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AN ANALYSIS OF THE SPATIAL AND ECONOMIC VARIATIONS  
OF ETHNIC GROUPS, ONTARIO

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THESIS  
SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR THE MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE  
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1986

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## ABSTRACT

This study is concerned with six ethnic groups in the province of Ontario: the British, considered the "core group", and the French, Italian, Indo-Chinese, Indo-Pakistani and Caribbean, the "peripheral groups".

The principal interest of the research has been to study the ethnic mosaic in two ways, both in a core-periphery context. It was hypothesised that there has been persistence of socio-economic stratification between the British core and the peripheral groups. This thesis analyzes variation in the occupation-income between and within the ethnic immigrant groups.

The secondary objective is to examine these groups spatially, that is, in terms of a southern core and a northern periphery. Ten municipalities represent the core: Ottawa-Carleton, Durham, York, Toronto, Peel, Hamilton-Wentworth, Niagara, Haldimand-Norfolk, Essex and Middlesex. Ten counties represent the northern periphery: Algoma, Cochrane, Glengarry, Prescott, Russell, Lennox and Addington, Hastings, Timiskaming, Rainy River and Kenora. The data used in this study are from Statistics Canada, Special Computer Runs of the 1981 and 1971 censuses.

The research found that the vertical mosaic continues to exist much as it did in the late nineteenth century. Ethnic job segregation has prevailed; however, in certain occupations the persistence of the core-periphery structure is less significant, reflecting integration and assimilation to a certain extent.

Spatially, a core-periphery structure is even more evident now than earlier. The southern core of Ontario is the first choice of most recent immigrants. The diverse economic base of the south attracts more immigrants than the peripheral north, particularly those immigrants arriving in Canada after the Second World War who possess higher education and skills than earlier immigrants.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

In Western countries the study of ethnic relations has become an integral part of social stratification research. Ethnic stratification involves the examination of inequalities between ethnic groups, leading to differences in occupational status, in access to power structure and in prestige. There was a phase when the study of ethnic relations was considered relevant only to the Third World societies where caste systems prevail. It was, however, soon realized that the issue was an integral part of research concerned with Western societies as well (Curtis, 1973).

In this chapter, in section 1.1. an introduction to the overall Canadian immigration situation is presented. This is followed by research background (section 1.2) where an overview of the immigration policy and the basic concerns are projected. In the next section (1.3), the concept of core-periphery is introduced, and the extent to which it can be related to the present thesis is discussed. In the section entitled Objectives (1.4), the major objectives of the present thesis are put forward. Finally, in Organisation and

Methodology (1.5), the overall structure of the thesis and the methods adopted are explained.

### 1.1. GENERAL CONCERN.

Canada has depended on immigrants for its population and supply of labour force, and all Canadians with the exception of native Indians and Inuits are immigrants or the descendants of immigrants. Immigration policies and patterns, reflect the country's strategy of nation building. As a result, ethnicity is interwoven into the Canadian class system; some groups have good opportunities while others are kept at the bottom of the "opportunity structure" (Clement, 1985). The later immigrants coming from different cultures have had to fit into the established socio-economic structure. Although historically the primary motive was to give preference to immigrants from European countries, since the 1960's a large number of immigrants have been attracted from other socio-cultural background were allowed to immigrate and thus the notion of multiculturalism was developed. In spite of the policies of the Government, to give full participation for different ethnic groups, it remains an ideal rather than a reality (Krauter & Davis, 1978 & Richmond 1978 & 1981).

The historic main sources of immigrants to Canada have been Britain, followed by other countries, such as France, Poland, Germany, Greece and Italy. The immigrants from these countries, though they differ from the charter group, the British, in respect of cultural traits still possess a certain degree of similarity. More recently, there has been a gradual change in the sources of immigrants with fewer from the European countries and more from the developing countries. Immigrants with a markedly different socio-economic background take a long time to integrate into the existing framework of the country (Hecht, 1985).

The present study aims to look afresh at some of the main theoretical "strains" in the area of ethnic relations and to identify some of the basic issues and concerns. Also, an emphasis will be focused on the persistence of "stratification" both socio-economically and spatially. Socio-economic conditions of ethnic immigrants will be compared to the charter group. Just as differential representation of ethnic groups may be expected to take place in the economic sphere, so something similar may be expected to occur spatially. When the immigrants arrive they tend to settle in the peripheral areas of the principal core. Later a

a redistribution of their settlements, through the process of assimilation, becomes evident. Much the same is true in the economic structure. Most of the ethnic immigrants seek employment in the peripheral occupations but with the passage of time tend to achieve upward mobility. The aim of the thesis will be to identify the factors that come into play in determining the over- and under-representation of each ethnic group in different occupations in comparison with the core ethnic group. Also, the differences in the economic, social and cultural points of view existing between the core and peripheral areas of Ontario will be examined to account for spatial variation of ethnic groups in the province.

The data used for the present study are obtained from Statistics Canada: Special Computer Runs of the 1981 and 1971 Censuses. The data provide the information for Ontario and the fifty three census divisions, permitting analysis of the spatial and socio-economic variations among ethnic groups. The income of five ethnic groups (French, Italian, Indo-Pakistani, Indo-Chinese and Caribbean) is compared with the income of the British or core ethnic group. The choice of Ontario for the present study is made because of the availability of data.

Ethnicity has been defined from a variety of perspectives, and many attempts have been made to systematise these diverse perspectives. In Canada a collective agreement appears to have been reached, and ethnicity can be defined in terms of either objective or subjective criteria or a combination of both. Isajiw (1985) identified a few distinct ethnic criteria such as a common national or geographic origin or common ancestors, common customs or cultures, common religion, race, language, consciousness of kind, values and separate institution. In his definition, Isajiw (1985) defines ethnicity in terms of a "group or category of persons who have a common ancestral origin and the same cultural traits, who have a sense of peoplehood and 'Gemeinschaft' type of relations, who are of immigrant background and have either minority or majority status within a large society".

Anderson and Frideres (1981) are of the opinion that membership in an ethnic group is based on ethnic origin, mother tongue, ethnic oriented religion and folkways, i.e., the practice of certain customs unique to the group. Whatever the definition may be, it is clear that it is a combination of a variety of factors and each group exhibits different attributes.

In the modern world, language is a major element that differentiates ethnic groups and also helps to retain ethnic boundaries and identity. Liberson (1970) is of the opinion that language is a major deterrent to complete assimilation when two groups with different languages come together. Thus complete assimilation is difficult if groups maintain their native language.

According to Richmond (1984), the rise of ethnic nationalism in the last decades is associated with the emergence of the supranational state and a post industrial global economy. The gradual development of the transportation system has facilitated the movement of people to countries with different cultures and social structures. The differences in the distribution of wealth and population encourage migration from the less developed to the advanced countries. Thus migration tends to be responsive to the economic and social conditions of the home and host nations.

## 1.2. RESEARCH BACKGROUND.

The sources of population growth in a country are two: (i) natural increase - the excess of birth rate over deaths and (ii) net immigration - the excess of immigrants over emigrants. Since the late 1950's there

has been a pronounced decline in the birth rate, and as a result the country has again promoted immigration to achieve a balanced population size and pace of growth. However, it is not that the country encouraged immigration at the mentioned period only; rather, Canada is a product of immigration. Originally settled by the French followed by the British, the character of the population was thereafter established as the immigrants settled in the 19th and early decades of the 20th century. In other words, immigration has made a great contribution towards the country's economic, social and cultural aspects.

Currently, immigration data show considerable variation in the Canada's attractiveness to immigrants of different ethnic, cultural and economic backgrounds. According to Immigration Statistics, 1983 (Employment and Immigration Canada), there has been a shift in the pattern of immigration and with this changes there has been a growing concentration of ethnic groups of Asiatic origin (41.4%) compared to the original groups of British, French and other Europeans (27.3 %). In addition, it can be said that Canada provides a bright picture for the former group with respect to employment and other aspects while for the latter groups the positive factors are weakened in face of the rising



unemployment and less job security (Muszynski and Reitz, 1982). The migration (international) is typically from countries with low incomes to those with higher incomes.

