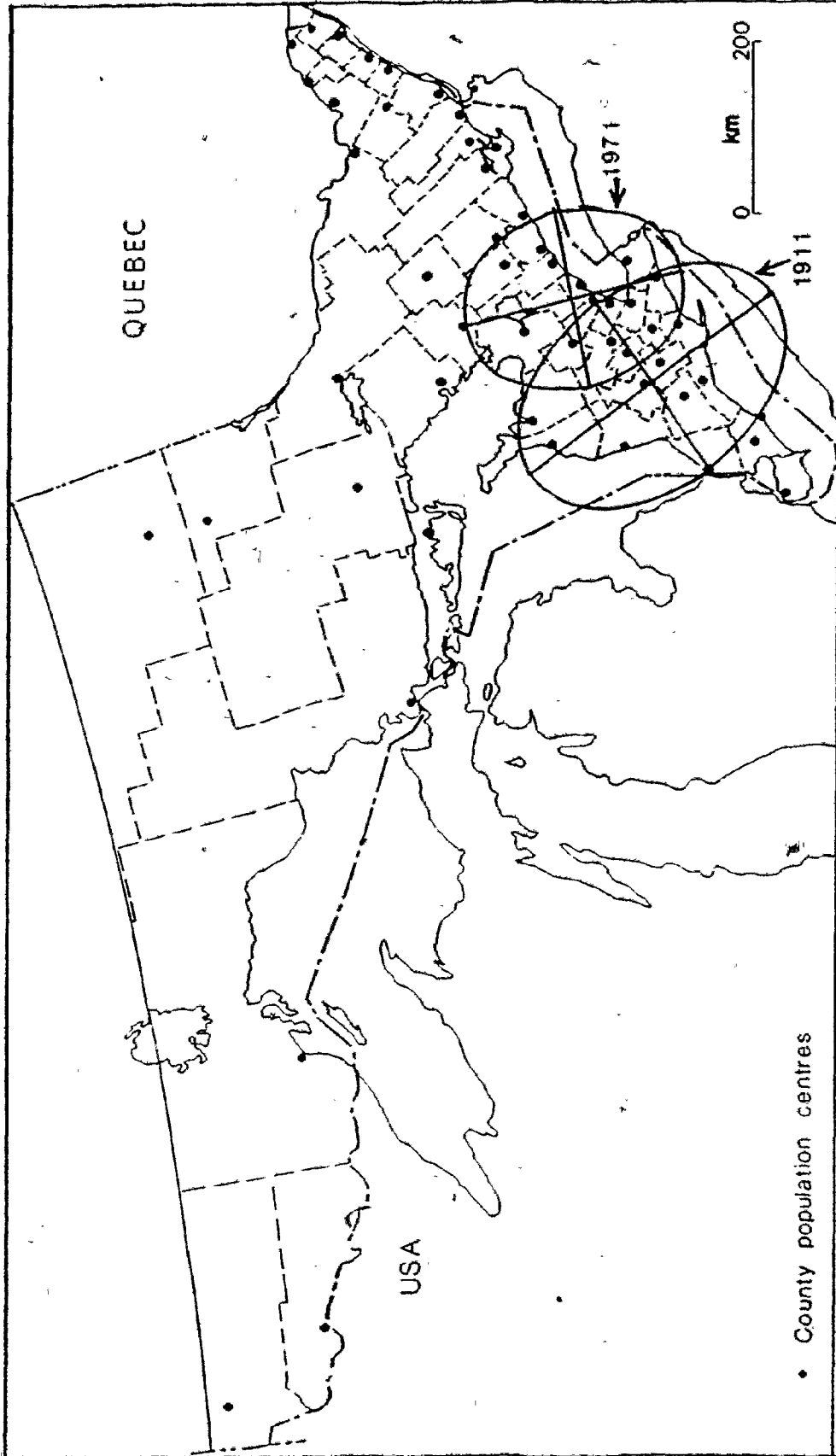


Figure V-9  
 Spatial Concentrations of the Southern Europeans in Ontario, 1971

## 5 The Visible Minorities

The vast majority of the Visible Minority population in Ontario entered the Province after 1960. Being highly educated and skilled many in this group were employed in professional and service occupations concentrated in the urban centres of southern Ontario. Table V-1 indicates that in 1971 the greatest percentage of the Visible Minority population was located in Toronto (64.8%) with over 80% of the group concentrating in five major urban centres of southern Ontario. In total 90.1% of the Visible Minority population resided in urban areas. The changing distribution of this group across the Province between 1911 and 1971, as portrayed by Figure V-10, reflects the large influx of Visible Minorities into Toronto. In 1911 the centre of the population is located in the southwest, being pulled by the large Black population in Essex and Kent Counties. Figure V-10 also indicates that the few representatives of Visible Minorities in Ontario at that time tended to be less concentrated. By 1971 the centre and orientation of Visible Minority population has shifted towards Toronto and at the same it has become considerably more concentrated. These shifts must be viewed with caution however as the numbers of this group are very small in 1911.

3



• County population centres

Figure V-10  
Historical Centroggraphy of the Visible Minorities in Ontario, 1911-1971

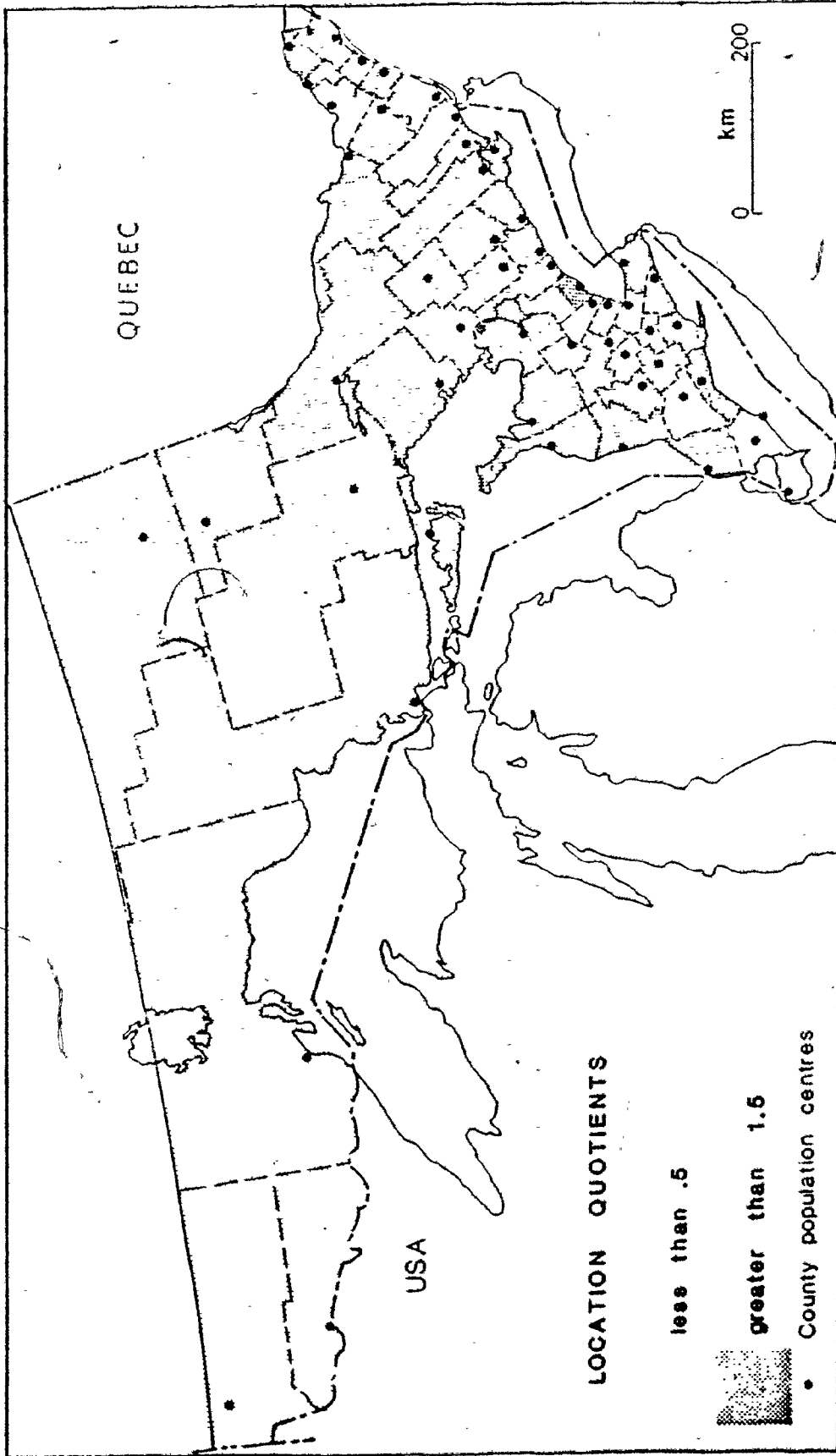


Figure V-11  
 Spatial Concentrations of the Visible Minorities in Ontario, 1971



Figure V-11 gives some idea of the concentration of visible minorities in Toronto. In 1971 this minority group had 2.4 times the expected percentage of 1.6%. There are no other high concentrations. The Visible Minority population is relatively absent from most areas of Ontario although it is proportionately distributed in the major urban counties of southern Ontario. It is not possible at the regional scale of analysis to determine the degree of spatial integration of Visible Minorities within the core region.

#### 6 The Native Indians

Early in the 19th century Ontario's Native Indians began to be alienated from their prime agricultural and hunting lands in southern Ontario and pushed onto more peripheral reserves [Hecht, Wesol, and Sharpe, 1983]. Today Ontario's Native Indian population is spatially separated across approximately 130 rural settlements and reserves. Most of these settlements are located in northern Ontario and are isolated from the major concentrations of the majority population in the south. Although the 1971 census indicates a native presence in all of Ontario's 54 census divisions their numbers are greatest in the north. Table V-1 shows that nearly one third of the group lives in three northern counties, namely Kenora, Thunder Bay, and Algoma. At the same time there is a significant percentage of the the group in Toronto (9.7%). This concentration reflects a recent trend for many natives to leave impoverished reserves for the perceived opportunities in urban areas. Nevertheless, in total 60% lived in rural non-farm areas, primarily reserves, while only 20.9% were located in large urban areas.

The centrographic summary of the Native Indian population in Figure V-12 indicates that the centre of the group is far to the north of any other minority group. It appears that between 1911 and 1971 the centre has shifted northwest and become more dispersed. This shift, however is a result of relatively large numbers of Indians in the census divisions which were added to the census area between 1911 and 1931.

A more representative measure of the population shift is provided by the 1931 data (which has not been mapped). These measures indicate that although native concentrations and orientations are biased toward the north in both periods, there is a shift of the group's centre south and considerably east towards the Toronto-centred region by 1971. As there are few immigrants within the Indian population this shift reflects a migration of the group into the Toronto area.

In relation to the Province's total population the location quotients of Figure V-13 reflect the Indians unique settlement pattern on reserves. Altogether 14 census divisions had over-concentrations of the native group with as many as 32.6 and 24.8 times the expected percentage of .8% in Manitoulin and Kenora. It is evident that the greatest concentrations are in the counties of northern and southern Ontario that contain reserves. Conversely, the Indian population is notably under-represented in counties of the Toronto-centred region. Overall, Ontario's Native Indian population is more disproportionately concentrated in the geographic periphery and more separated from the British core group than any other ethnic minority.

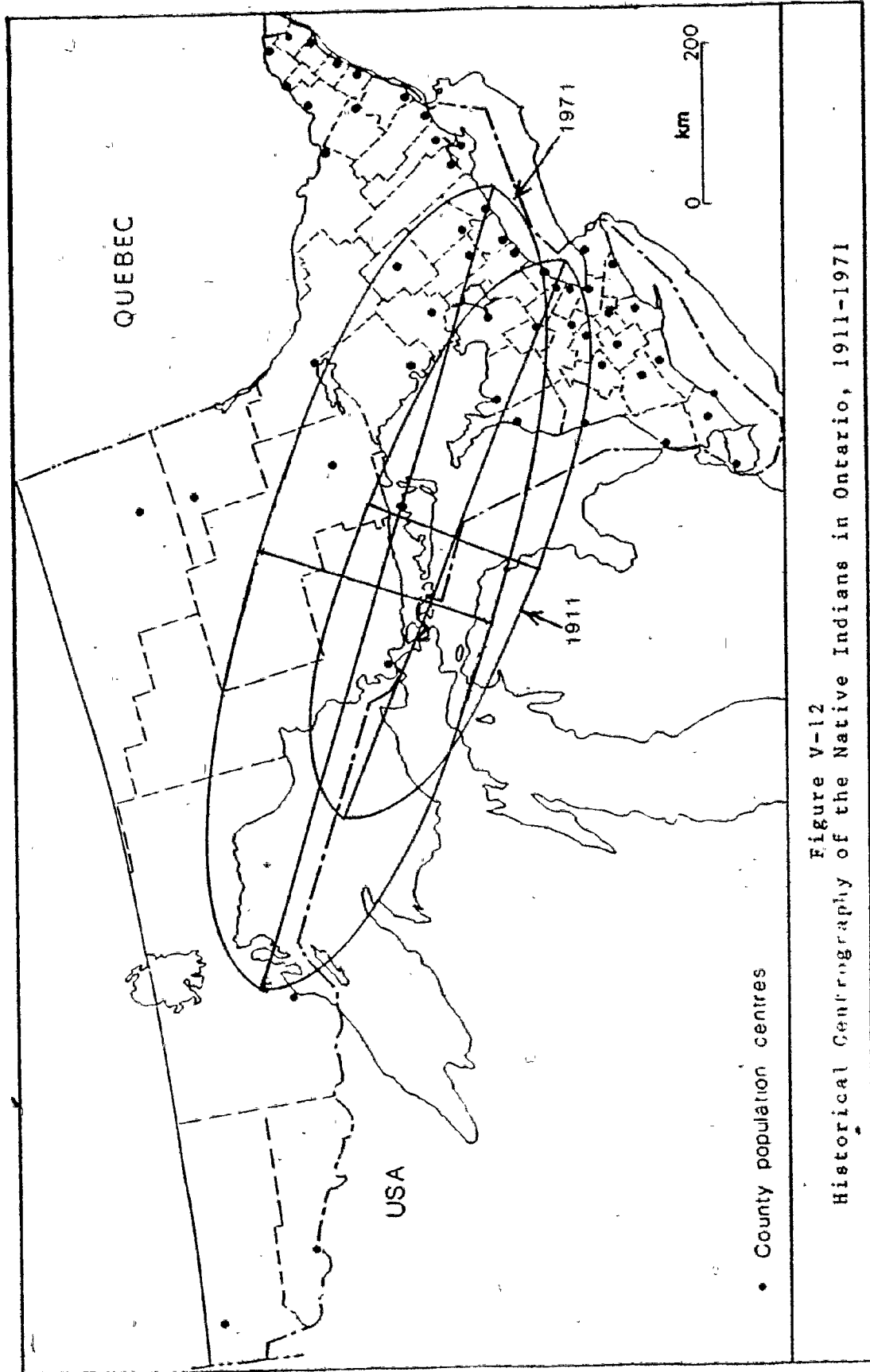


Figure V-12  
 Historical Centrophgraphy of the Native Indians in Ontario, 1911-1971

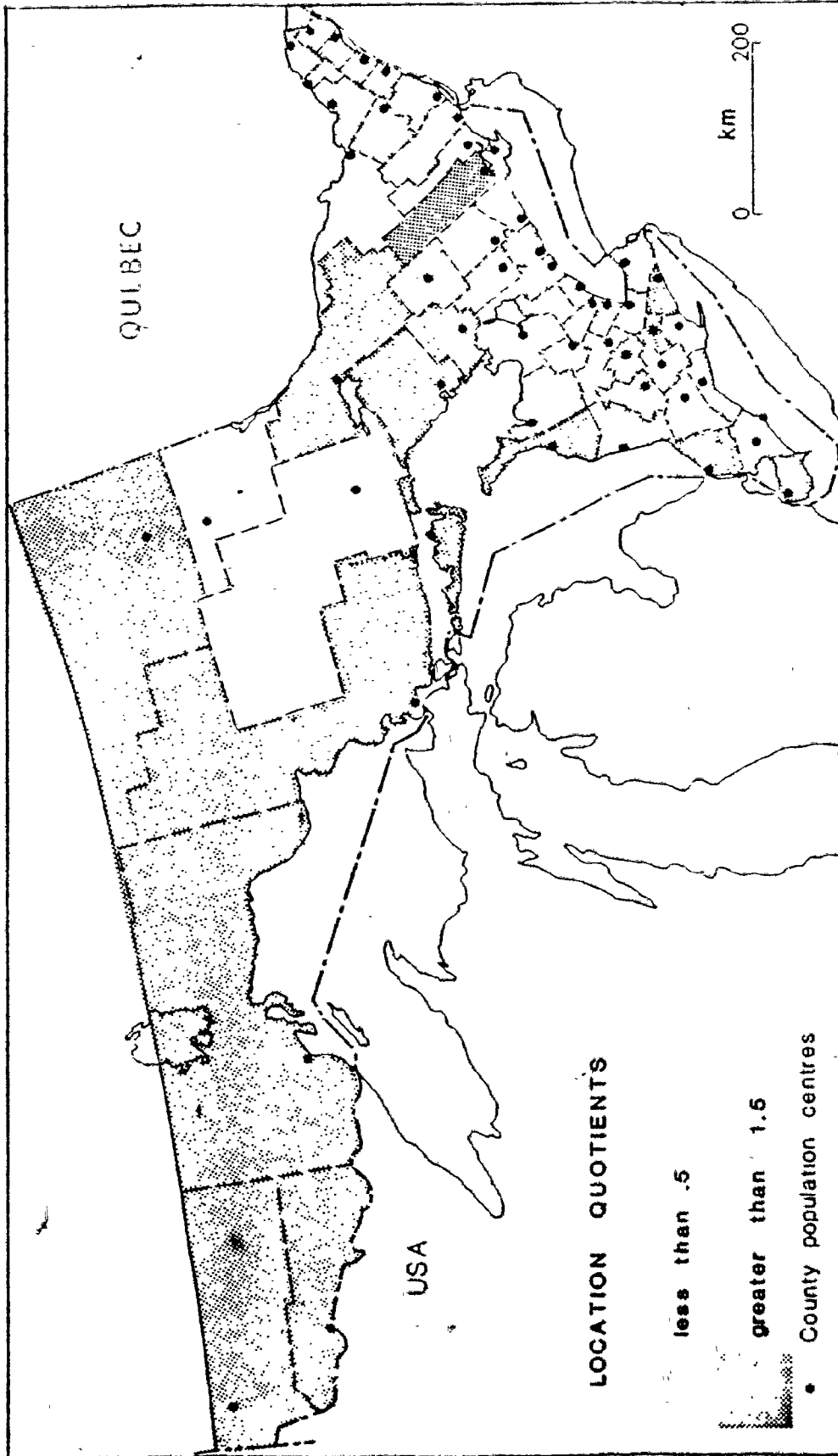


Figure V-13  
 Spatial Concentrations of the Native Indians in Ontario, 1971

## 7 Centrographic Analysis - Summary

The historical centrographies of each group indicate two temporal patterns of significance. First, between 1911 and 1971 there is a shift in the centre of each group towards the core as delimited by the Toronto-centred region. These shifts reflect changes in the population distribution due to natural increase, immigration and migration. The most important factor, however, has been the increasing tendency for new immigrants to locate in Toronto where employment opportunities have been most favourable.

A second temporal pattern is that distributions have changed little as a result of group migrations within the core-periphery spatial structure. Distributions within groups as indicated by measures of dispersion and orientation remained fairly stable between 1911 and 1971. Nevertheless, there were significant variations between groups. Neither the British charter group nor the the Northern European population underwent significant changes in distribution. Although both the French and Native Indians shifted over time they continue to be dispersed and oriented toward the geographic periphery. To the contrary, Southern European and Asian minority groups have become less dispersed over time with increasing percentages of these groups locating in the core. The concentration of these groups in the core reflects the importance of the Toronto core as a destination for recent immigrants and a tendency for earlier members of these groups to migrate towards the core.

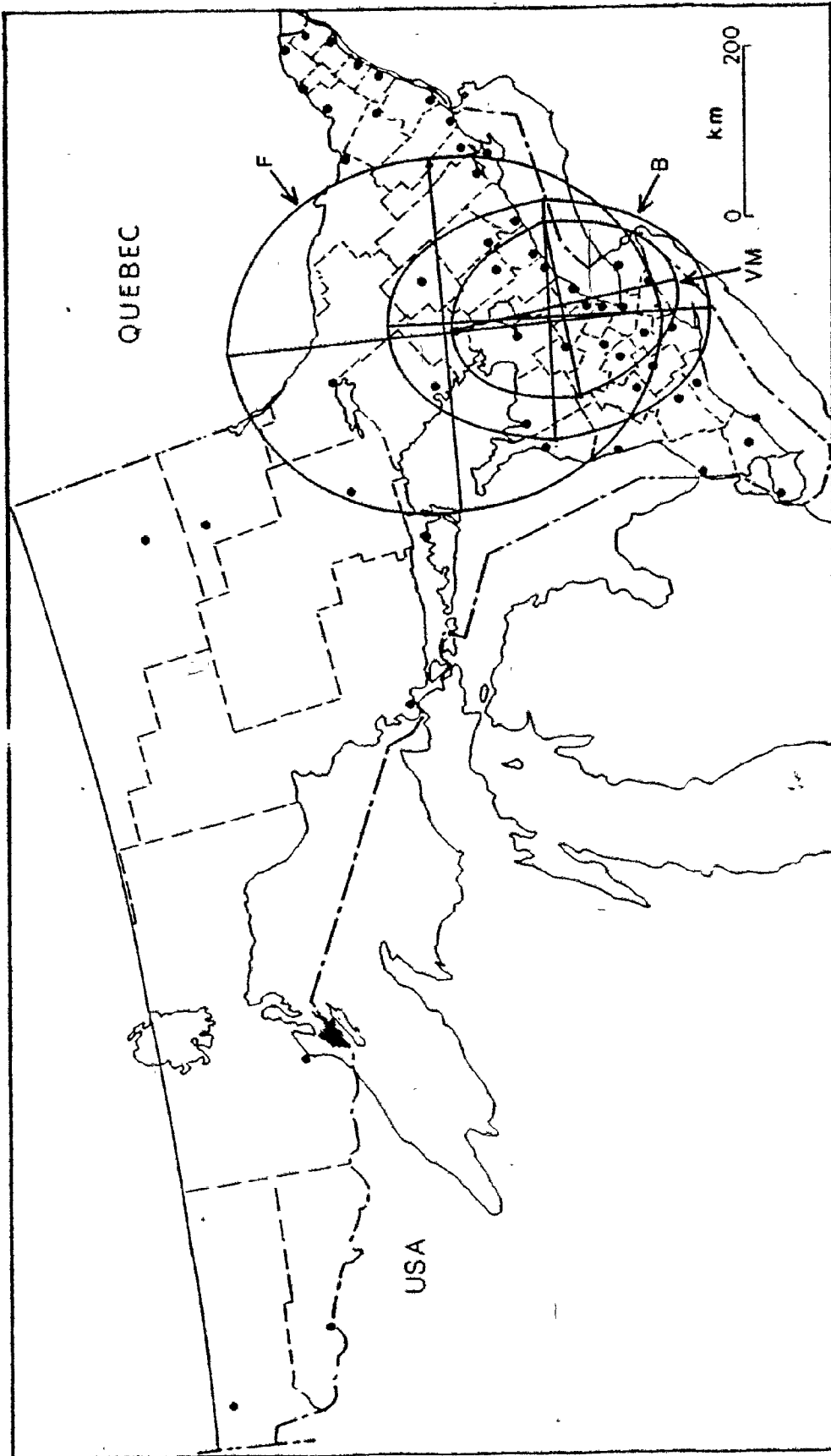


Figure V-14  
 Centrographic Comparisons of British, French, and Visible Minority  
 Categories in Ontario, 1971

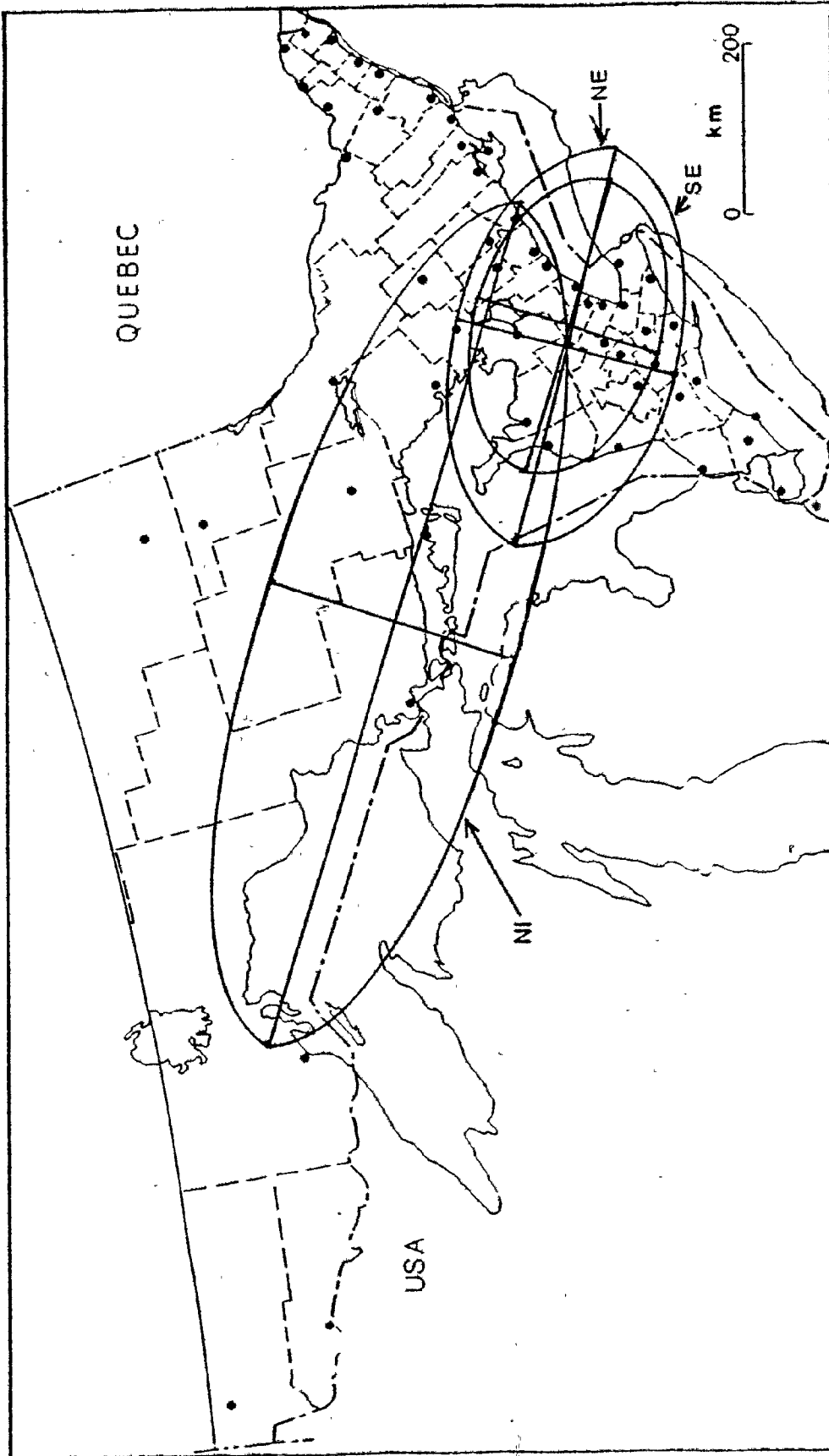


Figure V-15  
 Centographic Comparisons of the Northern European, Southern Europeans,  
 and Native Indian Categories in Ontario, 1971

The centrographic analysis is particularly useful in comparing and contrasting the distributions of each minority group within the core-periphery spatial structure of Ontario. Figures V-14 and V-15 summarize the average distributions of the six ethnic groups in 1971. The centres of all minority groups, except the native Indian population are within one standard deviation of the x-axis and y-axis which delineate the British or core population. In contrast, the Indian population is in a distinctly peripheral position. The differences between groups are most evident in terms of their orientations and dispersions. As Figures V-14 and V-15 indicate there are two distinct patterns of alignment among the six groups with various degrees of dispersion in these alignments.

The pattern of distribution in the British charter group (Figure V-14) is representative of the Province's urban-industrial structure in the south. Both the French and Asian populations are oriented across a similar structure although with important distinctions. In relation to the British the French population is more disproportionately concentrated in peripheral census divisions and less concentrated in the Toronto core. Although the Asians are similarly oriented within the core structure they are highly concentrated in the Toronto area. It is important to note that this aggregate regional analysis does not indicate how concentrated the Asian group is within the core.



The distribution of Northern and Southern Europeans and Native Indians reflect a very different structural basis. As Figure V-15 shows a significant percentage of these groups are concentrated in Ontario's peripheral northern counties. The unique distribution pattern of the Indian population reflects that group's dispersed concentrations on reserves. Although the Northern European population is represented across the Province, their orientation reflects a disproportionate concentration in southwestern and northwestern Ontario - areas of historical settlement. From Figures V-14<sup>and V-15</sup> it appears that the distribution of the Southern European population is very similar to that of the Northern Europeans. As the location quotients indicated (Figure V-9), however, the Southern European group is not represented throughout the Province but is disproportionately concentrated in urban areas of northern Ontario and in the Toronto-centred region.

Overall, this analysis indicates that the distributions of ethnic minority groups in Ontario do not resemble the patterns of distribution in the British charter population. These patterns of spatial distribution have changed very little over time suggesting that any tendencies towards regional spatial integration are absent. All ethnic minorities, however, are not disproportionately concentrated in the regional periphery. Both the French and Native Indians have persistently high concentrations in northern Ontario. The Western Europeans, Eastern Europeans, and Southern Europeans all have disproportionate concentrations in the north, but also have a

significant percentage in geographic proximity to the southern Ontario core. The Jews and Visible Minorities are almost entirely concentrated in the core. The regional core-periphery spatial pattern is strongest among the oldest ethnic minorities in Ontario, whereas the position of more recent groups in regional geographic space is not as well described by the model. The extent to which the geographic distributions of ethnic minorities coincides with peripheral socio-economic space remains to be determined in subsequent chapters.

#### 8 Endnotes

- 1 - Both the Eastern European and Jewish populations were very small and sparsely distributed across the Province during early periods of settlement. Therefore for the purposes of this historical spatial analysis they have been aggregated with the Western Europeans into the Northern European category.