As immigrants enter Canada, they are confronted with regional, linguistic and cultural differences which largely influence their distribution. The Atlantic provinces with their weak economic condition as well as their peripheral location with respect to the other provinces are less attractive to the newly arrived, as is Quebec with its linguistic difference. The inevitable result is that more than half of the immigrants tend to settle in southern Ontario. Canada is one of the most urbanised countries of the world, with 75.73 percent of the population living in urban areas (1981), and metropolitan cities are the destinations not only of the Canadians but also the immigrants. In recent years, Toronto and other metropolitan areas have been attracting immigrants because of jobs, cultural and recreational facilities, welfare organisations, etc. (Richmond, 1974). The metropolitan areas of southern Ontario may be described as the heartlands or core with bright economic prospects compared to the peripheral north which offers few economic opportunities to the ethnic groups other than the charter group. This has

been the case for a long. The representatives of the area to be taken into account in the study are Durham, Haldimand, Hamilton, Niagara, Ottawa-Carleton, York, Peel, Toronto, Essex and Middlesex. The peripheral counties selected for the present study are Algoma, Cochrane, Glengarry, Hastings, Kenora, Lennox and Addington, Prescott, Rainy River, Russell and Timiskaming. The majority of the core counties being adjacent to Toronto are the most obvious choice of the post-World War II immigrants. The three regional municipalities of Essex, Niagara and Ottawa-Carleton were selected to find how far the British group maintain their core position even in the areas of high French concentration. With respect to the selection of the peripheral counties the aim is to investigate the extent to which the British form the core group, in the selected northern counties where the French immigrants are concentrated.

The economic impacts of immigration on a country's labour force are numerous. In the first instance, as the supply of labour rises it exerts pressure on society to provide jobs for the workers. Then with the increase in numbers of workers in a society like that of Canada where mechanization is high there is expected to

be an eventual decrease in the capital to labour ratio. Therefore the Government of Canada in its policies has given priority to immigrants with some financial capabilities for investments in order to increase the capital stocks in the country. Again, as the country lacks professional and skilled labourers, by inclusion of immigrants Canada gains human capital. A possible consequence of immigration is a fall in the price of labour. In this context it may be noted that because labour differs in education and skills, there may be differences in its price. Wages differ amongst workers of British and of the other ethnic groups. Often the latter may not receive complete recognition of their qualification or may be unfamiliar with the prevalent working conditions or may experience difficulties in understanding the language; such difficulties may persist even after several generations.

In the post war years Canada has benefited significantly from the immigration of professional and skilled manpower. There have been proportionally more workers possessing adequate skills amongst the post war immigrants than amongst the Canadian born. In other words, as the country did not encourage any criteria for selection of immigrants in the pre-war days, one finds

that most of the non-British ethnic groups are in peripheral occupations. However, with the implementation of the point system since 1965, more than half of the post war immigrants, have a higher education level than the native Canadians and this substantiates their well-representation in the labour force as against a third of all Canadian born ethnic groups. The immigrants of this period, according to Hecht (1985), are well represented in professions like engineering, architecture, physical and occupation therapy, surgery, economics, and others. There was substantial rise in the labour force of skilled occupations. Yet of the total labour force during this period, about 50% of professional workers were of British origin. Thus there is little doubt in saying that British represents the core group in the white-collar jobs (Hecht, 1985).

Furthermore, the majority of ethnic groups, upon their arrival, face an occupational status dislocation, which may be defined as any change of social position, resulting from migration, either advantageous or disadvantageous, i.e., upward or downward mobilities in the occupational profile (Richmond, 1974). This is reflected in the subsequent second and third generations of these immigrants. There appears to be marked differences between skilled and unskilled immigrants

arriving from the United Kingdom and from other countries in respect to skilled and unskilled employment. Non-British immigrants usually face an initial downward mobility upon arrival in Canada. However, a study by Reitz, Calzara and Dasko (1981) reveals that Asians, even though they start at the lower end of the occupation scale when they first arrive in Canada as immigrants, in the course of time upgrade their education and job qualifications enough to recover from the initial drop. This adjustment process may in fact explain why one encounters a fair number of Asians in the professional occupations.

### 1.3. THEORETICAL CONSIDERATION.

The present study examines the application of a core-periphery model in analysing the spatial distribution of ethnic groups in Ontario. This model has been used frequently to explain the uneven economic growth persisting in the international to regional levels. Canada has marked differences among regions in respect to economic development, and in the literature, these are referred to as the heartlands and hinterlands. The heartland-hinterland model helps to explain the migration of people from one region to another, of goods and services, of capital investment

and of technology. The hinterland is in a disadvantageous position with respect to capital or technical know-how, standard of living, etc. (McCann, 1982). Thus the periphery is dependent on the core for its requirements.

Myrdal (1957) was of the opinion that core regions of the economy are "self-reinforcing magnets of progress". He suggested that at the initial stage of development there are increasing economic inequalities and the peripheral areas witness outflow of resources. Hirschmann (1958) based his model of economic development on the same theme and according to him polarizing effects are inevitable in the early stages of economic development leading to differences between core and periphery (de Souza & Foust, 1979).

The core-periphery model proposed by Friedmann (1973) refers to core regions as areas located within a nested hierarchy of spatial systems which may be the world at one extreme and an urban field at the micro level. The existence of inequalities is related to the authority/dependency concept whereby the innovative capacity of the cores enables them to exercise control over the peripheries. As a result of higher innovative capacity, the core regions tend to be urbanised and they

induce labour in migrations. Having economic control, the core areas are characterised by higher standards of living, increasing importance of tertiary and quaternary activities, provision of higher education and professional services. On the other hand the peripheries are systems with an underdeveloped economy: presence of primary activities, low population density, lack of adequate services and infra structure; they have a profound dependence on the cores. Owing to differential access to power the core has the elites: the entrepreneurs, intellectuals, politicians and bureaucrats, who play a major role in the economy. The periphery, on the contrary, has its labour force employed in low income jobs and there is a significant dependence on the cores (Hecht, Wesol & Sharpe, 1982).

The core-periphery concept is applied in the present study to analyse the spatial distribution of ethnic groups and the socio-economic structure between them. If one looks at the distribution of second and third generation immigrants in Canada, the core-periphery structure can be recognized in their high concentration in Ontario. At the regional level the core is represented by metropolitan areas which absorb the ethnic groups other than the British and French. Again, at the micro level the urban-industrial centres of

southern Ontario are more important than those in the northern or eastern parts of the province. As a result of differential access to employment opportunities these areas have higher concentration of the non-charter ethnic groups. In addition, most of the post-war immigrants being well educated on arrival in Canada prefer to settle in metropolitan cities. The core dominates the vital decisions of populations in areas external to itself. Therefore, within the spatial system there is more than one core and the low-order cores are peripheral to the dominant core, e.g., Toronto is the dominant core among some of the metropolitan areas of Ontario.

When the core-periphery model is superimposed on the socio-economic structure it is apparent that the inequalities between ethnic groups are due to different occupational structures. In the present study the British is considered the core group, with high wages, representation in specialized occupations (e.g. administrative, managerial, natural and social sciences, etc.) and with a major status in the society. On the other hand, the other ethnic groups are characterised by low wages, high unemployment, low representation in high status jobs and little opportunities to initiate change. The core group in the society has a greater power to



generate and absorb innovative changes (Pletsch, 1982; Hecht, Sharpe and Wong, 1983).

The present research aims to describe more specifically: (i) the relative spatial distribution of the main and minor ethnic groups over time and how it reveals the core-periphery features, (ii) the same features may be observed while attempting to reflect the occupation structure and income variation and (iii) as the process of integration begins some peripheral groups are represented amongst the core activities and thereafter follows the spatial integration.

Hence, it can be said that members of ethnic minorities with low occupation status are compelled to face discrimination when they seek employment on account of education, language and the period of immigration. Associating the available data with the core - periphery model the following hypothesis can be made: (i) in spatial terms, Ontario is the core province of Canada within which Toronto is the metropolitan area representing the high order core while Essex, Haldimand and others are the low order cores with relatively less degree of concentration due to lack of economic, cultural, recreational facilities and linguistic problems as in Ottawa and (ii) the low economic status

of the minority group is due to their low representation in the high income occupations and as a result British represent the core group with high income due to the advantages of education, language and technical skills (Appendix 1).

#### 1.4. OBJECTIVES:

The major objective of this study is to analyse the degree of variation among ethnic groups, in economic and occupational structure which can be described by "the core periphery model". The disparities may be due to a number of factors : language, education, period of immigration and others. Spatial and economic dissimilarities may be inquired into over time (1971 & 1981) and the variables accounting for variations will be specifically looked at. The questions pertaining to the present study are: (1) what are the causes behind the spatial concentration of ethnic groups in Ontario and (ii) what factors lead to the differences in the socio-economic status of the major and minor ethnic groups and how can these be accounted for in a core-periphery perspective.

Canadian society is characterised by the presence

of a vertical mosaic. The objectives of this study will be to analyse the spatial distribution of ethnic groups in Ontario with emphasis on the increasing importance of the concentration of the ethnic cohorts in the areas of southern Ontario. Attempts will be made to explore these questions firstly, through the changes in ethnic population over time, the distribution resulting in segregation and gradual integration. Secondly, the idea is to assess the economic structure based on theoretical and empirical evidence.