CHAPTER VI - Levels of Well-being Among the Major Ethnic  
Categories in Ontario

Previous chapters examined some of the socio-cultural attributes and geographic distributions which members within ethnic categories share in common. This chapter uses variables from the 1971 Census to show that the members of these categories also have distinct economic interests in common. The core-periphery concept hypothesizes that, in relation to the British core group, Ontario's seven ethnic minority categories will be characterized by various kinds of job segmentation and lower levels of socio-economic status. In Section 1 of this chapter the economic positions of the ethnic categories are described in terms of the cultural division of labour, focussing on both occupational status and segmentation. Associated with the labour market are other socio-economic conditions and opportunities altogether which determine an ethnic category's economic power in the core-periphery system. Some of these dimensions are described in Section 2 with measures of income, education, and employment activity. Although these are simple measures of complex processes they are commonly used indicators of socio-economic inequality.

1 Ontario's Cultural Division of Labour

The proposed model of ethnic polarization claims that ethnic cleavages arise and are perpetuated through the cultural division of labour. Among Ontario's ethnic groups there is strong evidence of both occupational specialization and stratification. Table VI-1 indicates occupational specialization using variables that measure the percentage of individuals in a group who have jobs classified as managerial and administrative (MANAGE), professional (PROFES), clerical and sales (CLERIC), and primary, manufacturing, construction, and trades (PRITRA). In addition, the percentage of members self-employed in business (BUSEMP) is an indication of a group's employment in ethnic enterprises (ethnic stores, newcomer services, and ethnic media). The size of the ethnic workplace can be of importance to the persistence of an ethnic community as an economic unit outside of the economic system dominated by the majority.

Two summary indicators of occupational stratification include the percentage of a group classified in high status white-collar jobs (including administrators, managers, and professionals) with total incomes greater than \$10,000 (HISTAT); and the percentage classified in low status blue-collar jobs (such as agriculture, forestry, mining, hunting, trapping, manufacturing, construction and the trades) with total incomes less than \$4,999 (LOSTAT).

Table VI-1  
Occupational Specialization and Ranking of Ethnic Categories in Ontario - 1971

Ethnic Category	MANAGE		PROFES		CLERIC		PRITRA		BUSEMP		1		2	
	%	managers	%	profession	%	clerical	%	primary	%	business	HISTAT	white collar	LOSTAT	blue collar
British	5.5		14.4		41.9		29.3		3.8		5.9		10.9	
French	3.1		10.6		37.4		38.4		3.7		2.9		13.4	
Western European	4.1		13.4		35.4		38.4		5.5		4.5		13.1	
Eastern European	2.9		12.4		35.7		38.7		4.5		4.1		13.1	
Jewish	9.1		19.4		49.4		13.1		10.8		9.9		5.6	
Southern European	1.5		4.7		31.3		50.9		5.0		1.5		20.2	
Visible Minority	2.8		27.4		38.6		21.4		4.2		6.0		9.8	
Native Indian	1.5		7.7		27.2		45.3		2.7		1.0		26.6	

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, custom tabulations.

- 1 - Administrative, managerial, and professional occupations with incomes over \$ 10,000  
 2 - Agriculture, forestry, mining, hunting, trades, manufacturing, and construction with incomes less than \$ 4,999.

In comparison to the British majority there is a good deal of occupational specialization among the seven ethnic minorities. Although the French, Western European, and Eastern European groups show an occupational distribution similar to the British, almost 10% more of each of these groups are found in the more peripheral PRITRA occupations. The Jewish population has the lowest percentage of all groups in the PRITRA jobs (13.1%) and the greatest percentage in MANAGE (9.1%), PROFES (19.4%), and CLERIC (49.4%). At the other extreme over half of the Southern European group is concentrated in the PRITRA jobs, while their combined percentage in managerial and professional occupations is only 6.2%. Entering Ontario as highly educated professionals during the 1960's and 1970's, the Visible Minority group has over 27% of its membership concentrated in PROFES category. The Native Indians are uniquely distributed with the highest percentage in PRITRA jobs (45.3%) as well as the highest percentage in a residual "Other" occupational category (18.3%).

From the occupational data presented the best indicator of economic centrality is the percentage of managers in a group (MANAGE). Nevertheless it is impossible with the aggregated data to distinguish between those in the strategic decision-making core and those excluded from this elite. Hence, although the Jewish group has one and a half times the British percentage in managerial occupations, they are under-represented as are all of the other ethnic minorities in the strategic decision-making core which is disproportionately composed of the British reference group [Clement, 1975:231-239; Kelner, 1970].

The large percentage of Jews in the MANAGE and CLERIC categories is an indication of the importance of the ethnic workplace in this group. According to the variable BUSEMP ethnic work settings are largest among the Jews (10.8%), Western Europeans (5.5%), Southern Europeans (5.0%), and smallest within the British (3.8%), French (3.7%), and Native Indian groups (2.7%). Within the Jewish group early immigrants established their own garment and retailing businesses, while later members were self-employed in law and medical practices. Among the Southern Europeans many Italians are self-employed in construction and the trades. Other groups which show lower percentages of self-employment but high levels of occupational specialization tend to be concentrated in sectors of the labour market controlled by the dominant group. For example, many of the Visible Minorities such as the Chinese are employed in universities, while the Native Indians are employed in the primary industries controlled by dominant interests of the south.

Under the variables HISTAT and LOSTAT ethnic groups are ranked according to occupational categories which have been cross-tabulated with income levels. Whether looking at high incomes (over \$10,000) in the MANAGE and PROFES categories, or low incomes (under \$4,999) in the PRITRA category, the ranking of groups is the same. The group with the greatest percentage in high status jobs and with the least proportion in low status jobs are the Jews. Significantly below the Jews are the Visible Minorities and the British, whose scores are very similar. Closely matched in fourth and fifth positions are the Western and

Eastern Europeans, while the French occupy a sixth position with a significantly smaller percentage in the HISTAT category. At the bottom of the occupational ladder are the Southern Europeans and the Native Indians.

## 2 Socio-economic Conditions

Tables VI-2 and VI-3 provide several variables indicating stratification in the conditions of well-being and in the opportunities for improving these conditions. Table VI-2 lists the average annual individual incomes (AVINC) of the largest ethnic origin groups within the aggregate ethnic categories. The variable AVINC is immediately recognizable as an indicator of the inequalities between categories. In the second column these dollar figures are converted into a percentage of the British income. Between the Jews at the wealthy extremity, and the Native Indians at the poor extremity there is a 85.4% difference in average individual incomes. Between these extremes the French, Western Europeans, and Southern Europeans all have incomes within 6% of the British average at \$5470 per year. An interesting exception to this ranking are the Visible Minorities whose incomes are almost 15% less than the British despite their high status occupations. The lower incomes in the Visible Minority category has been attributed, in part, to racial discrimination in the labour market [Reitz, 1980:166].



Table VI-2  
Average Individual Incomes of Major Ethnic Origin Groups  
in Ontario - 1971

Ethnic Origin Group	Ethnic Category	AVINC	AVINC % of British
British		\$5470	100.0
French		\$5168	94.5
German	(Western European)	\$5571	101.9
Ukrainian	(Eastern European)	\$5303	96.9
Jewish		\$7987	146.0
Italian	(Southern European)	\$5349	97.8
Chinese	(Visible Minority)	\$4640	85.7
Native Indian		\$3313	60.6

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, custom tabulations.

Table VI-3  
Socio-economic Conditions Among Ethnic Categories in Ontario  
1971

Ethnic Category	* INDINC >\$8,000	FAMINC <\$7,999	UNEMP unemployment	* EDUCAT some university
British	28.2	35.4	6.5	42.0
French	23.8	42.0	8.3	25.1
Western European	27.6	37.2	5.8	43.9
Eastern European	26.3	36.2	8.1	42.2
Jewish	37.0	27.1	7.1	60.3
Southern European	19.9	41.9	7.2	11.4
Visible Minority	20.1	44.2	9.8	60.2
Native Indian	9.0	74.8	12.1	10.6

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, custom tabulations.  
\* Individuals between 25 and 65 years of age.

The ranking of origin groups indicated by income figures in Table VI-2 is also evident in the aggregate ethnic categories. Table VI-3 lists two measures of income including the percentage of families with incomes of less than \$7,999 per year (FAMINC); and the percentage of individuals between the ages of 25 and 65 who have incomes greater than \$8,000 per year (INDINC). In addition, two measures of socio-economic opportunity are listed including the percentage of members in the labour force who are unemployed (UNEMP), and the percentage of individuals between the ages of 25 and 65 with some university or college education (EDUCAT).

In both income measures, INDINC and FAMINC, the Visible Minority category again shows a status considerably lower than that of the British and most other groups. Each of the other ethnic categories is characterised by an income status which is consistent with its previously identified occupational rank.

UNEMP and EDUCAT serve as indicators of the opportunities available to ethnic groups for increased social mobility. Rates of unemployment vary only a few percentage points between the West Europeans (5.8%), the British (6.5%), and the French (8.3%) while both the Visible Minorities and the Native Indians, who have the lowest levels of income show the highest rates of unemployment at 9.8% and 12.1%. These rates reflect relatively high unemployment in the job sectors where these groups are concentrated as well as differential treatment in the labour market [Reitz, 1980: 166]. In the Native Indian case the high rates of unemployment also reflect the many members of this group who are employed seasonally or only a few weeks of the year [Hecht, Wesol & Sharpe, 1983: 65].

Previous studies have shown that education has until recently been a prerequisite for upward social mobility in Canada [Porter, 1965:155-198; Kalbach & McVey, 1979:256-259]. The EDUCAT figures in Table VI-3 indicate that there is a great range in levels of educational attainment and therefore considerable disparity in group opportunities for social mobility. These various levels of educational attainment are a result of differences between groups in educational opportunities, aspirations, and backgrounds. In the groups with high socio-economic status, including the British, Western Europeans, Eastern Europeans, and Jews, the costs have not been prohibitive for attaining high levels of education. In addition, members of these groups shared similar educational backgrounds as immigrants. The high levels of educational attainment among the Visible Minorities, however, seems inconsistent with their lower socio-economic status. Most of the Visible Minorities entering Ontario before 1971 were admitted under an immigration policy which favoured high educational attainment, but did not accurately reflect labour force demands. Also, in face of discrimination, it has been noted that Visible Minorities place extraordinary value on high educational achievement and occupational status [Reitz, 1980: ]. Low percentages of members in the Southern European, French and Native Indian categories with some university education is primarily a reflection of their lower socio-economic status. In the case of Southern Europeans, they were one of the last large immigrant groups to enter Canada before immigration policy favoured higher educational qualifications. Since

their entrance to Canada, segmentation in low status occupations has discouraged many in later generations from continuing in school. The low education levels among the French and Native Indians have also been attributed to low occupational status and to low levels of aspiration resulting from cultural values which do not place value on educational achievement.

It is possible at this point to summarize the core-periphery hierarchy of ethnic categories in Ontario. For this purpose an overall socio-economic rank for each ethnic category was calculated from a summation of group ranks across ten of the previously employed occupation and socio-economic variables. These results are presented in Table VI-4.

The patterns of occupational segmentation and socio-economic status analyzed in this chapter replicate observations made in other studies of ethnic stratification in Canada [Porter, 1965; Reitz, 1980]. However, it is not yet clear how levels of well-being within these ethnic categories vary across Ontario. Chapter VII will examine the spatial variation of socio-economic conditions among ethnic categories in Ontario.

Table VI-4  
 Summary of Socio-economic Ranking Among Ethnic  
 Categories

Ethnic Category	AVINC	INDINC	FAMINC	UNEMP	EDUCAT	MANAGE	PROFES	PRITRA	HISTAT	LOSTAT	TOTAL POINTS	TOTAL RANK
British	3	2	2	2	5	2	3	3	3	3	28	2
French	6	5	6	6	6	4	6	4/5	4	6	53-54	6
Western European	2	3	4	1	3	3	4	4/5	5	4/5	33-55	3
Eastern European	5	4	3	5	4	5	5	6	6	4/5	47-48	5
Jewish Southern	1	1	1	3	1	1	2	1	1	1	13	1
European Visible	4	7	5	4	7	7	8	8	7	7	64	7
Minority Native	7	6	7	7	2	6	1	2	2	2	42	4
Indian	8	8	8	8	8	8	7	7	8	8	78	8

CHAPTER VII - Regional Variations in Levels of Well-being among  
the Ethnic Categories of Ontario

In chapter VI it was shown that each of the ethnic categories analyzed in this study is characterized by a separate rank based on several measures of socio-economic integration. Another important dimension of ethnic integration involves the extent to which minorities are equally distributed throughout regional variations in the Province's socio-economic structure. The objective of the following analysis is to compare and contrast socio-economic variations between ethnic minorities and the British majority. A minority which exhibits significantly dissimilar patterns of socio-economic variation across space is to some extent polarized from the British core group. Before proceeding with the comparative analysis it is helpful to briefly describe the regional socio-economic structure of Ontario.

1. Regional and Ethnic Dimensions to Ontario's Core-periphery  
Structure

A vivid image of the socio-economic disparities in Ontario emerges when the socio-economic differences between ethnic groups are

compared to the socio-economic differences between core and peripheral counties. In Table VII-1 several of the previously examined variables (AVINC, MANAGE, HISTAT, LOSTAT, FAMINC, EDUCAT) are now used in a summary of Ontario's economic landscape. The table illustrates the range of core and peripheral extremes across ten counties in Ontario. The counties in this table are ranked according to the average individual incomes (AVINC) of their total populations. An even more graphic illustration of socio-economic disparity in Ontario is provided by Figure VII-1 which maps the distribution of the total population's average individual income (AVINC) across the Province's 54 census divisions.

As expected the counties with the most core-like characteristics are within the Toronto-centred region and include Peel, Halton, and Toronto. In addition, Ottawa-Carleton with its unique distinction as the centre of Federal government, ranks among the core counties. The total populations in these core counties contain large percentages of managers, individuals with high status occupations, and individuals with high educational attainment. Conversely, they have smaller percentages of individuals in low status occupations and smaller percentages of families receiving incomes less than \$7,999.

At the other extreme, peripheral counties include downward transitional areas which are remote from the Toronto core and which have poor resources and little industry, such as Bruce, Glengarry, Haliburton, and Manitoulin. It is interesting to note that Ontario's northern Districts did not rank among the poorest regions. However, as



the socio-economic characteristics of Sudbury and Kenora indicate (see Table VII-1) individuals and families in these regions receive income levels which approach that of the core. It is evident that regional patterns of socio-economic variation in Ontario do not always match the spatial pattern hypothesized by the core-periphery model. The exceptionally high status of counties in northern Ontario can be accounted for by several factors. Sudbury has been one of northern Ontario's major growth centres, with high concentrations of mining activities, government services, universities, and retailers. With these advantages Sudbury can be characterized as an industrial enclave within the northern Ontario periphery. The status of Kenora is more difficult to explain, although it reaps some benefit from its proximity to the economic hinterland of Winnipeg, and a substantial tourist trade. All across the northern region incomes are protected by the large percentage of unionized wage-earners employed in primary industries, and by income supplements or transfer payments from both levels of government. Moreover, the income figures can be misleading considering that purchasing power throughout the north is considerably less than in southern Ontario, especially for such essentials as food, fuel, and transportation. In addition, during periods of substantial economic growth, such as that experienced by Ontario between 1966 and 1968 [Loroh, 1975:55-67] the resource industries of northern Ontario tend to respond quickly and therefore show substantially better results than do resource poor counties such as Bruce, Haliburton, and Glengarry.

Table VII-1

Socio-economic Conditions of the Total Population in Core and Peripheral Counties of Ontario - 1971

Census DIVISIONS	COUNTIES	AVINC	MANAGE	HISTAT	LOSTAT	FAMINC	EDUCAT
36	Peel	\$6607	6.9	8.1	9.8	20.4	47.3
16	Halton	\$6581	7.3	9.1	9.0	21.8	51.7
33	Ottawa-						
	Carlton	\$6221	8.6	11.5	6.0	28.1	59.1
49	Toronto	\$5869	5.5	5.9	10.3	32.9	41.3
45	Sudbury	\$6186	2.7	3.9	9.4	27.0	28.3
14	Kenora	\$4777	2.7	2.5	12.9	47.7	20.8
3	Bruce	\$4015	2.9	2.0	19.4	60.4	25.6
11	Glengarry	\$4001	3.0	1.6	22.6	63.4	23.6
15	Haliburton	\$3699	3.1	1.3	16.8	66.7	25.5
10	Manitoulin	\$3498	3.4	1.9	20.5	69.9	21.0

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, custom tabulations.

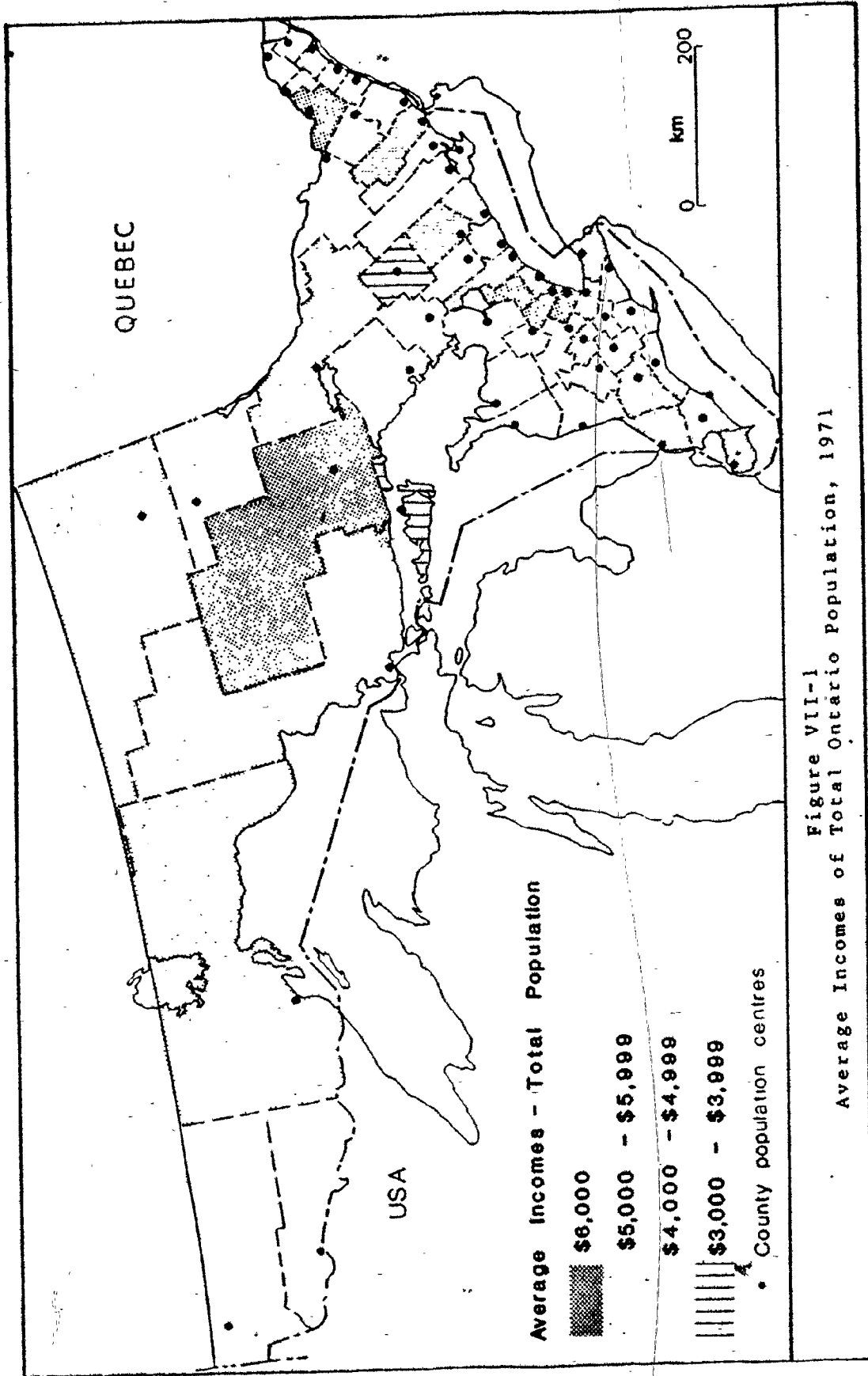


Figure VII-1  
Average Incomes of Total Ontario Population, 1971

The divergent levels of socio-economic well-being between regions in Ontario can be compared to the disparities between ethnic groups. In terms of occupations, incomes, and education the disparities between the total populations of Peel and Manitoulin are the same as, or less extreme than, the disparities between the Jewish and Native Indian ethnic groups. These are both the most polarized geographic regions and the most polarized ethnic groups. Less extreme but also of high status are the British reference group as well as the Western and Eastern Europeans who have similar socio-economic characteristics to Toronto. Socio-economic conditions among the French and Southern European categories are similar to those of peripheral counties such as Bruce and Glengarry, while conditions among the Visible Minorities resemble conditions in the county of Kenora.

## 2 Regional Variations in Socio-economic Conditions among Ethnic Categories

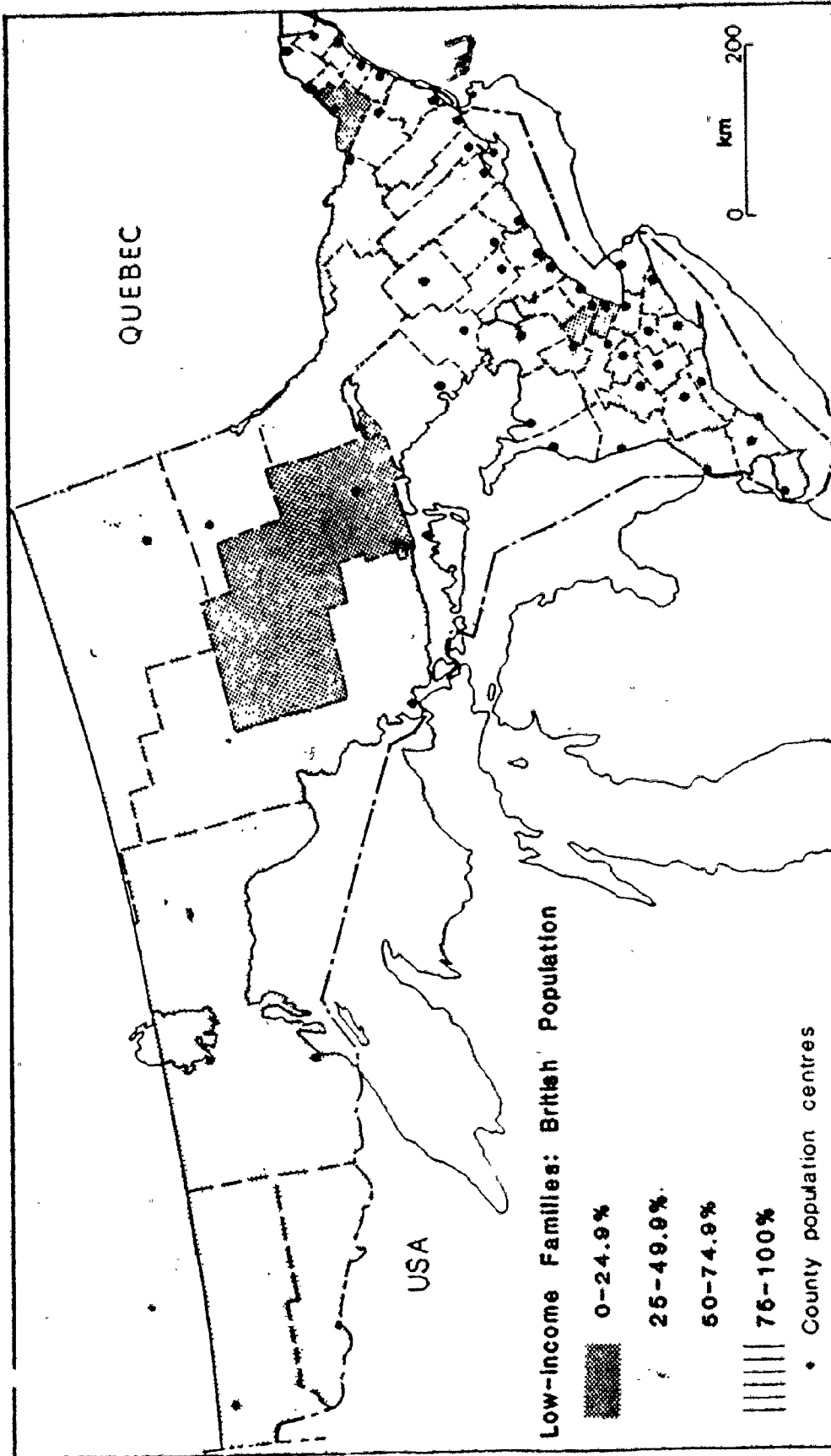
The structure of average income variation described above relates to the Province's total population. However, the reference population to which the seven ethnic minorities are to be compared in the following analysis is the British category. Because the British comprise a numerical majority in almost every county of Ontario, it is to be expected that their pattern of income variation will be very similar to that shown by the total population. In fact, a similar pattern is evident even when a different and more specific income

category within the British group was examined (see Figure VII-2). The variable FAMINC, which is the percentage of families with incomes less than \$8,000, includes 35.4% of all British families in Ontario. This variable can be considered as a specific measure of regional variation in peripheral conditions. Although they are different measures, a comparison of Figures VII-1 and VII-2 reveals a strong similarity of regional variation in well-being between the total population and the British majority.

If an ethnic minority has become fully integrated throughout Ontario's regional socio-economic structure, then regional variations in the well-being of the minority will be consistent with the patterns described above. Rather than mapping and visually comparing variations in well-being between the British and each of the seven ethnic minorities a similar purpose was served with statistical tests of comparison.

By using statistical tests of comparison it was also possible to examine more than one measure of regional variation in well-being. In addition to FAMINC this chapter examines some of the same indicators of socio-economic well-being previously listed in Tables VI-1 and VI-2, including INDINC, FAMINC, UNEMP, EDUCAT, and the occupation categories MANAGE, and PRITRA.

The following comparative statistical analysis of spatial variation is based on three kinds of information presented in Table VII-2. Percentages in the first row are means of the total British population drawn from Tables VI-1 and VI-2. This percentage is considerably different than the spatial mean percentages which were calculated over Ontario's 54 Census Divisions, and are presented in the second row of Table VII-2.



Low-income Families: British Population

0-24.9%

25-49.9%

50-74.9%

75-100%

• County population centres

Figure VII-2  
Proportion of Low-income Families in British Population, 1971

The contrasts between population and spatial means are an indication of geographic variations in the socio-economic conditions within the British group. Population means reflect primarily the characteristics of the majority of British members who are concentrated within the Toronto-centred region. The spatial means, however, ignore population size and give equal weight to the 54 geographic regions, thereby reflecting the poorer conditions of the many peripheral counties outside of the Toronto-centred core.

The spatial mean is also used as a basis for comparing spatial differences between the British and the various ethnic minorities. Spatial means were calculated for every variable in each ethnic group. The differences between the British and the minority groups were then compared using a t-test of statistical significance. The t statistics are tabulated in the first column under each variable. When positive,  $t$  indicates that the spatial mean of the British is significantly less than that of the minority. Conversely, a negative  $t$  indicates a significantly higher spatial percentage in the British group. Testing for differences between the spatial means of the British and the seven minorities gives some indication if the patterns of occupational segmentation and socio-economic stratification previously associated with the minority's total population are evident across Ontario.

In addition to the t test it is necessary to compare, and account for, differences in regional variation between the British and minority groups. For this purpose a third statistic is provided by Table VII-2. The F statistic is found in the second column under each variable and is a ratio of the total variance in a minority to the total variance in the British. Both the t and F statistics are described in further detail in Appendix 2.

\*  
**Table VII-2**  
**Regional Variance in Socio-economic Conditions**  
**( Comparison between British and Ethnic Minorities )**

ETHNIC Category	FAMINC		INDINC		UNEMP		EDUCAT		MANAGE		PRITRA	
	t	F	t	F	t	F	t	F	t	F	t	F
British												
-population mean	35.4		28.2		6.5		42.0		5.5		29.3	
-mean over 54 counties	44.7		23.0		6.2		34.3		3.9		35.7	
French	-	-	-	-	-3.1	2.6	7.6	-	5.8	-	-5.3	-
Western European	-	-	-	-	2.0	-	1.8	-	-	-	-4.5	1.8
Eastern European	-	1.8	-	-	-	-	-2.2	3.2	-	6.8	-	3.9
Jewish Southern	5.5	4.4	-2.3	11.1	-	52.0	-3.1	15.9	-	13.2	14.3	3.2
European Visible	-	-	-	-	-	14.6	7.2	2.5	2.1	7.8	-5.5	4.1
Minority Native	-	4.0	-	6.0	-	21.1	-7.2	8.5	2.2	9.4	6.4	7.5
Indian	-6.2	4.0	10.4	-	-3.5	30.3	9.3	2.7	7.0	2.6	-2.8	12.5

\*All statistics significant at 0.05, see text for explanation - pp. 150-151



#### A - Differences in Spatial Means

The t tests on the first two variables in Table VII-2 (INDINC and FAMINC) indicate that there are very few differences in mean income percentages across the Province between most minorities and the British. The Jews continue to have significantly greater percentages of high income individuals (INDINC= -2.3), and significantly smaller percentages of low income families (FAMINC, t= 5.5). At the other extreme, the Native Indians exhibit much poorer conditions in INDINC (t= 10.4), and in FAMINC (t= -6.2). Otherwise the French, Southern European, and Visible Minority groups are not significantly different from the British in either income category. Surprisingly, each of these groups previously exhibited a much lower income status than the British when percentages were calculated for the total group populations. This change reflects that the income status of the British dropped when calculated as an average across Ontario. It also reflects that the French, Southern Europeans, and Visible Minorities have income levels which either change very little or improve over space.

In terms of UNEMP, most groups retained their previously identified status, with the French (t= -3.1), and Native Indians (t= -3.5) retaining high rates of unemployment, and the Eastern Europeans, Jews, and Southern Europeans exhibiting rates of unemployment similar to the British. When accounting for regional variations in unemployment both the Western Europeans and Visible Minorities have improved their status in relation to the British.

The mean Percentage of individuals in each minority group with some university education (EDUCAT) is significantly different from that of the British. The ranking of groups by EDUCAT across the Province is similar to the previous ranking evident in Table VI-1 except that now the Western Europeans ( $t = 1.8$ ) have significantly lower percentages, and the Eastern Europeans ( $t = -2.2$ ) have significantly higher percentages of members with some university education than the British.

Within the French population a peripheral status is evident in both occupational measures with significantly smaller percentages of the French in managerial positions (MANAGE,  $t = 5.5$ ), and higher percentages in primary industries (PRITRA,  $t = -5.3$ ). A similar status is evident within the Native Indian population except that they have even smaller percentages in the MANAGE ( $t = 7.0$ ) category. The Southern Europeans are also characterized by occupational segmentation showing a significant concentration in PRITRA ( $t = -5.5$ ). As previously indicated in Chapter VI the Jews and Visible Minorities tend to be more segmented than the British into the higher status occupations. Consistent with this status, Table VII-2 indicates that both the Jews and Visible Minorities have considerably smaller percentages in low-status PRITRA occupations. Although Table VI-1 previously indicated that the total Jewish group had a higher percentage in MANAGE than the total British group, the  $t$  statistics of Table VII-2 suggests that this advantage is not evident across all of Ontario's 54 counties.