#### 1.5. ORGANISATION AND METHODOLOGY.

There has been a number of research studies on ethnic inequalities and occupational stratification (Turrittin, 1972; Chandra, 1973; Reitz, 1981 & 1982). However, virtually no work has been published on spatial and economic variation between the selected ethnic groups in Ontario. The present study aims to analyze (with the help of the core-periphery concept) the spatial and economic disparities amongst ethnic groups. As Canada is a country of diverse ethnic groups an attempt will be made to trace the immigration policies of the country which appear to be much in accordance with the country's requirements.

To test the theoretical hypothesis the available data will be analysed on the basis of two questions (Section 1.4). The province of Ontario has been selected as it is, perhaps, the ideal representative of ethnic stratification prevalent in Canada. Furthermore, the six ethnic groups to be considered are British, French, Italian, Indo-Pakistani, Indo-Chinese and Caribbean as they reflect the vertical mosaic.

Moreover, with the core-periphery concept in mind an attempt will be made to see which factors come into play when the ethnic groups choose their respective destinations, and an attempt will be made to identify the causes and effects of economic disparities. In order to do so a difference of mean test will be performed to reveal the magnitude of the differences. To pursue these objectives the occupation structure is grouped into eleven classes:

1. Managerial, administrative and related occupations which refer to planning, organising, co-ordinating, directing, controlling, etc.

2. Occupations in Natural and Social Sciences and related fields: This group includes occupations related to research of the physical universe and living

organisms while the social workers are concerned with assistance to individual and groups confronted with problems.

3. Education, health services, religion have been classed in a group. The related occupations are concerned with teaching and research in universities and schools, etc.; related to medical care of humans and animals; and lastly those providing spiritual and moral guidance.

4. Occupations related to Arts and Recreations are concerned with Fine or Commercial Art, photography, music, dancing, performance on stage or broadcast.

5. Clerical, Sales and Service Occupations: This group refers to recording, transcribing and typing data, classifying and filing publications, paying and receiving money; selling commodities and services, conducting wholesale and retail business, protection against crime, fire, accidents, other emergencies, maintaining cleanliness, etc.

6. Primary Activities: Farming, fishing, mining and forestry are included in this category. The occupations are concerned with growing and harvesting crops,

providing agricultural services to farmers; harvesting fish and other aquatic life, breeding fish; exploitation of forest resources and conservation of the same; mining minerals and a host of other related occupations.

7. Occupations related to processing, machining and fabrication; refer to refining, mixing, compounding chemical treatment, etc; using machines and hand tools; fabricating, assembling and repairing which include final working, fitting and finishing of parts and assemblies to complete fabrication, installation and repair of finished products or equipments.

8. Construction: Occupations in this field are more concerned with erecting, repairing, maintaining buildings and works, eg., bridges, highways, towers, utility services, etc.

9. Transport equipment operating occupations refer to operations of aircraft, trains, ships, trucks and buses.

10. Material Handling, Crafts and Equipment operating occupations: This group includes occupation concerned with moving, lifting, loading and packaging of materials and products; operating equipments requiring particular

techniques, eg., operation of printing presses, printing machines, power stations, electronic and related equipments, etc.

11. Occupations not elsewhere classified refers to supervising and co-ordinating, inspecting, testing, grading and sampling and other elementary works.

Based on occupation structure and income the attempt will be to find the extent of variation between the British and the other groups in their representation in respective occupations and how this varies over space. The aim is to see how the different ethnic groups in Ontario vary in their economic status by comparing income of the five groups under consideration with that of the core group in the highest income category. An annual income of over \$ 21,670 is considered to be high income jobs in 1981 while in 1971 the high category selected for the study being \$ 10,000 to \$ 15,000 annually.

Finally, the study will encompass the following chapters: (I) introduction referring to the problems, theoretical background, organisation and methodology, (II) this section will examine the distributions of ethnic groups in Canada over time. The immigration

policies of Canada being at par with the country's requirements therefore a historical survey appears to be of prime necessity as the immigrant ethnic groups are the result of these policies, (III) This major section will attempt to examine and analyse the causes of distributions of ethnic groups in Ontario with special emphasis on the spatial differences between metropolitan areas, (IV) education, language and period of immigration being the principal components contributing to the spatial and economic variations between the core and peripheral groups a detailed correlation can be made between them in geographic and economic space, (V) A detailed inquiry regarding the variations in the occupational income structure will be performed. The differences of income between the British and the other five ethnic groups will be looked upon based on a difference of Mean Test, and (VI) Conclusion.



## CHAPTER II

### CANADIAN IMMIGRATION POLICIES AND THE RESULTING MOSAIC

Immigration has always been a major contributor to population growth in Canada. Even today the country still requires immigrants for further economic growth. Although initially settled by the French, since 1763 the country received an increasing number of immigrants from Britain. Presently, however, immigrants are arriving in Canada from the different parts of the world. Since the middle of the nineteenth century the Government has controlled immigration in accordance with the country's population requirements with the help of a complex set of immigration policies.

In the present chapter, the immigration policies of Canada and the resulting ethnic diversity are discussed. The first section gives an overview of the immigration policies of the country and in the following section (2.2), the destinations of the immigrants, as a consequence of the immigration policies, are discussed.

#### 2.1. CANADIAN IMMIGRATION POLICIES AND THE EFFECTS.

The earliest European settlement in Canada dates

back to 1608 when the French first settled in Quebec. Subsequent to 1763 the initial French settlements could not attract colonists and had to depend on biological growth for expansion. The conquest by the British in 1763 was therefore a critical turning point in their history. Immigrants from the British Isles after this date went mainly to Ontario or Upper Canada. Hostilities with the United States, like the war of 1812 to 1814, also restricted the influx of immigrants from America to Upper Canada, the result of which was the concentration of people with English, Scottish and Irish ethnic background (Beaujot & McQuillan, 1982).

A striking aspect of nineteenth century immigration to Upper Canada was a remarkable tendency to settle in the emerging cities as the economic conditions of the rural areas were not promising: a tendency prevalent even for today's immigrants. The town of York appeared as an obvious first choice while the others were Hamilton, Ottawa and Kingston (Careless, 1978).

Immigration in the overall growth of the Canadian population has been significant since the mid-nineteenth century. The period between 1901 and 1931 had especially high peaks only to be surpassed by some

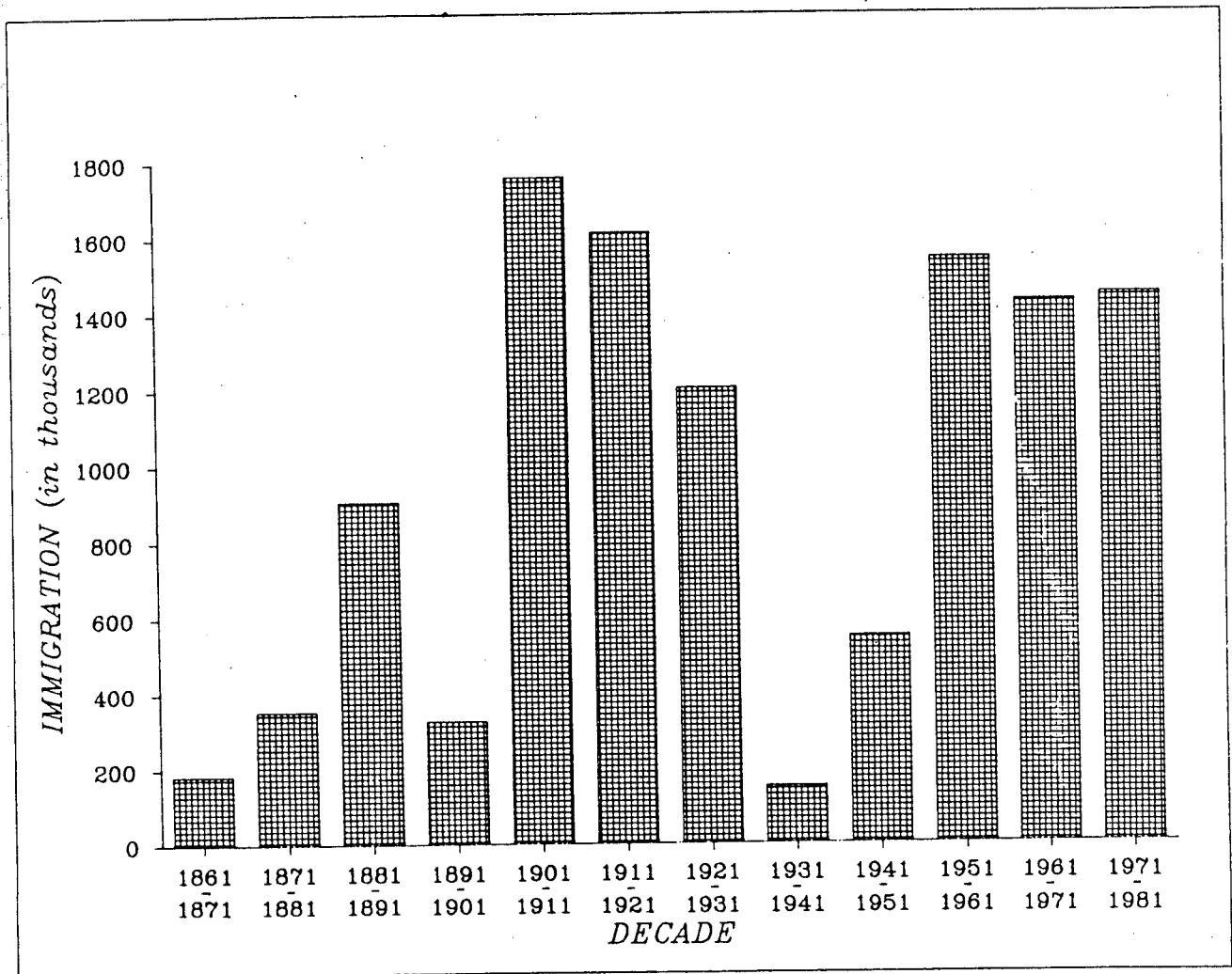
years following World War II (Figure 2.1). In the present chapter an attempt will be made to analyse the major immigration periods and their impact on the growing concentration of ethnic groups in Canada with distinct social, cultural and economic background. Two successive stages identified as (i) pre-World War II (1860 - 1945) and (ii) post-World War II (1946 - 1981) will be discussed here.