The Western Europeans and Eastern Europeans exhibited the greatest similarity to the British majority. According to Table VII-2 the percentage of Western Europeans in all occupational categories is similar to the British except for their higher concentrations in PRITRA ( $t = -4.5$ ). There are no significant differences between the percentages of Eastern Europeans and British in any of the occupational categories. This represents an improvement in the status of the Eastern Europeans as their total population had previously exhibited a higher percentage in PRITRA and lower a percentage in MANAGE.

By themselves the t statistics of Table VII-2 suggest that the mean percentages of individual and family incomes received by minorities have become more similar to the British when calculated across Ontario. In terms of unemployment, education, and occupations, however, the relative condition of groups change very little over space.

#### B - Differences in Spatial Variance

The large number of significant F ratios in Table VII-2 indicate distinct differences between the British and minority groups in levels of spatial variance within income, education, and occupation categories. Of the six socio-economic variables listed in Table VII-2 only INDINC, the percentage of individuals with incomes greater than \$10,000 per annum, indicates that minority groups exhibited similar

levels of variance as the British majority. This may reflect the hypothesis that levels of spatial mobility and spatial integration are greatest among higher income individuals regardless of their ethnic origin. All the remaining variables indicate distinct patterns of variation in the data which are unique to different kinds of groups.

Within the Province's oldest immigrant groups, that is the French and Western Europeans, levels of spatial variance are most similar to the British. For example, although the French are occupationally specialized, levels of variance in these occupations are no different than the variance in the British group. The Western Europeans also exhibit an occupational structure which is as spatially varied as the British except for small differences in the percentages employed in primary industries, trades and construction.

The five remaining minority groups show patterns of variation that are dissimilar from the British in each of the EDUCAT, UNEMP, MANAGE, and PRITRA categories. Thus, despite the apparent occupational similarity of Eastern Europeans to the British, the F statistic indicates that the spatial distributions of Eastern Europeans in these categories varies significantly from the British. The Jews and Visible Minorities who were previously shown to have higher status than the British exhibit levels of variation more different from the British than any other groups. Despite their disproportionate representation in higher ranking core occupations these large F ratios indicate that their high status is not consistent across the Province.

Native Indians with their high degree of segmentation in low status occupations exhibit the greatest differences in variation from the British of any group in PRITRA. Similarly, the patterns of variation in the occupationally specialized Southern Europeans are significantly different from the British in every category.

Overall the F statistics of Table VII-2 indicate that the occupational segmentation and socio-economic ranking of ethnic minority groups is reflected in various levels of spatial integration throughout the regional structure of the Province.

### 3 Summary

Although the six variables of Table VII-2 give only a segmented view of occupations and relative socio-economic conditions among ethnic groups, together they indicate several distinct spatial differences between groups.

The t statistics showed that the occupations and socio-economic status previously associated with the provincially aggregated ethnic populations changed very little when broken down across Ontario's 54 Census divisions. Of notable exception are the Southern Europeans whose status in several measures increased among those members located outside of their main concentration in Toronto. In contrast some conditions of the Jews declined among members outside of the Toronto-centred core.

Although the hierarchy of groups is not radically different when measured across the Province, the large numbers of significant F ratios indicate that most minority groups exhibit levels of spatial variation very different from that of the British majority. Only the French and Western Europeans appear to be integrated within a occupation and socio-economic structure that is similar to that of the British. All of the other groups, however, regardless of their status or occupational segmentation exhibit patterns of socio-economic variation significantly different from that of the British.

Most of the significant F ratios in Table VII-1 indicate differences between the British and minority groups in terms of spatial variance in occupations, unemployment, and education. In contrast, there is much less difference between the groups in the spatial variance of incomes. Spatial variations in income are normally explained by regional differences in the labour market and education. The data examined here, however, indicate that labour and education are not equally associated with income in all ethnic groups. The relationships between income and regional differences in socio-economic structure are explored in Chapter VIII.

CHAPTER VIII - Multiple Regression Analysis of Regional Variations  
in Income among Ethnic Categories in Ontario

1 The Multiple Regression Model

The previous chapter was concerned primarily with identifying the differences between ethnic groups in levels of regional socio-economic integration. That analysis revealed substantial differences between groups but offered no explanation of how these differences arose. This Chapter VIII will examine the ability of the previously outlined core-periphery model of regional structure to explain regional differences in well-being. For each ethnic category variations in well-being will be accounted for in relation to their regional differences in basic socio-economic, occupation, and cultural conditions. In such an analysis as this, where several variables must be considered at one time the multiple regression model is a highly appropriate technique. With the regression model it is possible to examine the relative importance of different variables in explaining spatial variations in well-being. A comparison of regression equations between each group will indicate if regional variations in a group's well-being are a result of common, underlying regional differences in the socio-economic structure of the Province, or the result of unique ethnic differences.

The comparison of income variations between the British and the seven minorities is based on a stepwise regression model of the following form:

$$y = a + b_1 x_1 + b_2 x_2 + \dots + b_{10} x_{10}$$

In this equation the dependent variable to be explained is a surrogate measure of well-being. Specifically, the dependent variable used is FAMINC, or the percentage of families with annual incomes less than or equal to \$7,999. This variable FAMINC is an indicator of peripheral conditions of well-being, or in other words, poverty. As a result the measure relates only to the poorest percentage of each group, which in the British case amounts to 35.4% of all families in the group. This percentage is typical of most groups, although the Native Indians have a significantly higher percentage of families earning less than \$7,999 (see Table VI-3).

In order to test the reliability of FAMINC, an identical regression analysis was performed using INDINC as the dependent variable. This provided a measure of income drawn from a different segment of the ethnic populations, namely individuals with incomes greater than or equal to \$8,000. In many respects these two sets of equations were identical which therefore justified focussing the analysis on the FAMINC equations alone.

Each of the x variables in the equation are independent explanatory variables suggested by the core-periphery model previously outlined in Chapter II. Numerous research hypotheses which might explain variations in the percentage of low-income families are



implied by this model. However, those chosen for incorporation into the regression analysis were determined primarily by the data available and do not exhaust all the possibilities. For the purposes of the regression analysis in this study it was hypothesized that the percentage of low-income families is highest in those census divisions;

- i) where only a small percentage of group members have some university or college education (EDUCAT).
- ii) where a large percentage of the group are unemployed (UNEMP).
- iii) where small percentages of a group's labour force are employed in management and administrative occupations (MANAGE).
- iv) where there are high percentages of a group in primary occupations such as farming, hunting, fishing, and trapping (PRIMAR).
- v) where only small percentages of married couples include one spouse of British ethnic origin (BRIMAR).

- vi) where there are large percentages of group members who arrived in Ontario between 1966 and 1971 (IMMIG).
- vii) where large percentages of a group reside in rural areas on farms (FARM).
- viii) where a small percentage of the group resides in urban areas with populations over 30,000 (URBAN).
- ix) where small percentages of group members are single (SINGLE).
- x) where distances from Toronto are greatest (DISCAP).

The large number of independent variables entered into the regression equations were necessary to cope with the varying importance of different variables in each group. It was expected that peripheral, minority groups would be subject to some conditions which would not affect the British. In order to test this possibility other combinations of independent variables were entered into the equation. Many of these variables either failed to add significantly to the percentage of FAMINC variation explained by the variables already listed, or were not independent of these variables.

A critical assumption of the regression model, especially for the upcoming analysis of partial regression coefficients, is that there is minimal multicollinearity (ie. weak correlation) among the independent variables. The independence of the final selection of variables is indicated by the matrices of simple correlation coefficients given in Table A-3 of the Appendix.

The variables tested in the regression model, but rejected from the final equation are themselves revealing. Of particular note is the absence of cultural measures from the final equation. Some of the hypothesized causal variables which did not exhibit a significant relationship to FAMINC variation when controlling for the effects of the 10 chosen variables include the following:

i) That peripheral conditions are greatest where there is a high percentage of group members who are non-Protestant (RELIG).

ii) That peripheral conditions are greatest where there is a low percentage of group members whose mother tongue is not English, but who speak English most often at home (OTHHOM).

iii) That peripheral conditions are greatest where only a small percentage of a group's members speak

English at home (ENGHOM).

- iv) That peripheral conditions are greatest in those counties where the highest percentage of a group is concentrated (GRPSIZ).

With the aid of the computer and the multiple regression program available through SPSS [Nie, et al, 1975] FAMINC was regressed against the ten independent variables in each of the eight ethnic categories. The overall statistics of the resultant regression equations are listed in Table VIII-1, and the partial regression coefficients of the ten independent variables are given in Table VIII-2. These equations can be considered statistically reliable due to the large number of degrees of freedom, and the comparable number of cases incorporated into the equations of each group. Nevertheless, caution must be exercised in the interpretation of the Eastern European and Visible Minority categories which tend to be heterogeneous groups, and in the analysis of the Jews, whose population in several Census Divisions is so small that the percentage of families with low incomes tend to be misleading.

Table VIII-1  
Multiple Regression Statistics of FAMINC Equations for Eight Ethnic  
Categories

Ethnic Category	Constant a	df	F	R
British	-22.9	9,45	17.9*	.81
French	+60.2	7,46	5.2*	.48
Western European	+130.6	8,46	13.7*	.74
Eastern European	+ 77.4	9,45	7.3*	.63
Jewish Southern European	+ 19.7	7,30	6.9*	.66
Visible Minority	+ 31.9	9,45	2.0	.32
Native Indian	+ 73.5	9,37	1.6	.32
	+107.8	7,43	6.4*	.54

\*significant at .05

Table VIII-2  
 Partial Regression Coefficients of FAMINC Equations for Eight Ethnic Categories

Ethnic Category	IMMIG	FARM	URBAN	EDUCAT	SINGLE	UNEMP	BRIMAR	MANAGE	PRIMAR	DISCAP
British	(7) +.30 (8) .4	(2) +.62 (3) 13.1*	(6) -.03 (7) .7	(1) -.84 (2) 10.4*	(8) +.56 (9) .6	(4) +1.9 (5) 6.3*	(3) +.53 (4) 5.2*	(9) +.48 (10) .15	(10) -.05 (11) .02	(5) +.01 (6) .8
French	(2) -.79 (3) 4.8*	(3) +.52 (4) 4.5*	(6) -.03 (7) .4	(1) -.51 (2) 5.6*	(7) -.12 (8) .1	(5) +.56 (6) .7	(4) +.09 (5) 1.2	X	X	(8) .03 (9) -.01
Western European	(8) +.05 (9) .03	(2) +.78 (3) 38.4*	(7) -.05 (8) 1.8	(1) -.42 (2) 11.3*	(3) -1.89 (4) 15.6*	(5) +1.45 (6) 4.7*	(4) +.23 (5) 4.3*	(9) +.07 (10) .01	(6) -.36 (7) 2.7	X
Eastern European	(9) +.26 (10) .4	(1) +.70 (2) 16.1*	(3) -.09 (4) 3.2	(2) -.34 (3) 2.4	(5) -.36 (6) 1.8	(8) -.16 (9) .5	(7) -.12 (8) .6	(6) -2.0 (7) 2.0	(4) -.30 (5) 1.3	(10) +.01 (11) .01
Jewish	X	(3) +.48 (4) 6.0*	(6) -.11 (7) 2.2	(1) -.26 (2) 5.4*	(4) +.89 (5) 5.3*	X	(5) -.24 (6) 2.1	(2) -1.2 (3) 5.1*	(8) -.67 (9) .7	(7) +.02 (8) 1.0
Southern European	(7) +.07 (8) .2	(1) +.29 (2) 1.4	(6) +.03 (7) .6	(9) -.04 (10) .09	(8) -.07 (9) .08	(2) +.65 (3) 5.2*	(3) +.25 (4) 4.6*	(5) -.34 (6) .7	(4) +.44 (5) 2.1	(10) +.02 (11) .04
Visible Minority	(3) +.19 (4) 1.0	(5) -1.1 (6) 1.3	(4) .09 (5) 1.5	(1) -.36 (2) 5.0*	(9) -.08 (10) .02	(6) -.73 (7) 1.2	(7) -.12 (8) .6	(8) -.27 (9) .11	(2) +1.2 (3) 2.8	(10) -1.8 (11) .01
Native Indian	(4) -.70 (5) 2.7	(5) -.59 (6) 3.0	(2) -.22 (3) 5.2*	(8) -.13 (9) .5	(6) -.33 (7) 3.2	X	(3) -.23 (4) 6.5*	(1) -1.8 (2) 3.6	(7) +.25 (8) 1.7	X

Key: ( ) order of entrance of independent variables into equation.

+ .00 partial regression coefficient.

0.0\* t value significant at .05.

X variable did not enter stepwise regression.

## 2 Comparison of Regression Equations

In the following analysis of the regression equations it is appropriate to begin with the British reference group first. It is evident from Tables VIII-1 and VIII-2 that within the British group the 10 independent variables significantly explain 81% of the variation in the percentage of low-income families (FAMINC). The first four variables entering the equation, are percentage measures of educational attainment (EDUCAT), ruralism (FARM), intermarriage (BRIMAR), and unemployment (UNEMP), all of which have significant partial regression coefficients, and together account for 80% of the total variation. The signs of each of these variables are in accordance with their hypothesized relationship to FAMINC except the percentage of families in which both spouses are British (BRIMAR). BRIMAR's positive relationship with FAMINC contradicts the hypothesis that marriage into the British origin group will lead to higher levels of well-being. Rather this positive relationship suggests that the percentage of poor British families goes down where marriages occur outside the British group. It may be that individuals who marry outside of their group tend to be innovative and therefore likely to earn higher incomes. It is more likely, however, that a large amount of BRIMAR's variation in relation to FAMINC is captured by BRIMAR's high correlation with SINGLE, the percentage of unmarried individuals. Table A-3 in Appendix 1 indicates that the simple correlation coefficient between these two variables is significant at  $r = -.76$ . It is difficult to determine why the correlation between these two variables is so strong. Nevertheless, it implies that counties which have a high proportion of British husband-and-wife families also tend to have fewer single individuals.

None of the remaining six variables in the equation are significant dimensions of the core-periphery structure of well-being within the British group. Part of the reason for this is that these variables are closely correlated with the variables which have significant partial regression coefficients. For example, the relationship between the percentage of low-income families (FAMINC) and the proportion of recent immigrants (IMMIG) is captured by IMMIG's high correlation with EDUCAT ( $r = +.75$ ) and MANAGE ( $r = +.72$ ). This is not surprising as it was characteristic of British immigrants between 1966 and 1971 to be relatively well educated and employed in managerial or administrative occupations. Also, in many socio-economic studies, measures of urbanism (URBAN) tend to be powerful explanatory variables of well-being [Hecht, 1982]. In the British equation, however, much of the variation in URBAN which is related to FAMINC is assumed by the measure of ruralism, FARM, with which it has a significant simple correlation of  $r = -.53$ . Finally, most of the variation in FAMINC that is related to the occupation categories MANAGE and PRIMAR has been captured by another powerful explanatory variable EDUCAT. The simple correlation coefficients from Table A-3 indicate that MANAGE is very strongly related to EDUCAT with  $r = +.88$ , and PRIMAR is significantly related to both EDUCAT ( $r = -.51$ ) and FARM ( $r = +.65$ ).

None of the equations of the seven minority categories explain as much variation in the percentage of low-income families, or include the same variables as does the British equation. Regression



coefficients are highest and the F values most significant for the Western Europeans (R = 74%), the Jews (R = 66%), and the Eastern Europeans (R = 63%). A much smaller percentage of variation in FAMINC is significantly explained by the regression model within the Native Indian (R = 54%), and the French (R = 48%) groups. The regression coefficients are insignificant in both the Southern European (R=32%), and Visible Minority (R=32%) groups. These figures attest to the varying relevancy of the theorized core-periphery model to certain ethnic categories. A closer examination of the partial regression coefficients will indicate in more detail the extent to which these equations differ from the research hypotheses given above.

### 3 Analysis of Independent Variables

In this section, the partial regression coefficients are discussed in the order of their importance. The four most significant variables include EDUCAT, FARM, BRIMAR and UNEMP, and those of lesser importance include IMMIG, URBAN, SINGLE, MANAGE, and PRIMAR, and DISCAP. Readers less interested in the details of this analysis can turn directly to the regression summary in Section 4 of this Chapter.

The percentage of group members with some university or college education, EDUCAT, is the most important variable with significant partial regression coefficients in 5 of the 8 ethnic categories. Among the British, French, Western Europeans, Jews, and Visible Minorities, EDUCAT is the first variable entering the stepwise regression

equation. Although less important among the remaining ethnic categories, EDUCAT is inversely related to FAMINC as hypothesized. This reflects the widespread belief in 1971 that standards of living increase with the level of education attained. Nevertheless, when holding the effects of other variables constant, EDUCAT is not significantly related to FAMINC variation within the Eastern European, Southern European and Native Indian minorities. In both the Eastern European and Native Indian groups some of the variation in FAMINC which is related to EDUCAT has been captured by EDUCAT's correlation to the percentage of group members in primary industries (PRIMAR). The simple correlation coefficient between EDUCAT and PRIMAR is +.45 in the Native Indian group and +.55 among the Eastern Europeans. In the Southern European category, levels of educational attainment do not appear to be directly, or even indirectly, related to variations in the percentage of poor Southern European families.

In five of the eight groups the percentage of group members residing on farms (FARM) is positively and significantly correlated with the percentage of low-income families. This is consistent with Ontario's core-periphery structure which, as noted earlier in Chapter 2, D.M. Ray observed to be predominantly urban-rural in nature. That this relationship is significant within the almost entirely urbanized Jewish population is very surprising. However, an examination of the simple correlation coefficients showed that some of the variation in FAMINC associated with FARM is captured by a significant relationship between FARM and the rate of unemployment (UNEMP) ( $r = +.58$ ). Within

the Southern European group although FARM is the first variable entering the equation, its partial regression coefficient indicated that FARM is insignificant when controlling for the effects of other variables. Similarly, FARM is very unimportant within the Visible Minority group. In both these cases it is not surprising that FARM is insignificant considering that less than 1% of each of these groups reside on farms. Although slightly more important within the Native Indian category, FARM's unusual inverse relationship with FAMINC suggests that unlike the other ethnic categories farming is an activity associated with higher family incomes.

The percentage of families with a British spouse (BRIMAR) is one of the first five variables entering the stepwise regression procedure in six groups and is significant as a partial regression coefficient in four groups, namely the British, Western Europeans, Southern Europeans, and Native Indians. Surprisingly, the same unexpected positive relationship between BRIMAR and FAMINC that was found in the British group is also evident in the Western European and Southern European groups. The reason for this unexpected relationship is not clear. It may be that members in these groups who have not married into the British are longer term residents from rural areas and are less well off than more recent immigrants in the Toronto-centred core. Within the Native Indian category the significant partial regression coefficient shows a correct negative relationship, suggesting that family incomes are higher where larger percentages of the group have married into the British ethnic origin group. This same negative relationship is evident among the Eastern Europeans, and the Visible Minorities, although in these groups the relationship is not significant.

Unemployment (UNEMP) is the fourth variable entering the British equation which is significant when controlling for the effects of all other variables. The relationship between FAMINC and UNEMP is significant and positive as hypothesized only within the British, Western European and Southern European groups. Within the other minorities FAMINC seems to be independent of any regional differences in unemployment.

Spatial proximity to Toronto (DISCAP) is the fifth variable to enter the British equation and is positively related to the percentage of low-income families, as hypothesized, in four groups. This suggests a weak tendency for peripheral conditions to increase in the geographic periphery. Overall, however, DISCAP, seems to be the least important of all the variables in the eight equations. This implies that the spatial pattern of low-income variation in Ontario is not characterised by a simple distance-decay function. Geographic separation alone is not a direct cause of poverty, but is indirectly related to it through variations in educational levels, urbanism etc.

As previously mentioned, six of the ten independent variables do not have any significant relationship with FAMINC in the British category, namely, IMMIG, URBAN, SINGLE, MANAGE, PRIMAR and DISCAP. Moreover of these six variables only one, SINGLE, has more than one significant partial regression coefficient across the seven minority categories. Specifically, in the Western European group, SINGLE entered the equation on the third step with a highly significant partial regression coefficient. As hypothesized the variable SINGLE,

being a measure of individual mobility, is inversely related to the percentage of low-income families in a Census Division. In the Jewish category, however, SINGLE has a significantly positive relationship with FAMINC. It is possible that single Jews have fewer ethnic associations and therefore benefit less from the mutual support available in the Jewish community. In the remaining groups there is no evident association between FAMINC and SINGLE, except perhaps in the Eastern European and Native Indian groups where there is an insignificant but correct inverse relationship.

The four remaining variables, IMMIG, URBAN, MANAGE, and PRIMAR were the least important, with only URBAN and MANAGE each producing a single significant partial regression coefficient.

Recency of arrival to Ontario, as measured by IMMIG entered the French equation on the second step, and entered the Visible Minority and Native Indian equations on the third and fourth steps. Only in the Visible Minority group, however, is the relationship of IMMIG to FAMINC consistent with the hypothesized model, indicating that the percentages of low-income individuals increased where there were larger percentages of new immigrants. In contrast the small numbers of recent immigrants among the French and Native Indian groups tend to have high levels of education and to be employed in higher status occupations than longer-term residents of these groups.

In most ethnic categories the percentage living in large urban areas (URBAN) is inversely related to the percentage of low-income families as was hypothesized. This relationship is of most importance

in the Native Indian group where it entered the equation on the second step and in the Eastern European group where URBAN entered the equation on the third step. Notably, only in the Southern European group are higher percentages of low-income families associated with large urban areas. In trial runs of the regression model the variable CITY (all urban areas) was substituted for URBAN (urban areas over 30,000) with the result that CITY had significant partial regression coefficients in six of the eight groups. This suggests that regional variations in FAMINC have more to do with the advantages of urbanization in general than the size of urban areas.

In view of the theoretical role traditionally associated with occupational status in determining levels of well-being, it is surprising that the variables MANAGE and PRIMAR are not more important in more of the eight regression equations. The percentage of a group in management and administrative occupations (MANAGE) entered the regression equation of the Native Indians on the first step, of the Jews on the second step, and of the Southern Europeans on the fifth step. In the Jewish group the partial regression coefficient of MANAGE is significant, reflecting somewhat the occupational specialization of this group in high status jobs. In each of these groups the relationship of MANAGE to FAMINC is negative as hypothesized, suggesting that the percentage of these groups in MANAGE occupations has some bearing on the percentage of low-income families.

The percentage of a group in primary industries (PRIMAR) is of slight importance in the equations of the Eastern Europeans, Southern Europeans, and Visible Minorities. In the Visible Minority category, where PRIMAR entered the equation on the second step, the relationship between FAMINC and PRIMAR was positive as expected. The positive sign was also correct in the Southern European and Native Indian equations. In the Eastern European category, however, and in three other groups, the relationship between FAMINC and PRIMAR was negative suggesting that the percentage of low-income families declined in those counties where the percentages of these groups in primary occupations were highest. This can reflect that groups such as the Eastern Europeans are concentrated in primary industries in which wages are protected through union contracts, whereas a higher percentage of Southern Europeans might be found in non-unionized construction sectors.

#### 4 Regression Summary

Overall, the multiple regression analysis has shown that there is considerable variation between groups. The difference between majority and minority equations is an excellent indicator of the extent to which ethnic minorities are integrated within the regional socio-economic structure of the Province.

In terms of both the percentage of variation explained in the percentage of low-income families, and the number of significant partial regression coefficients, it is the Western European category

which shows the greatest similarity to the British. Less variation in FAMINC was explained by the Jewish and French equations, and both equations were simpler with four and three significant partial regression coefficients. Nevertheless, despite the distinct socio-economic status, occupational specialization, and voluntary segregation of the Jewish and French groups, they both show substantial levels of integration into the hypothesized regional socio-economic structure. The relatively high levels of integration shown by the Western Europeans, Jews and the French can be explained, in part, by the similar length of time these groups have been established in Ontario, and the interdependent roles they have held in the development of the Province.

Equations of each of the four remaining minorities explained less variation in FAMINC and are much simpler, showing only one or two significant partial regression coefficients. There is some similarity to the British equation in terms of the variables with significant partial regression coefficients in the Southern Europeans (BRIMAR, UNEMP), the Eastern Europeans (FARM), and in the Visible Minorities (EDUCAT). In the Native Indian group, however, only BRIMAR is common to the other groups, but even here the sign of the partial regression coefficient is different, being negative. The well-being of these four groups within Ontario's regional system is highly dependent on very limited segments of the socio-economic structure.



The significance of particular variables in the regression model were very revealing. As noted previously, levels of education and ruralism proved to be of greatest significance in most groups. However in contrast to the assumed importance of the cultural division of labour, occupations were of negligible independent significance when controlling for the effects of education and ruralism. As noted previously cultural factors were insignificant in explaining variations in well-being. Several trial regression runs revealed that measures of acculturation, such as language and religion were of little importance. In addition, British intermarriage, as a measure of primary assimilation, showed the hypothesized inverse relationship with the percentage of low-income families only within the Native Indian population. Among the British, Western Europeans, and Southern Europeans, however, the relationship was not as predicted.

The inability of the hypothesized core-periphery model to explain more variation of well-being in some groups is an indication that these groups are only partially integrated within Ontario's regional socio-economic structure. In addition, it also indicates that the core periphery explanatory model is of primary relevance to the predominant socio-economic system of the British majority. Overall, the core-periphery concept is an ethnocentric model devised by, and pertaining to, the British majority, or those who have integrated into that majority.

## CHAPTER IX - Summary and Conclusions

### 1 Summary

The purpose of this thesis has been to develop and test a theoretical model of ethnic group interaction in a regional socio-economic system. A model of ethnic polarization was developed in Chapter II based on previous studies of ethnic stratification in Canada, and Friedmann's core-periphery model of regional structure and development. This model describes the interaction of ethnic groups in regional economic systems as follows.

Ethnic minorities tend to enter the regional economic system of a dominant ethnic majority with a relatively depressed status as a result of discrimination, dissimilarities in language and religion, and differences in education and employment experience. They have little choice but to take work where the greatest opportunities exist; as unskilled labourers in urban areas, or in the labour intensive growth industries of the resource frontiers. Consequently, in contrast to members of the dominant majority, disproportionate numbers of ethnic minorities concentrate in occupations of subordinate socio-economic status. This lower status of the minority population is linked to their geographically peripheral locations in the regional structure. Not only are ethnic minorities pushed to peripheral locations as immigrants, but over time the lack of opportunities and the inaccessibility of peripheral locations impedes the integration of minorities into the larger regional system.

Chapter III provided an historical overview of the role of ethnic groups in Ontario's settlement and regional development. From the literature it was established that the British majority, with their charter status, dominated critical aspects of the Province's development. Until the last two decades the British maintained their dominance as an ethnic group in Ontario by favouring British immigrants and discouraging individuals of dissimilar ethnic origin. Being the largest percentage of immigrants in all periods of economic development, the British in 1971 were distributed throughout the entire Province.

Ethnic minorities, however, tended to concentrate in different sectors of the Province depending on the period of regional development and the ethnic composition of immigrant populations during that period. Germans, and most northern Europeans, being culturally similar to the British were admitted to Canada in the earliest period of agricultural colonization, and settled primarily in southwestern Ontario. As the Province industrialized and the demand for cheap labour grew, more dissimilar ethnic groups were admitted to Canada. In general individuals of Eastern and Southern European origin, and French origin migrated to the industrial areas of northern Ontario. Finally, the liberalization of immigration policies in recent decades has introduced large percentages of the 'other' ethnic groups into an increasingly urbanized population in the Toronto-centred core.

In Chapter IV census data revealed that the socio-cultural distinctions between the British majority and the ethnic minorities have persisted up to 1971, defining clear differences between at least eight major ethnic categories. These include the British, French, Western Europeans, Eastern Europeans, Jews, Southern Europeans, Visible Minorities, and Native Indians.

A spatial analysis of the distribution of these eight ethnic categories in Chapter V indicated several distinct patterns of regional concentration. Location quotients revealed that in 1971 most minority groups remained over-concentrated around areas of their historical settlement. Thus disproportionate numbers of French and Native Indians were concentrated in northern Ontario or in areas remote from the Toronto-centred core. Western Europeans, and to a lesser extent Eastern Europeans were concentrated in both southwestern Ontario and in industrial areas of the north. More recent immigrant groups such as the Southern Europeans, Visible Minorities, and Jews proved to be exceptions to the core-periphery model being heavily concentrated in Toronto. Although the centrographic analysis revealed a tendency for minorities to disperse between 1911 and 1971, this did not signify their spatial integration into the regional distribution of the British majority.

The spatial polarization of ethnic minorities in Ontario is linked to their socio-economic inequality in relation to the British majority. In Chapter VI an analysis of occupations, incomes, and education suggested that conditions within the core group had not

penetrated equally into all minority groups. Among the Western and Eastern Europeans patterns of occupational specialization and socio-economic status proved to be similar to those of the British group. Nevertheless, both these minority categories tend to have slightly lower incomes, and to be more concentrated than the British in the primary, manufacturing, construction, and trade occupations. This reflects, in part, their disproportionate distributions in the northern Ontario periphery. Other than this occupational difference the Western and Eastern Europeans and the British share similar socio-cultural attributes, and comparable levels of spatial and socio-economic integration.

In every measure of socio-economic well-being employed in this study the Jewish group has been polarized at the core extreme. Large percentages of this group have attained higher levels of education, tend to be over-represented in high income categories and hold high status occupations. Reflecting their high degree of segmentation in the core labour market, Ontario's Jews are almost entirely concentrated in Toronto. Similarly, the Visible Minority group, also characterized by higher levels of education and high job status tend to be concentrated in the Toronto-centred region. Their lower incomes, however, can reflect higher rates of unemployment and possibly differential treatment in the core labour market. Although both the Jews and the Visible Minorities are culturally dissimilar from the British, their high levels of education and English-speaking competence has enabled them to attain core occupations.

Southern Europeans are characterized by lower incomes and a high degree of job segregation in low status occupations. Their distinct ethnic differences from the British, their low levels of socio-economic well-being, and their skewed spatial distributions are all characteristics of peripherality. However, the tendency for Southern Europeans to congregate as "urban villagers", especially within the Toronto core, suggests that they can be better described as peripheral enclaves within the core.

The French rank among the minorities with the lowest levels of socio-economic well-being and educational opportunity. In relation to the British they are under-represented in management and professional occupations, and over-represented in primary industries, manufacturing and trades, although they show no distinct patterns of occupational segmentation. The concentrations of the French in Ontario's eastern and northeastern margins, their distinct socio-cultural attributes, and their low levels of socio-economic well-being are all clear indicators of this group's peripherality.

In every socio-economic measure of well-being, Ontario's Native Indians have been polarized at the peripheral extreme. As an ethnic category they show high levels of unemployment and are highly segregated in low status jobs, including occupations marginal to the larger labour force. With low-levels of educational attainment there is little opportunity for this group to achieve greater social mobility. The Native Indian's great socio-cultural and socio-economic contrasts to the British majority and their concentration on remotely located reserves are distinct indicators of this groups peripherality.