#### 2.1.1. Pre-World War II Period (1860 - 1945).

During this period, socio-economic conditions in Canada favoured immigrants. The potential of agricultural lands in the West and jobs in the mines in the north were major attractions. European countries supplied most of the immigrants during this period. Poor economic and political conditions also contributed to the increasing number of immigrants from Europe. For two decades following Confederation, the Federal Government had a non-interventionist immigration policy (Manpower & Immigration, 1974). This may also have contributed to the large inflow of immigrants. However, the attractiveness of the United States encouraged large Canadian emigration during the same time period. In a number of years, in fact, emigration exceeded immigration (Manpower & Immigration, 1974).

FIGURE 2.1.

IMMIGRATION TO CANADA 1871 - 1981



Source: IMMIGRATION STATISTICS, 1983.

The first Governmental restriction on the immigration on the Chinese occurred in 1885 when an entry fee of \$50 was imposed. No other non-White immigrant was subject to such a tax (Beaujot & McQuillan, 1982). As by far the majority of the immigrants were from the British Isles or the United States this fee had no major impact on the total flow of immigrants.

An important initial aim of the Federal Government's immigration policy was to settle the vast agricultural lands in the West and hence farm workers and farmers were encouraged to come to Canada. In spite of the desire to promote agricultural settlers the vast majority of the immigrants took up factory, mining and other non-agricultural jobs. Thus, the government undertook a policy to discourage the workers of the non-agricultural sector.

Though the Canadian Government had an initial policy of non-intervention towards immigrants there seems to have been a continued preference for immigration from the United Kingdom, France, United States and to a lesser extent from the other European and non-white countries. To dampen the inflow from the latter areas, further, immigrants of Japanese and

Asiatic origin had a landing fee of \$500 imposed on them in 1908. In most cases Oriental workers were also restricted to lumbering and mining occupations (Avery, 1979). Some restrictions were also imposed on the immigrants of southern (which also includes the Italians) and east European ethnic origin.

Immigration percentages for ethnic immigrants (Table 2.1) suggest the significance of Government policies on immigration. In 1911, for instance, there were decreases in the percentages of immigrants from north west Europe and southern Europe compared with 1901. In the case of the East Europeans the immigration decline from 20.62 percent to 12.00 percent while the corresponding figure for the north west Europeans stands at 6.11 percent and 3.65 percent respectively. Furthermore, the Italians who were a major south European immigrant ethnic group faced remarkable decline over the same period from 15.11 percent to 3.29 percent.

It would seem apparent that in the early period after Confederation, the Canadian Government policy was designed to encourage immigrants in primary occupations, and to have them settle in the rural areas. A Governmental core-periphery locational concept is certainly evident from the above. On the other hand the

TABLE 2.1.

## IMMIGRATION OF ETHNIC GROUPS TO CANADA (1901 - 1945).

	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1945
	(Percentage Distribution)					
BRITISH	37.90	67.39	65.39	59.36	70.58	81.15
FRENCH	1.15	0.98	0.53	10.66	8.48	5.70
ITALIAN	15.11	3.29	3.69	2.40	0.75	0.58
N.W. EUROPEANS	6.11	3.65	3.59	4.09	5.31	2.91
C. EUROPEANS	6.29	6.19	2.56	13.59	6.10	3.55
E. EUROPEANS	20.62	12.00	5.63	5.60	2.22	2.19
S. EUROPEANS	0.30	0.37	0.39	0.39	0.64	0.36
CHINESE & JAPANESE	0.04	3.36	4.73	0.63	0.04	
OTHER ASIAN	2.12	0.28	0.39	0.33	0.12	0.12
JEWISH	8.87	2.30	12.86	2.43	4.78	2.88
OTHER ORIGINS	1.43	0.13	0.16	0.48	0.06	0.51
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Urquhart and Buckley, 1965.

TABLE 2.5.

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES OF IMMIGRANTS  
(1946 - 1983).

OCCUPATION	1946-1950	1965	1970	1975	1980	1983
(Percentage Distribution)						
MANAGERIAL		2.30	4.00	7.07	4.80	5.20
PROFESSIONAL	4.40	22.40	28.80	10.99	7.89	7.39
CLERICAL	7.60	13.40	15.60	14.53	11.30	9.52
TRANSPORTATION		1.30	0.80	1.29	1.87	1.64
COMMUNICATIONS	3.20	0.40	0.30			
COMMERCIAL	5.50	3.40	3.30	4.05	3.88	4.03
FINANCIAL		0.20	0.60			
SERVICE	9.30	10.20	10.10	8.72	7.29	10.26
FARMERS	29.10	3.20	2.70	1.86	3.86	3.81
LOGGERS		0.20	0.10	0.17	0.06	0.05
FISHERMEN, HUNTERS & TRAPPERS	2.90			0.03	0.06	0.05
MINERS	2.50	0.30	0.40	0.21	0.11	0.12
CONSTRUCTION	7.00	8.90	7.70	7.25	4.57	4.18
MANUFACTURING & MECHANICAL	23.20	23.70	20.60			
ENTREPRENEURS					0.41	1.53
SOCIAL SCIENCES				1.32	0.78	1.06
RELIGION				0.50	0.66	1.32
TEACHING				3.21	2.97	3.26
MEDICAL & HEALTH				6.90	4.20	4.32
ART RELATED				1.46	1.74	1.81
SPORTS & RECREATION				0.14	0.18	0.23
PROCESSING				2.08	2.42	1.76
MACHINING				6.37	4.49	2.64
PRODUCT FABRICATION				14.70	16.28	9.79
MATERIAL HANDLING				0.85	0.70	0.65
OTHER CRAFTS & EQUIPMENT				0.60	0.69	0.51
LABOURERS	2.90	9.60	2.10			
NOT STATED	2.40	0.50	2.90	5.56	18.38	24.50

Source: IMMIGRATION STATISTICS, 1975, 1980 & 1983.



new emerging industrial entrepreneur needed the unskilled labourers in the factories in the core areas of Canada. As a result, a substantial number of unskilled immigrant labourers moved directly to the cities (Beaujot & McQuillan, 1982).

During the inter-war period, immigration was first restricted in the wake of the economic recession that the country faced following the first World War. The outbreak of World War I led to an increased absorption of the labour force in the United Kingdom, a favoured country of immigrants for Canada up to that time. Also, the post World War I recession resulted in an increased number of unemployed labourers in Canada. As a result immigration was not encouraged with the special emphasis on restriction on skilled and unskilled labour (Manpower & Immigration, 1974). However, an open door policy for agricultural workers and domestic servants continued to persist.

With the return of economic vigour in the 1920's restrictive immigration policies were discontinued. In fact, the Government entered into agreements with railroad companies for the recruitment, selection, transportation and establishment of potential agriculturists from abroad. As a result, in 1925 about

185,000 immigrants arrived in Canada with the help of the Railway Agreement (Avery, 1979). The Government even encouraged the immigration of Asian farmers, female domestic servants, wives and children of Canadian Asian residents. However, only Asians were subjected to a landing fee of \$250. This reflects Canada's continued preference for immigrants of European ethnic origin. When in the 1930s the country was once again hit by an economic recession, Asian immigration was again curtailed and only wives and children of Canadian Asian residents were allowed to come in. These are well demonstrated in Table 2.1 by the rise of Chinese and Japanese immigrants to 4.73 in 1921 from 3.36 percent in 1911. The other Asians received a marginal rise from 0.28 percent to 0.39 percent during the same period. But following the economic recession of the 1930's the former group underwent a substantial decline to 0.63 percent while the decline in the latter was by 0.06 percent.