A comparison of regional variations in socio-economic well-being between ethnic categories was the focus of Chapters VII and VIII. Statistical tests of differences (means and variance) between the British and the ethnic minorities indicated that all ethnic minorities, to a greater or lesser extent, showed socio-economic polarization in several dimensions across the Province. Although measures of family and individual income suggested similar regional variations in well-being, other indicators including occupations, unemployment, and education revealed important dissimilarities between groups in terms of their regional integration.

The rather segmented analysis of well-being in Chapter VII was followed by the multiple regression analysis in Chapter VIII, which examined the association between several socio-economic dimensions and provided a composite and comparative model of regional economic integration. Within the British group the regression equation was successful in explaining most of the variation in the percentage of low-income families according to regional differences in educational attainment, ruralism, intermarriage, and unemployment. In general regional variations of well-being in the majority or core group were consistent with variations hypothesized by the core-periphery model.

A similar core-periphery model of variation was evident, although neither as strong nor as complex, among the Western Europeans, Jews, and French. Among the Eastern Europeans core-periphery variation proved to be even weaker and simpler, with the only important independent variable being ruralism (FARM). The Native Indian, Visible

Minority and Southern European groups showed little evidence of integration into the core-periphery structure typical of any of the other groups. Moreover, regional variations in these groups were associated with variables of little importance among the other ethnic groups. This attests to the marginality and highly segmented roles of the Native Indians, Visible Minorities and Southern Europeans in Ontario's regional socio-economic structure.

## 2 Conclusions

In conclusion, the general evidence presented in this study replicates previous ethnic studies which identify a polarized socio-economic structure in Ontario. In geographic terms, however, the disparities between ethnic majority and minorities are not strongly correlated with a core-periphery spatial pattern in all groups. A core-periphery spatial pattern is evident among the groups that arrived in Ontario during early periods of agricultural colonization and frontier development. More recent ethnic minorities, however, continue to enter the Province with a depressed entrance status but are not pushed to the regional geographic periphery to the same extent.

In some respects therefore the core-periphery model of regional structure is of limited utility. It has not adequately accounted for the changing structure of the Province as seen in the increasing concentration of diseconomies and peripheral conditions within the



core, and the presence of core-like conditions in the geographic periphery. Other models, such as central-place theory, that focus on rural-urban processes may be applicable and offer further insight to this problem. In addition, the core-periphery model has been shown to be of primary relevance to the Province's ethnic majority, revealing that several ethnic minorities with their unique socio-cultural attributes, are exceptions to this model. Overall, the evidence examined has not revealed previously unknown patterns but has established that the hypothesized core-periphery model of regional variation is evident, although not for all groups, in the Census data available. As a result this model has several implications for government policy and for future research.

It is difficult to base specific policy implications that are relevant to current social and economic processes in Ontario on data pertaining only to 1971. Moreover, the independent variables used in this study are not all amenable to adjustment through government intervention. The peripheral status of many groups is largely a result of processes of economic polarization (ie. ruralism, unemployment) which have not been readily influenced by conventional governmental tools of regional economic development. Nevertheless, for general policy purposes this study does suggest that the processes which determine regional income variations within the British will not be operative within all ethnic minority groups. As a result, it is ethnocentric and incorrect to assume that the status of minority groups will improve everywhere simply by encouraging higher levels of educational attainment. In order to be effective, policies intended to remove ethnic disparities must be adjusted to meet the specific regional needs of ethnic minorities.

The results of this thesis indicate that the core-periphery model is a valuable framework in which future studies of ethnic interaction can be synthesized. The focus of this study on aggregate ethnic categories, at one point in time, and in one region, has highlighted several themes requiring further research. Of greatest relevance to the specific model developed in this paper is an analysis of processes of socio-economic and spatial integration over time. Time-series data from both the 1971 and 1981 Census' would give a better indication of regional variations in the persistence of ethnic identities and peripheral conditions. In addition to a more elaborate data base, it would be of value to refine and experiment with other quantitative methods of analysis. For example, a factor analysis might provide a concise method for illustrating and comparing the complex regional variations in socio-economic variation between ethnic groups.

Finally, many of this study's conclusions which pertain to the regional scale can be taken as hypotheses to be substantiated with greater detail at a local scale. The core-periphery model provides an excellent framework in which to integrate existing and future studies of specific ethnic communities. Of particular relevance to the fate of ethnic groups in Ontario is Friedmann's hypothesis that the deprivation and dependency of peripheral populations will eventually provoke social conflict and change. For example, among such peripheral groups as the French in northeastern Ontario, and the Province's native Indians there is substantial evidence of a revived ethnic identity and politicization as ethnic groups. Further research, at both regional and local scales, into ethnic group identities, organization and maintenance would contribute to one understanding of this phenomenon.

V

## APPENDIX 1 - Data Description

Most of the data used in the historical analyses of Chapters III to V was collected from previously published ethnocultural studies and tables of the Canadian Census. The focus of this study, however, is based on demographic and socio-economic statistical data collected from the 1971 Census of Canada through custom tabulations done by Statistics Canada. The collection of this data was financed with a grant from the Volkswagen Foundation of Germany as part of a larger research project into "Ethnicity in Central Canada". This project was jointly administered by Dr. Alfred Pletsch of Philips University in Marburg, West Germany, Dr. Ludger Muller-Wille of McGill University in Montreal, and Dr. Alfred Hecht of Wilfrid Laurier University.

The 1971 Census data is excellent for a comparative and geographic analysis of ethnic groups in Ontario. Stored on computer tapes at Wilfrid Laurier University, the data consists of 19 tables in which 130 variable categories are cross-tabulated in various combinations for each of the 43 ethnic origin groups defined in the Census. One of these tables, for example, contains population counts of the experienced labour force in Ontario, showing 43 ethnic origin groups by 24 occupation categories, by 8 wage and salary categories. From these tables over 31 variables were selected for analysis in this study. Definitions for all selected variables and their code names used in this study are listed in Table A-1 of this appendix.

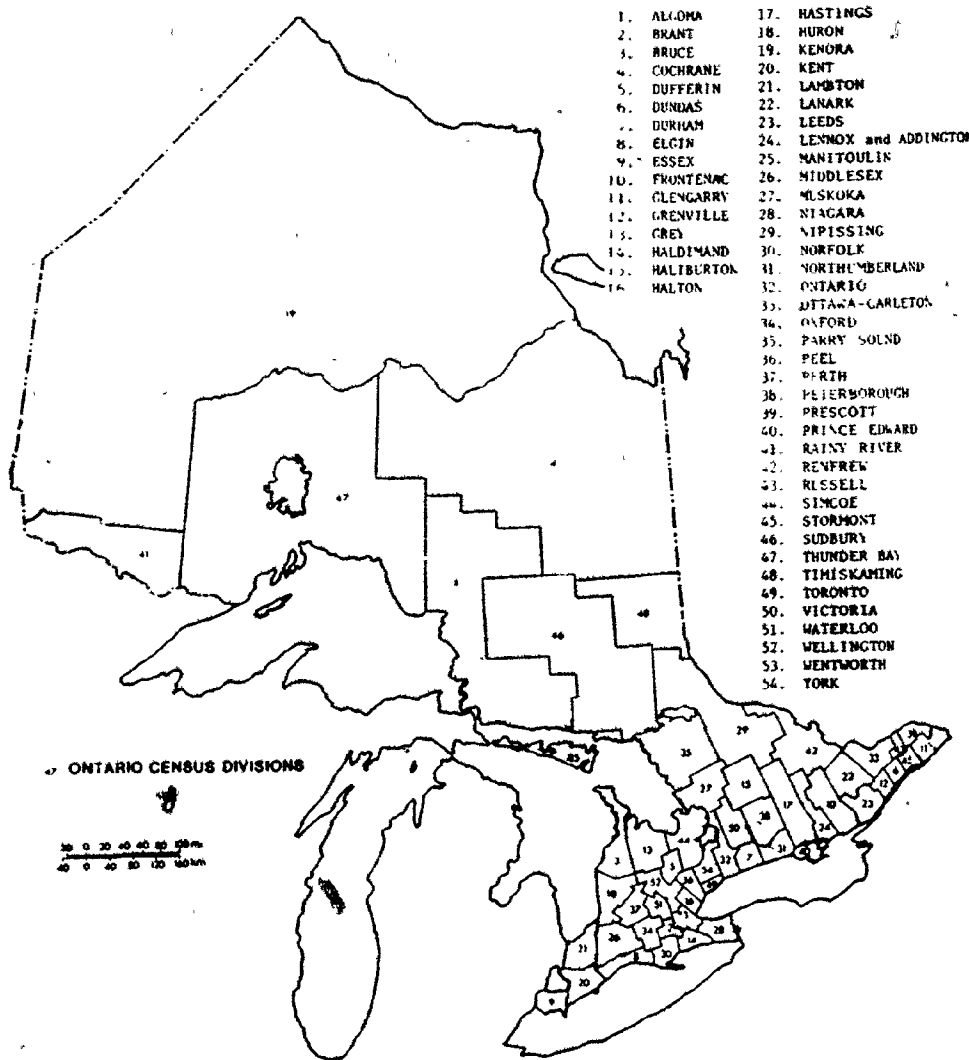
All of the 1971 Census data was collected for each of the 54 census divisions in Ontario. These spatial units are equivalent to Ontario's county and district boundaries whose names are used throughout this study. Figure A-1 shows both the 1971 Census division numbers and their corresponding county names.

In order to collect comparable data from the various census periods it was necessary to accommodate changes in the numbers of counties and in their boundaries by combining several Census divisions into a standard 53 spatial units. As a result of this there are 53 spatial units used in the historical analysis and 54 in the analysis of the 1971 data, the difference being that Toronto (CD=49) is combined with York (CD=54) .

The use of Census divisions as analytic spatial units places limitations on the analysis which must be recognized. Of greatest concern is that each Census division represents an arbitrarily defined aggregate of people. As a result it is not possible to account for the behaviour of individuals, or to examine spatial patterns of distribution within these sometimes vast and irregular regions. In addition, it is not possible to meaningfully divide ethnic groups into 54 discrete ethnic communities.

Nevertheless, as the focus is neither on specific ethnic groups, nor on distinct ethnic communities, the choice of spatial units does not detract from the study's objective to compare how socio-economic conditions within ethnically defined aggregates of people differ across a vast regional space.

Figure A-1  
 Ontario Census Divisions, 1971



In the historical analysis it was necessary to accommodate changes in the definition of ethnic origin. Comparable ethnic origin data could only be drawn from the five Census periods in which the definition of ethnic origin was reasonably consistent. These included 1871, 1911, 1931, 1951, 1971. Even so there are considerable variations between Census periods in the numbers and kinds of ethnic origin groups. According to Ryder's [1955] analysis of the historical use of Census origin statistics, ethnic origin groups must be aggregated into standard analytical categories. Consequently ethnic origin groups were regrouped into seven categories consistent over all periods. The members in each of these categories face common options and command similar resources in the Province's social hierarchy. These include the British, French, Northern Europeans, Southern Europeans, Visible Minorities, and Native Indians. The individual origin groups that were aggregated into these seven categories are listed for each Census period in Table A-2 of this appendix. As this list shows when the 1971 data is examined by itself the Northern European category is broken down further into Western Europeans, Eastern Europeans, and Jews.

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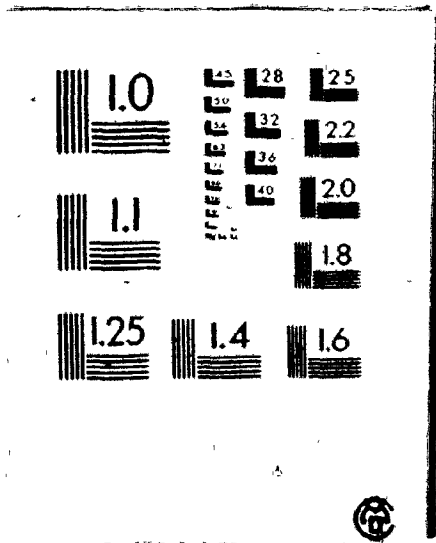


TABLE A-1 - Index to Variables

A - Demographic Variables

URBAN Proportion of individuals 5 years and older whose place of residence is in a municipality with a population greater than 30,000.

CITY Proportion of individuals 5 years and older whose place of residence is in a municipality with a population of 1,000 or over, and a density of at least 1,000 per square mile.

RURAL Proportion of individuals 5 years and older whose place of residence is in a non-urban municipality but not situated on a farm.

FARM Proportion of individuals 5 years and older whose place of residence is in a non-urban municipality and situated on an agricultural holding of one or more acres and with sales of agricultural produce of \$50.00 or more in 1970.



NATIVE Proportion of all individuals who were born in  
Canada.

IMMIG Proportion of individuals 5 years and older whose  
place of residence in 1966 was either in a province  
other than Ontario, or outside of Canada.

POSWAR Proportion of individuals 15 years and older who  
immigrated into Canada between 1946 and 1971.

GRPSIZ Proportion of the total group population residing  
in each Census Division.

DISCAP Straight line distance in miles from Toronto to  
largest population centre in each Census Division.

B - Socio-cultural Variables

ROMAN Proportion of all individuals affiliated with  
the Roman Catholic denomination.

PROTES Proportion of all individuals affiliated with  
the Protestant denomination.

- RELIG Proportion of all individuals affiliated with the Roman Catholic or any other religious denomination except Protestant.
- ENGTONG Proportion of all individuals whose mother tongue, or language first learned in childhood and still understood is English.
- ENGHOM Proportion of all individuals who speak English most frequently at home.
- OTHHOM Proportion of all individuals with a mother tongue other than English who speak English most often at home.
- BRIMAR Proportion of husband and wife families in which one spouse is of British ethnic origin.
- SINGLE Proportion of all individuals who are separated, divorced, and never married.

C - Socio-economic Variables

EDUCAT Proportion of individuals between ages 25 and 65  
with some university or college education.

UNEMP Proportion of individuals 15 years and older in  
labour force who are unemployed.

BUSEMP Proportion of individuals 15 years and older in  
labour force who are self-employed in business.

MANAGE Proportion of individuals 15 years and older in  
labour force with managerial, administrative, and  
related occupations.

PROFES Proportion of individuals 15 years and older in  
labour force with occupations in natural sciences,  
engineering and mathematics, social sciences and  
related fields, religion, teaching and related,  
medicine and health, artistic, literary,  
recreational and related.

CLERIC Proportion of individuals 15 years and older in  
labour force with occupations in clerical and  
retail, sales, and services.

PRIMAR Proportion of individuals 15 years and older in

labour force with occupations in farming, horticulture, and animal husbandry, fishing, hunting, trapping and related, forestry and logging, mining, and quarrying including oil and gas fields.

**TRADE** Proportion of individuals 15 years and older in labour force with occupations in processing, machining and related, product fabricating, assembly and repairing, construction trades.

**PRITRA** Combination of PRIMAR and TRADE categories.

**HISTAT** Proportion of individuals 15 years and older in **MANAGE** and **PROFESS** occupation categories earning wages and salaries<sup>2</sup> greater than or equal to \$10,000.

**LOSTAT** Proportion of individuals 15 years and older in **PRITRA** occupation category earning wages and salaries<sup>2</sup> less than or equal to \$4,999.

D - Income Variables

FAMINC Proportion of families in which the sum of total incomes received by all members of the family 15 years and older is less than or equal to \$7,999.

LOWINC Proportion of individuals between 25 and 65 years with total incomes less than or equal to \$4,999.

INDINC Proportion of individuals between 25 and 65 years with total incomes<sup>1</sup> greater than or equal to \$8,000.

AVINC Average total income<sup>1</sup> per year for largest ethnic origin group in ethnic category. (ie. British, French, German, Ukrainian, Jews, Italian, Chinese, Native Indian )

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- 1 Total income refers to all income received during 1970 from wages and salaries, business and professional practice, farm operations, family and youth allowances, government old age pensions, other government payments, retirement pensions, bond and deposit interest and dividends, other

investment sources.

- 2 Wages and salaries includes income earned from employment in 1970 before deductions for income tax, pensions, and unemployment insurance.

TABLE A-2 - Index to Ethnic Categories

Ethnic Categories	Census Ethnic Groups
1871	
Census of Canada 1870-71, Vol. 1 Table III: Origins of the People pp 252-281.	
1 British	English, Irish, Scotch, Welsh
2 French	
3 Northern European	Dutch, German, Jewish, Russian- Polish, Scandinavian, Swiss
4 Southern European	Greek, Italian, Spanish- Portuguese
5 Visible Minorities	African, Hindoo

6 Native Indian                      Halfbreed, Indian

7 Other                                  Other, and Not Given

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1911

Census of Canada 1910-11, Vol. II Table VII: Origins of  
the People by Subdistrict pp. 204-253

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1 British                              English, Irish, Scotch, Welsh

2 French

3 Northern European              German, Austro-Hungarian,  
Belgian, Bulgarian, Dutch,  
Jewish, Polish, Russian,  
Scandinavian, Swiss

4 Southern European              Greek, Italian



5 Visible Minorities	Chinese, Hindu, Japanese, Negro
6 Native Indian	Indian
7 Other	Unspecified.

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1931

Census of Canada 1930-31, Vol. II Table 32. Population,  
Male and Female, classified according to racial origin, by  
counties or census divisions. pp. 308-313

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1 British	English, Irish, Scottish, Other
2 French	
3 Northern European	Austrian, Belgian, Bulgarian, Czech and Slovak, Danish, Dutch, Finnish, German, Hebrew, Hungarian, Icelandic, Jugo- Slavic, Lithuanian, Norwegian,

	Polish, Roumanian, Russian, Swedish, Ukrainian, Other European
4 Southern European	Greek, Italian
5 Visible Minorities	Chinese, Japanese, Other Asian, Negro
6 Native Indian	Indian, Eskimo
7 Other	Various, Unspecified

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1951

Census of Canada 1950-51, Vol. 1 Table 34. Population by  
origin and sex, for counties and census divisions, 1951  
pp. 34-11 to 34-16

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1 British

British Isles

2 French	
3 Northern European	Austrian, Czech and Slovak, Finnish, German, Hungarian, Jewish, Netherlands, Polish, Russian, Scandinavian, Ukrainian, Other European
4 Southern European	Italian
5 Visible Minorities	Chinese, Japanese, Other Asiatic
6 Native Indian	Indian, Eskimo
7 Other	Various, Unspecified

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1971

Census of Canada 1970-71, Vol. 1 Pt. 3 Table 4. Population  
by Ethnic Group and Sex for Census Divisions, 1971.  
pp. 4-15 to 4-22.

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1 British

American, British Isles,  
Canadian

2 French

3 Northern European

a) Western European

Austrian, Belgian, Danish,  
Finnish, German, Hungarian,  
Icelandic, Netherlands,  
Norwegian, Other European,  
Swedish, Scandinavian

b) Eastern European

Byelorussian, Czech, Estonian,  
Latvian, Lithuanian, Polish,  
Roumanian, Russian, Slovak,  
Ukrainian, Yugoslavic

c) Jews

4 Southern European

Greek, Italian, Portuguese,  
Spanish, Syrian-Lebanese

5 Visible Minorities

Chinese, East Indian, Japanese,  
Negro, Other Asiatic,

West Indian

6 Native Indian

Eskimo, Native Indian

7 Other

Unknown, All Other

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Table A-3  
Simple Correlation Coefficients ( x 1000)

BRITISH

	F A M I N G	I M M I G	F A R M	U R B A N	E D U C A T I O N	S I N G L E	U N E M P	B R I M A R	M A N A G E	P R I M A R	D I S C A P
FAMING	1000	-607	706	-526	-785	-71	-240	330	-671	503	-60
IMMIG	-607	1000	-332	399	754	318	68	-453	722	-254	248
FARM	706	-332	1000	-531	-494	124	-625	239	-408	651	-91
URBAN	-526	399	-531	1000	472	69	310	-144	405	-435	4
EDUCAT	-785	754	-494	472	1000	44	124	-159	879	-509	-60
SINGLE	-71	318	124	69	44	1000	26	-762	-85	313	504
UNEMP	-240	68	-625	310	124	26	1000	-278	21	-418	126
BRIMAR	330	-453	239	-144	-159	-762	-278	1000	-98	-166	-675
MANAGE	-671	722	-408	405	879	-85	21	-98	1000	-392	-12
PRIMAR	503	-254	651	-435	-509	313	-418	-166	-392	1000	200
DISCAP	-60	248	-91	4	-60	504	126	-675	-12	200	1000

FRENCH

1000	-505	432	-403	-508	80	53	-49	-321	189	62
-505	1000	-225	225	386	-74	-246	112	318	10	-104
432	-225	1000	-439	-265	252	-417	-109	-152	324	2
-403	225	-439	1000	379	3	239	-79	214	-273	-40
-508	386	-265	379	1000	-248	-189	417	417	-432	-366
80	-74	252	3	-248	1000	127	-446	50	302	349
53	-246	-417	239	-189	127	1000	-241	-127	-145	81
-49	112	-109	-79	417	-446	-241	1000	1	-330	-455
-321	318	-152	214	417	50	-127	1	1000	-296	-124
189	10	324	-273	-432	302	-145	-330	-296	1000	410
62	-104	2	-40	-366	349	81	-455	-124	410	1000

WESTERN EUROPEAN

1000	-366	594	-539	-643	115	-121	167	-325	372	15
-366	1000	-171	319	514	-41	21	-242	430	-171	217
594	-171	1000	-488	-418	654	-520	-192	-288	579	-73
-539	319	-488	1000	502	-235	199	37	268	-377	-17
-643	514	-418	502	1000	-124	110	-29	491	-567	-264
115	-41	654	-235	-124	1000	-292	-124	-182	240	26
-121	21	-520	199	110	-292	1000	173	-119	-271	149
167	-242	-192	37	-29	-124	173	1000	21	-333	-106
-325	430	-288	268	491	-182	-119	21	1000	-460	-43
372	-171	579	-377	-567	240	-271	-333	-460	1000	136
15	217	-73	-17	-264	26	149	-106	-43	136	1000

EASTERN EUROPEAN

1000	192	668	-467	-447	-44	424	-263	-65	155	-22
192	1000	391	-8	341	-279	532	-175	420	-333	33
668	391	1000	-371	-206	-18	438	-208	276	196	-95
-467	-8	-371	1000	198	125	-58	-43	10	-170	38
-447	341	-206	198	1000	-287	-408	404	554	-384	-207
-44	-279	-18	125	-287	1000	10	-317	-351	133	55
424	532	438	-58	-408	10	1000	-336	-193	-105	45
-263	-175	-208	-43	404	-317	-336	1000	10	-52	-137
-65	420	276	10	554	-351	-193	10	1000	-261	15
155	-333	196	-170	-384	133	-105	-52	-261	1000	81
-22	33	-95	38	-207	55	45	-137	15	81	1000

SOUTHERN EUROPEAN

1000	-11	389	-113	6	84	308	224	-30	248	15
-11	1000	16	-16	-325	-295	65	-502	-319	61	-157
389	16	1000	-415	-147	26	169	101	-3	511	-147
-113	-16	-415	1000	-7	-68	15	-185	-53	-318	27
6	-325	-147	-7	1000	500	-110	411	-114	2	118
84	-295	26	-68	500	1000	80	253	-123	157	65
308	65	169	15	-110	80	1000	-102	-115	-173	103
224	-502	101	-185	411	253	-102	1000	332	-7	-17
-30	-319	-3	-53	-114	-123	-115	332	1000	120	119
248	61	511	-318	2	157	-173	-7	120	1000	97
15	-157	-147	27	118	65	103	-17	119	97	1000

JEW

1000	-27	492	-242	-557	268	422	-308	-460	-164	79
-27	1000	-48	20	199	-62	252	127	-40	4	238
492	-48	1000	-133	-159	-27	488	-98	-133	2	4
-242	20	-133	1000	209	248	-154	-9	271	-109	-27
-557	199	-159	209	1000	-89	-177	305	271	69	-113
268	-62	-27	248	-89	1000	-46	-15	-62	24	136
422	252	488	-154	-177	-46	1000	-12	-134	-62	50
-308	127	-98	-9	305	-15	-12	1000	39	-116	-220
-460	-40	-133	271	271	-62	-134	39	1000	298	-114
-164	4	2	-109	69	24	-62	-116	298	1000	351
79	238	4	-27	-113	136	50	-220	-114	351	1000

VISIBLE MINORITY

1000	88	-97	-241	-315	-76	-126	-22	-126	303	89
88	1000	-203	194	531	253	194	-198	45	168	-23
-97	-203	1000	-140	-8	151	-165	-105	82	183	-122
-241	194	-140	1000	307	216	-86	93	-102	32	19
-315	531	-8	307	1000	410	302	-60	268	188	-93
-76	253	151	216	410	1000	-8	15	149	124	-95
-126	194	-165	-86	302	-8	1000	-164	428	-163	-11
-22	-198	-105	93	-60	15	-164	1000	-39	11	44
-126	45	82	-102	268	149	428	-39	1000	-156	-107
303	168	183	32	188	124	-163	11	-156	1000	63
89	-23	-122	19	-93	-95	-11	44	-107	63	1000

NATIVE INDIAN

1000	-400	-149	-428	-390	-72	73	-395	-438	257	273
-400	1000	115	364	365	-132	-231	-163	306	-120	-105
-149	115	1000	-239	288	-45	-173	88	-71	310	-92
-428	364	-239	1000	177	-92	-38	178	208	-158	-176
-390	365	288	177	1000	-267	96	156	448	-99	-256
-72	-132	-45	-92	-267	1000	-29	-166	-110	68	171
73	-231	-173	-38	96	-29	1000	32	177	203	-43
-395	-163	88	178	156	-166	32	1000	151	-227	-421
-438	306	-71	208	448	-110	177	151	1000	-162	-4
257	-120	310	-158	-99	68	203	-227	-162	1000	414
273	-105	-92	-176	-256	171	-43	-421	-4	414	1000



APPENDIX 2 - Statistical Methods

A - Group Proportions and Location Quotients

The first measure used to describe the spatial distributions of ethnic groups is the percentage of a group's total population found within a particular census division. These percentages, found in Table V-1 were calculated as follows:

$$\begin{array}{r}
 \text{Percentage of French} \quad \text{French Population in Toronto} \\
 \text{in Toronto} \quad \quad \quad \text{French Population in Ontario} \\
 \\
 9.75 \quad = \frac{71885}{737360} * 100
 \end{array}$$

In Chapter VI the location quotient is used to compare the percentage of an ethnic group within a particular census division to the percentage of the total provincial population in that census division. The values mapped in Figures V-1 to V-8 were calculated as follows:

$$\begin{array}{r}
 \text{French Population in Toronto} \\
 \hline
 \text{Location Quotient} \quad \text{Total Population in Toronto} \\
 \text{of} \quad = \hline
 \text{French in Toronto} \quad \text{French Population in Province} \\
 \hline
 \text{Total Population in Province}
 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r}
 71885 \\
 \hline
 2086020 \\
 \hline
 .36 = \hline
 737360 \\
 \hline
 7703105
 \end{array}$$

**B - Centographic Method**

The centographic method used in Chapter VI provides a summary measure of the distribution of groups across the 54 census divisions in Ontario. Most applications of this technique have been at a urban scale of which there are several detailed descriptions [ Hecht, 1972;

Jones, 1980]. In general the centrographic technique uses several statistical measures to describe the characteristics of a pattern of points in terms of their relative location, dispersion, and orientation. In this study points were assigned to the 54 counties in Ontario corresponding to the major population centres in those counties. Each of these points was assigned x and y values derived from a co-ordinate system superimposed on a scale map of Ontario (see Figure A-2). In the centrographic analysis of an ethnic category each of the 54 points were given weighted values equal to the group's population in each of the 54 counties. The distribution of a group's population across the 54 points was then summarized with several statistical measures that make up the standard deviational ellipse. These statistics were calculated on the computer using equations slightly modified from Ebdon [1977:106-119].

The location of each ethnic category is represented by the weighted mean centre of the population among the 54 points. The co-ordinates of the weighted mean centre are given by:

$$\bar{x}_w = \frac{\sum_{n=1}^{54} x \cdot w}{n}$$

$$\bar{y}_w = \frac{\sum_{n=1}^{54} y \cdot w}{n}$$

where x and y are the co-ordinates of the points, w denotes the population weighting assigned to each point, and  $\bar{x}_w$ ,  $\bar{y}_w$ , the weighted mean centre co-ordinates.

The dispersion and orientation of a group's population around the mean centre can be shown graphically with the standard deviational ellipse. The calculation of this ellipse involves four steps:

1 - Transposing the x and y co-ordinate system so that the origin (x=0, y=0) is moved to the weighted mean centre.

2 - Rotation of the x and y axis to best fit the distribution of weighted point values using the following equation:

$$\tan 2\theta = 2\sigma_x \cdot \sigma_y / \sigma_x^2 - \sigma_y^2$$

3 - Calculation of the standard deviation of weighted point values along the x-axis using the following equation:

$$\sigma_x = \sqrt{\frac{\Sigma(x^1 \cos\theta - y^1 \sin\theta)^2}{n}}$$

4 - Calculation of the standard deviation of weighted point values along the y-axis using the following equation:

$$\sigma_y = \sqrt{\frac{\Sigma(x^1 \sin\theta + y^1 \cos\theta)^2}{n}}$$

The distributions of the eight ethnic categories can be compared using these four statistics alone. However, in this study these statistics were used to draw standard deviational ellipses on the original scale map of Ontario enabling a graphic comparison of different group distributions.

C - Inferential Statistics

The t-test is used in Table VII-1 to signify if there is a difference between the spatial means of the British majority ( $\mu_1$ ) and each the ethnic minority groups ( $\mu_2$ ). The null hypothesis for this test is that the means of the two samples are drawn from the same populations.

$$H_0 : \mu_1 = \mu_2$$

and the alternate hypothesis is that the two means are different;

$$H_1 : \mu_1 \neq \mu_2$$

The t statistics were calculated by computer using the T-Test subprogram of SPSS (Nie, 1975:267-275]. This program enabled a comparison of means while accounting for the unequal variance between British and minority groups. The equation for determining t is:

$$t = \frac{(\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2) - (\mu_1 - \mu_2)}{\sqrt{s_1^2 / n_1 + s_2^2 / n_2}}$$

where  $\bar{x}_1$  and  $\bar{x}_2$  are the means of the two samples,  $n_1$  and  $n_2$  are the size of the two samples, and  $s_1^2$  and  $s_2^2$  are the variances of the samples.

The equality/inequality of variance between British and minority groups was also determined by the same T-Test subprogram using an F test of variance. F is computed as the ratio between the variance ( $s_1^2$ ) of the larger sample to the variance of the smaller sample ( $s_2^2$ ):

$$F = \frac{\text{larger } s^2}{\text{smaller } s^2}$$

In both these statistical tests of equality/inequality if the probability of F is less than or equal to 0.05, the null hypothesis is rejected, signifying a difference of mean or variance between the two samples.

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