Over the entire period (Table 2.1) the British continued to maintain a significant proportion of immigrants (37.91% in 1901 to 81.15% in 1945). The French contributed substantially, and the immigrants of French origin received an impetus in the 1930s when the Canadian government imposed a certain degree of

restriction on other groups. Amongst the central European communities the Germans were a major immigrant ethnic group while the other ethnic immigrants in this category are Austrian, Czechoslovakian and Swiss. Everyone in this group has contributed to increase the immigrant concentration over the period.

The present period, then, saw considerable fluctuation in Canada's immigration policies mainly in response to the economic conditions prevailing in the country. However, throughout the period the Government continued to attract workers for the primary sector. The principal consideration was that an increasing number of immigrants in the peripheral regions of Canada would eventually pave the way for the development of the secondary and tertiary activities. With time the primary labour force would also be integrated into the industrial and the tertiary sectors of the economy. But in spite of the fact that a fair number of immigrants of Chinese ethnic origin migrated to the country in the early part of the present century, only a few have now white collar jobs. According to Li (1979), for too long the Chinese were compelled to work in the mines and on the railways because they faced too many restrictions in their attempt to enter other jobs. On the other hand, immigrants of British ethnic origin bypassed the low

skilled job on entry into Canada and many went directly into white collar jobs.

#### 2.1.2. POST WORLD WAR II PERIOD (1946 - 1981).

During the 1946 - 1981 period, the policy of the Government varied and was one of "absorptive capacity" (Passaris, 1979). This was the era when the Government encouraged immigration particularly after 1965 based on education, skills and the ability to adapt to the prevailing socio-economic structure. The goals of the immigration programme has been one of recruiting and selecting manpower suitable as future citizens, admitting refugees and other special groups. As a result, there has been a significant change in the principal source of immigration from the traditional European countries to those of Third World nations. Prior to 1945 immigrants from Europe and the United States comprised 78.29 percent and 18.51 percent of the total immigrant ethnic groups but this declined to 29.69 percent and 7.87 percent respectively by 1978 to 1981 (Table 2.2). The increase of immigrants from Caribbean and Asian countries have added to the diversification and in the period between 1978 to 1981 the former contributed 22.88 percent while the South East Asian countries contributed 20.97 percent of the immigrants.

As stated, the policy of the Government was to have an immigration policy which was essentially pre-occupied with economic factors, viz., the employment conditions and the manpower demands for specific occupations. The Immigration Act of 1952 put a certain degree of restriction and promoted immigrants of certain ethnic groups, geographical areas or origins, customs or habits who would be in an advantageous position for absorption into the social, economic and cultural realm. As a consequence of the restrictive policy, immigration declined from 282,164 in 1957 to 71,689 in 1961. Also this period was characterised by a huge component of unskilled labour which was again largely responsible for the development of the unit assessment scheme for the selection of prospective immigrants.

Again, during this post-war period the country experienced an acute demand for skilled labour and professionals to upgrade the productivity of the country's labour force. Canada was in need of skilled manpower, i.e., doctors, teachers, social workers, skilled industrial workers, accountants, nurses, etc. The "point system" thus gave rise to discrimination on the basis of education and skills rather than race (Beaujot & McQuillan, 1982). The system provided greater control over the influx of immigrants and control was

TABLE 2.2.

## CHANGING IMMIGRATION PATTERN SINCE WORLD WAR II.

ORIGIN	Period Of Immigration						
	Before	1945	1955	1965	1970	1975	1978
	1945	to 1954	to 1964	to 1969	to 1974	to 1977	to 1981
(Percentage Distribution)							
EUROPE	78.3	92.5	85.8	66.8	41.2	34.1	29.7
U.S.A.	18.5	2.8	4.3	6.7	9.5	7.9	7.8
CENTRAL & SOUTH AMERICA	0.2	0.4	1.0	2.1	6.1	7.7	6.0
CARIBBEAN ISLANDS	0.3	0.5	1.6	6.0	10.8	10.0	6.5
S.E.ASIA		0.2	0.4	1.9	5.4	7.9	22.9
OTHER ASIA	1.5	2.3	4.2	11.3	19.4	23.5	20.9
AFRICA	0.2	0.2	1.6	3.4	5.3	6.3	4.2
OCEANIA	0.2	0.3	0.5	1.2	1.4	1.7	1.4
OTHER	0.7	0.6	0.4	0.6	0.7	0.8	0.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Source: HIGHLIGHTS: 1981 CENSUS OF CANADA (1984).							

imposed to gear the immigration more closely to the labour demand within the country. As a result, the unskilled labour which arrived from the Third World countries and south Europeans as sponsored relatives were partially replaced by those with education and skills above the average (Kalbach & McVey, 1979).

Hence it is apparent that the Immigration Regulations as set forward in 1967 were more directed towards immigrants from all race or class based on specific points. The point system had nine factors in terms of which the potential immigrants were evaluated. A fifth of the assessment was on the basis of education and skills capable of adapting to the technological changes and to increase the productivity of the labour. The other criteria were the demand for occupations existing within the country (Passaris, 1979). A consequence of the policy was an increase in the number of educated persons from Asian and African countries immigrating to Canada.

Also, this period was characterised by the increasing immigration of refugees from different parts of the world respective of the labour market demands. The immigration policies were relaxed and special funds were granted for the movement and subsequent

establishment of the refugees. As a result of this programme Canada admitted refugees from Czechoslovakia, South Africa, Uganda, Lebanon, El Salvador and others. An important aspect of this programme was that with the admission of the refugees the country did not receive the manpower for which the requirements existed. In many instances the immigrants possessed education or technical skill below the average and thus are represented in the peripheral occupations.

The Immigration Act of 1976 laid the objectives of non-discrimination, concern for refugees and promotion of the country's economic, social and cultural goals. The principle of the policy was to have a highly coordinated and planned immigration programme. With the domestic supply of educated and well-trained manpower increasing the Government is inclined more towards unskilled labourers in the remote areas (Richmond, 1978). Also, during this period family class immigrants, entrepreneurial and self-employed persons were encouraged. The entrepreneurs were given preference because by investing their capital help to promote the economic growth of the country. Again, the political prisoners were given priority leading to the immigrants of Asian and African ethnic group, such as those from Uruguay, Sri Lanka, Guatemala, etc.



Having reviewed the immigration policies of Canada during the post World War II era, the promotion of certain groups and retardation of others may now be explained. Table 2.2 illustrates the changing immigration pattern to Canada since 1945. The data demonstrate that after the implementation of the selection scheme the importance of the European countries and the United States as sources of immigrant ethnic groups began to decline. The significant fact demonstrated by Table 2.2 is that from 78.3 percent the immigrants from Europe declined to 66.8 percent between the period prior to 1945 and 1965 - 1969. This was followed by further reduction to 29.7 percent by 1978 - 1981. The same holds true in the case of the immigrants from the United States. However in this case the figures reflect a decline from 18.5 percent before 1945 to 7.8 percent in the last period. But there has been a slight increase since 1945.

The two ethnic immigrant groups that have benefitted most by the selective scheme are those from the Caribbean Islands and Asian countries. The figures in Table 2.2 clearly reflect the spurt in immigration of Caribbean immigrants from 6.00 percent in 1965 - 1969 to 10.00 percent in 1975 - 1977. In the case of the immigrants from South East Asia the change has been from

1.90 percent to 22.90 percent between 1965 to 1981. The other Asian countries demonstrate a similar change from 11.30 percent to 20.90 percent. This stupendous rise of the Asians may somewhat be attributed to high immigration of refugees.

When the immigrants from Central and South America are accounted for the increase from 2.10 percent during 1965 - 1969 to 6.00 percent by 1978 - 1981 may be attributed to the increasing number of refugees from El Salvador, Guatemala and also the educated immigrants from Guyana, Trinidad and others. Again, with respect to immigrants from African countries the rise in immigration may be attributed to the changing economic as well as political conditions in the respective home lands of these immigrants. The most obvious examples are Uganda, Kenya and South Africa.

Thus it is apparent that in spite of the fact that the country's immigration policies were directed towards the achievement of the economic requirements yet a number of the programmes have been more oriented towards humanitarian and social considerations. The absorptive policy has been true in the case of selection of some of the immigrants. While for the Caribbean or the Indo-Chinese who were granted immigration on

humanitarian grounds this is less so which is reflected in the over whelming concentration of these groups in the low paid jobs.

## 2.2. PRESENT ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION IN CANADA: AN OUTCOME OF ITS IMMIGRATION POLICY.

The preceding section has presented Canadian Immigration Policies through time and the resulting successive waves of immigrants to Canada. The destinations of the immigrants also changed with the passage of time. These changes were, to a great extent, the result of different economic advantage of different regions. The country being endowed with cod, fur, timber, wheat, minerals and fuel and the extensive exploitation of the resources, in different periods gave impetus to the immigrants to settle in particular regions. The Atlantic provinces were the choice of the early immigrants when fishing was an important activity. Later the fur trade attracted a number of new Canadians into the interior (Beaujot & McQuillan, 1982). Wheat was the staple that encouraged extensive settlement in the West.

With regard to the distribution of population by ethnic origin, the different provinces revealed marked

variations in 1981. It was also in 1981 that the Canadian census for the first time accepted more than one ethnic origin for an individual. This was brought about following the recognition of marital union between the groups of diverse ethnic origin. As the present study encompasses six ethnic groups these immigrants have been selected to reveal the differential concentration in the provinces of Canada. The British continued to maintain their position as single origin group in most of the provinces. In Table 2.3 the substantial portion of British ethnic immigrants is demonstrated in all the provinces with the exception of Quebec where they form 7.65 percent of the single response group. The British form the largest ethnic immigrants in New Foundland (92.00%) while the French in Quebec (80.20%) reflect the preponderance of these groups in the two provinces of Canada. The Prairie provinces have a lower proportion of British as single origin. In Manitoba, the British formed only 36.90 percent followed by 38.30 percent in Saskatchewan of the total single response ethnic groups. These areas are over represented by central European ethnic immigrants (Anderson and Frideries, 1981) where the wheat economy attracted the non-British farmers. Ontario was the province where the British settled initially but now it reflects a diverse ethnic representation. The British

TABLE 2.3.

## POPULATION BY SELECTED ETHNIC ORIGINS, CANADA (1981).

PROVINCE	SINGLE ORIGIN					MULTIPLE ORIGIN
	BRITISH	FRENCH	ITALIAN	INDO-CHINESE	INDO-PAKISTANI	
	(Percentage Distribution)					
NEWFOUNDLAND	92.00	2.72	0.07	0.01	0.09	2.89
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND	77.00	12.28	0.08	0.03	0.04	7.16
NOVA SCOTIA	72.40	8.49	0.38	0.04	0.11	8.64
NEW BRUNSWICK	53.54	36.40	0.16	0.07	0.08	5.79
QUEBEC	7.65	80.16	2.57	0.23	0.23	2.00
ONTARIO	52.60	7.65	5.71	0.15	0.70	9.17
MANITOBA	36.89	7.30	0.94	0.19	0.29	9.99
SASKATCHEWAN	38.27	4.90	0.28	0.19	0.11	10.78
ALBERTA	43.50	5.05	1.20	0.28	0.59	12.32
BRITISH COLUMBIA	51.00	3.40	1.94	0.16	1.08	11.08
YUKON	43.59	4.68	0.41	0.06	0.19	15.12
NORTH WEST TERRITORY	22.39	3.87	0.07	0.06	0.48	7.50

Source: CENSUS OF CANADA, 1981.

constitute 52.60 percent of single response ethnic immigrants in Ontario. Italian constitutes the highest concentration (5.71%) in Ontario amongst the Canadian provinces. The Indo-Pakistani ethnic immigrants constitute 1.08 percent as single response in British Columbia which has been the recipient since the early part of the present century.

Since the 1880s, apart from the British, the Dutch and Germans immigrated in large numbers to Canada. The destination of the immigrants differed in part according to the country of origin. While the British and the Germans were inclined to settle in Central Canada, the immigrants from the United States and other European countries headed towards the West in response to the emergence of the wheat economy and the availability of the vast expanses of land. The Government policy of immigrating farmers and farm workers was largely responsible for this. Between 1896 to 1914 of the 3 million immigrants who arrived in Canada, over a million settled in the West. According to Anderson & Frideries (1981), of the pre-1921 immigrants 33.3 percent concentrated in the Prairies and 34.2 percent in Ontario.

Table 2.4 concerns "intended destinations" of the

immigrants and reflects the changing preference of immigrants since World War II. Ontario has been the first preference followed by British Columbia, Quebec and Alberta. The majority of the immigrants of different ethnic origin on their arrival have settled in Ontario. The data reveal the increasing importance of the province since 1946 to 1975 during which the concentration of immigrants increased from 41.28 percent to 52.41 percent. The importance of Ontario is due to the fact that the country's industrial production is located here which is again largely dependent on the foreign capital invested by the United States entrepreneurs. The southern Ontario industrial belt extends from Windsor in the South through Toronto up to Montreal. It contains the "golden triangle" Kitchener - Toronto - Hamilton in which much of the resource processing from the peripheral areas of the provinces occurs. Because the manufacturing belt has demand for skilled and qualified labour and income is high, it attracts many incoming migrants. Also, since 1946 the immigration of skilled manpower in professional, managerial and manufacturing sectors continued to increase in this area.

A western province that has been the choice of increasing number of immigrants is British Columbia, in

TABLE 2.4.

IMMIGRATION BY PROVINCE OF INTENDED DESTINATION  
(1946 - 1983).

PROVINCE	1946	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1983
(Percentage Distribution)									
NFLD		0.3	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.6	0.3	0.3
P.E.I.	0.8	0.2	0.1	0.8	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
N.S.	6.4	1.6	1.7	1.2	1.0	1.3	1.3	1.1	0.9
N.B.	4.8	0.9	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.7	1.1	0.8	0.6
QUE	13.5	18.4	20.1	22.8	20.7	15.8	14.9	18.4	16.2
*****									
ONT	41.3	52.8	52.4	52.4	54.3	54.7	54.4	43.5	44.9
*****									
MAN	6.4	4.9	4.6	4.1	2.7	3.9	3.8	5.4	4.5
SASK	6.6	3.9	0.2	2.0	2.7	1.6	1.5	1.8	4.5
ALTA	8.0	8.7	7.1	6.6	5.5	7.0	8.6	13.2	12.0
B.C.	12.0	8.2	10.5	9.7	12.6	14.7	15.6	17.0	16.2
YUKON & N.W.T.				0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1

Source: IMMIGRATION STATISTICS, 1983.

NFLD = NEWFOUNDLAND, P.E.I. = PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND  
 N.S. = NOVA SCOTIA N.B. = NEW BRUNSWICK  
 QUE = QUEBEC ONT = ONTARIO  
 MAN = MANITOBA SASK = SASKATCHEWAN  
 ALTA = ALBERTA B.C. = BRITISH COLUMBIA  
 N.W.T. = NORTH WEST TERRITORY



the west where the corresponding figure increased from 12.01 percent at the end of World War II to 16.62 percent in 1983. Amongst the Prairie provinces, Alberta absorbed marked changes. The province was not considered very desirable by immigrants until 1975 when the oil economy increased its potential to absorb more manpower. Much of the increase from 7.04 percent in 1970 to 11.98 percent in 1983 may be attributed to the increased demand for skilled people in the oil related industries and in transportation and communication. The province of Quebec seems less of a choice for the immigrants. Firstly, the different language is a major hinderance followed by the severe economic recession that the province has been facing since the seventies.

Since 1950 the Atlantic provinces have been low on the preference list of immigrants in part because of its few employment possibilities. Manitoba and Saskatchewan have also undergone decline as the desired destination of immigrants. This is largely due to the decline of immigrant agricultural workers since 1941 (Table 2.5). Agricultural immigrants decline from 29.1 percent of total immigrants in 1946 - 1950 to 3.3 percent in 1973. The lower demand for agricultural workers since World War II has been due to the increasing trend for mechanization in agriculture. The

labour in agriculture declined from 40.3 percent in Alberta and Saskatchewan in 1901 to 28.6 percent in 1931 and to 3.81 percent in 1981 (Kalbach & McVey, 1979).

An added attraction of Central Canada and British Columbia to the newly arrived immigrants is the opportunity to settle in the urban areas. This has been true as the post war period has witnessed non-white immigrants who are highly urbanised. Kalbach and McVey (1979), have identified that Jewish followed by Asian and Italian ethnic groups are highly urbanised. The metropolitan areas are important as they employ the labour in educational, medical, welfare, manufacturing and other sectors. The metropolitan areas of Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal attract a major proportion of the immigrants (Clement, 1978).

Table 2.5 reflects the overwhelming importance of the tertiary and quaternary services and manufacturing since 1946. At this point an important fact needs mentioning. The occupation classification scheme is designed for use in the census of Canada. A quick look through Table 2.5 shows the major differences between the occupation categories before and after 1975. This may be explained by the fact that in 1971 the Occupation Classification Manual has revised the former

classification scheme in order to incorporate the changes in the occupation structure. This has again been brought about by the changing occupational composition of the labour force as the country passes through industrial and technological advancement.

In Canada, the development of industries and technological changes are more concentrated in southern Ontario. In the managerial occupation the rise has been from 2.30 percent in 1965 to 5.20 percent in 1983. In the professional and technical occupations the increase has been consistent till 1975 (10.99%) followed by a decline since 1980. This may be attributed to the economic recession which the country has faced since the late 1970's.

Some of the important sectors that have been revised since 1975 are social sciences, religion, teaching, medical and health, and occupations related to arts. Table 2.5 demonstrates the revised occupations as the destined occupation categories of the immigrants since 1975. The entrepreneur class is yet another important sector that has gained momentum since 1980. From a mere 0.41 percent in 1980 this class of immigrant has increased to 1.53 percent in 1983. The service sector has been the recipient of considerable

proportion of immigrants since 1946. This is especially true as Canada is presently to a great extent dependent on the service industries.

Moreover, an important factor to be taken into account is that since the turn of the century Ontario and British Columbia have been the destination of the non-white ethnic groups. As a result, in the subsequent years with increasing number of immigrants of Asian, Caribbean or African ethnic origin coming to Canada, who were sponsored, there was a tendency to settle in areas where the original immigrants of similar ethnic origin settled.

#### CONCLUSION.

From the above discussion it is apparent that immigration has contributed substantially towards Canada's population growth and its ethnic diversity. Different waves have developed different parts of the country, starting in the east and ending up in the west. A review of the immigration policies since Confederation revealed an early bias towards farmers as immigrants to settle vast expanse of land. Gradually the policy changed in favour of educated and skilled immigrants irrespective of their ethnic origin. However,

some of the recent policies are directed towards unskilled labour. The majority of whom prefer to settle in central Canada or British Columbia. Thus in spite of the Government's objective to have an immigration policy according to manpower requirements a large number of sponsored class of immigrants and refugees have immigrated who thwarted the efforts of the country.

The spatial distribution of the immigrants reflects the trend to settle according to the economic prospects of the provinces. With changes in the socio-economic structure of the provinces since 1946, there has been considerable variations in the choice of immigrants to settle, the most obvious example being Alberta. Again, due to the dynamic needs of the country from the economic view point.i.e., demand for manpower there has been changes in the occupation categories to which immigrants tend to seek employment. Thus the result of immigration has been to populate the vast territories and to sustain the expansion of the labour force.

## CHAPTER III

### SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF ETHNIC GROUPS IN ONTARIO

The spatial distribution of resources has played an important role in the distribution of immigrants in Ontario. The availability of employment opportunities in the primary, secondary or tertiary sectors of the economy influenced the need for immigrants and the subsequent concentration of the ethnic groups. Employment opportunities in Ontario over time have led to a growing concentration of different ethnic groups in Ontario, both from the Third World and from Europe. In the present chapter the focus will be on the spatial distribution of ethnic groups within the province of Ontario, with special emphasis on the following six ethnic groups: British, French, Italian, Indo-Chinese, Indo-Pakistani and Caribbean. Data for these ethnic groups are available from Special Computer Tabulations for the census years 1981 and 1971. However, for 1971 there are certain limitations, as information is restricted for the Indo-Chinese and Indo-Pakistani groups.

This chapter considers the distribution of immigrants as revealed on three maps of the province of

Ontario depicting 1981 data (Section 3.1). In the subsequent sub-sections (3.1.1. and 3.1.2), two time periods, before and after World War II, are discussed.

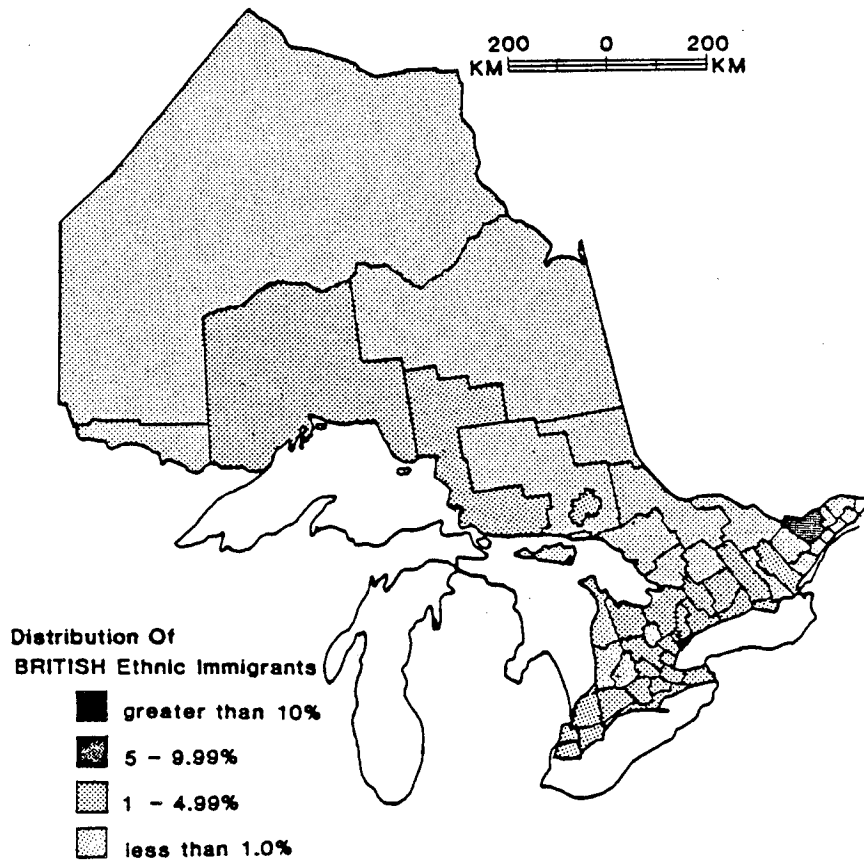
### 3.1. ETHNIC IMMIGRANT DESTINATION IN ONTARIO.

Recent immigrant groups upon their arrival in Ontario have tended to concentrate in the industrial centres of southern Ontario, in the heartland of the province. Possessing a higher capacity for generating changes and the greater innovative capacity, the core controls the periphery. In contrast, the peripheries or the hinterland depend on the former (Friedmann et al, 1970). Canada's heartland corresponds to the southern part of Ontario extending from Windsor to Ottawa in the east. Average income and employment prospects being high, the core attracts significant proportion of immigrants. As identified by Ray (1972) the heartland-hinterland disparity existing within the province is responsible for the striking differences in the economic advantages.

The concentrations of the British, French and immigrants of non-British and non-French origin designated as Others by the 1981 census of Canada in Ontario are shown in Figures 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3. The

FIGURE 3.1.

DISTRIBUTION OF BRITISH ETHNIC IMMIGRANTS  
IN ONTARIO, 1981.

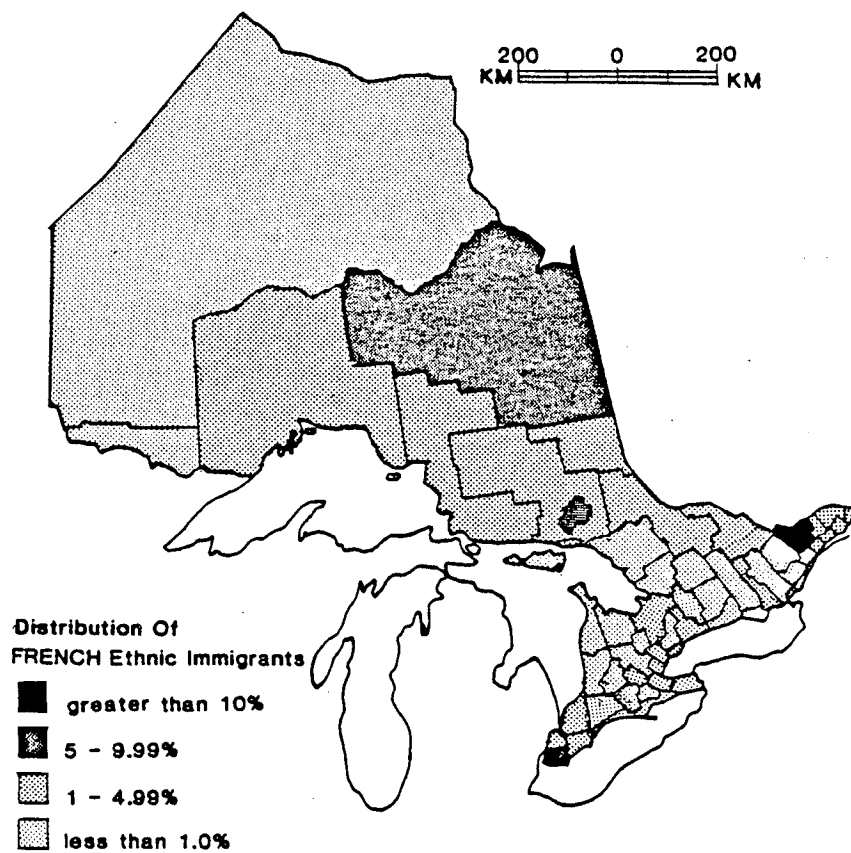


Source: CENSUS OF CANADA, 1981.



FIGURE 3.2.

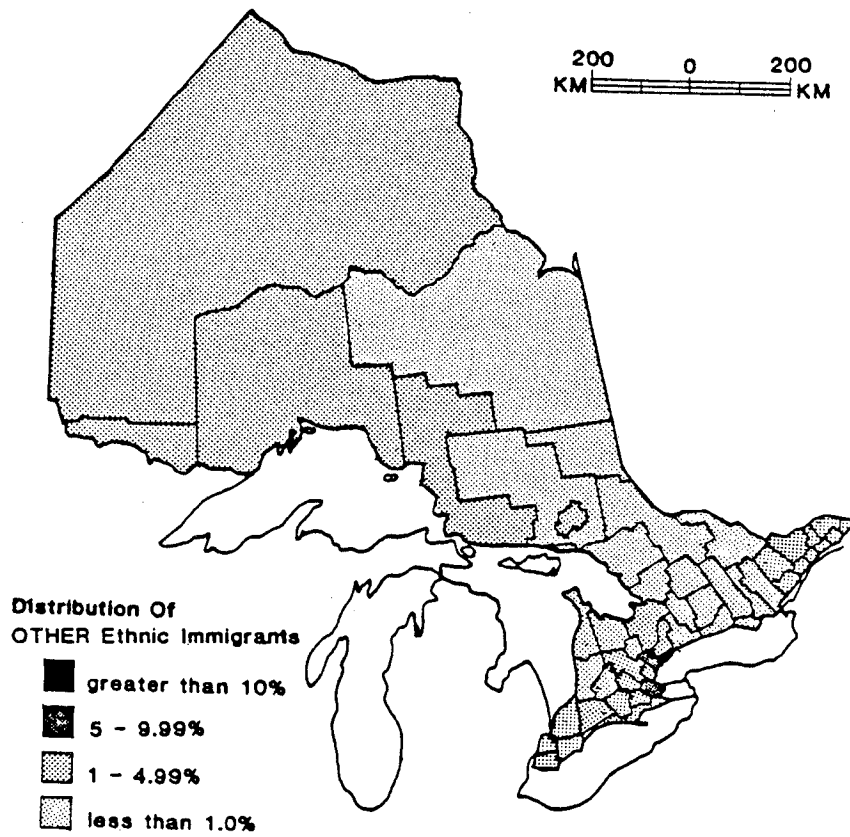
DISTRIBUTION OF FRENCH ETHNIC IMMIGRANTS  
IN ONTARIO, 1981.



Source: CENSUS OF CANADA, 1981.

FIGURE 3.3.

DISTRIBUTION OF OTHER ETHNIC IMMIGRANTS  
IN ONTARIO, 1981.



Source: CENSUS OF CANADA, 1981.

number of British immigrants in each county is expressed as a percentage of all British immigrants of single origin in Ontario. The same holds true in the case of the French and Other ethnic immigrants. The British concentration is high in the southern counties while the French ethnic immigrants have shown a strong inclination for settling in the northern and eastern counties. In contrast, the ethnic immigrants other than the British and French are strong in the industrial heartland of southern Ontario and in the east, Ottawa-Carleton owing to its economic potentials has become the important municipality for immigrant concentration. This is also true for the Thunder Bay and northern parts of the province, due to the presence of industries and mining.

Furthermore, there appears to exist major differences in the agricultural potentials between the south-western and eastern regions of Ontario. In the former the presence of industries leads to less importance for agriculture while in the east and the north the absence of major industry results in a primary-based economy. Coupled with the industrial development of southern Ontario has been the urban growth which again contributes to the increasing attraction to the post-war immigrants, particularly

those of Italian, Indo-Chinese, Indo-Pakistani and Caribbean ethnic origin.

A core-periphery relation can be observed between the ethnic groups, i.e., in aspatial terms which is very similar to the uneven economic development prevalent in Ontario and the spatial concentration of the ethnic groups. The core group, British, has a capacity for innovative changes and there exists a somewhat dominance/dependency relationship between the said group and the other peripheral groups. The latter are very much dependent on the former for possible integration and future assimilation within the economic, social and cultural realm. Thus, it is apparent that apart from the fact that the presence of employment opportunities has for long lured the distribution of the different ethnic groups the core group has played a vital role in the employment of the principal groups in respective occupations. In the following section two stages have been identified: (i) the pre-World War II immigration to Ontario and (ii) the post World War II immigration to Ontario.

#### 3.1.1. PRE WORLD WAR II IMMIGRATION TO ONTARIO.

During the 19th century immigration to Canada was

predominantly from the British Isles. The fact that Canada was a colony of Britain and that the socio-cultural life of Canada was similar to that of Britain were important factors. The increasing number of immigrants thought the prospects available in Canada were better than back home.

The availability of cheap agricultural land also attracted the Loyalists, following the American War of Independence, to settle along the shores of the Great Lakes (Careless, 1978). However, soon after the Government imposed restrictions on immigrants advancing from the south while immigrants from the British Isles were encouraged. The economy during that period was largely dependent on agriculture and the vast majority of the immigrants were farmers. Between 1825 and 1846 about 600,000 immigrants arrived in Ontario from the United Kingdom and the Americans were replaced by English, Scott and Irish immigrants (Careless, 1978).

According to Cowan (1968), between 1846 and 1859, labourers were the most numerous settlers in the country. Specifically farmers and labourers formed the majority followed by miners, shoemakers, tailors and domestic servants. In the subsequent years these were followed by professionals and experienced farmers.

Owing to the fact that the British were the first settlers, they became the "landowners and proprietors, ready to hire other new arrivals" (Cowan, 1968). The British, possessing the economic and political power, had control over which ethnic groups would be allowed to enter the country. Thus the autonomy/dependency relation is apparent since the 19th century.

Initially Upper Canada possessed an abundance of fertile land and the Government aimed to attract settlers not only to settle the country but also to develop a strong defence. With the gradual exhaustion of land available for cultivation in the south, the northern parts of Ontario experienced development as more and more people sought employment in the farms and forest based industries (Hecht, et al, 1983). The increasing deficiency of land in the south led to a rise in land prices and a number of small cities developed to support the landless labourers. The town of York's population from 1200 in 1820 witnessed a growth to be as high as 30,000 in 1851 (Careless, 1978). Other towns that developed during the period were Hamilton, Kingston and Ottawa. Thus by the end of the century the towns had an elite who were distinguished from the farming class and were constituted by the Government officials, merchants and army men (Burnet, 1972).

The population of Ontario in the mid-nineteenth century was comprised by the Americans who were of British ethnic origin. This group formed a quarter of the population while the the Scots, a fifth and the Scottish-Irish three eighths. The settlements were spread along the south to the north due to the availability of land, and in 1861 about 58 percent of the labour force was employed in farming and forestry (Careless, 1978). Other ethnic groups, such as the Germans settled along the Grand River Valley while the French settled in the eastern counties.

With the growing importance of manufacturing, after the mid 1850s along the shores of Lake Ontario, extending to the middle of the Grand River Valley, there was growth of population and manufacturing. The increasing pace of industrialisation was accompanied by the spatial concentration of manufacturing in the Golden Horse-Shoe area. By 1891 York, Wentworth, Waterloo and Brant counties had a strong base on the western end of Lake Ontario (Walker, 1974). With the consolidation of industries, southern Ontario became the emerging core with increasing manpower employed in the secondary sectors and the higher income generated greater demand for goods and services. Thus with the multiplier effect operating further employment was generated within the

core which gained population from the peripheries as well as the newly-arrived immigrants.

The development of the northern parts of Ontario began at a rapid pace when the agricultural lands of the south were unable to support landless labourers. This occurred as more and more submarginal or marginal lands were taken out of production in the industrial region (Gentilcore, 1972). The area south of Georgian Bay was settled primarily where free land was provided by the Government, as it did in the south for cultivation. The principal northern resources were timber and minerals. The development of these areas was further enhanced by the arrival of the railway (Gentilcore, 1972).

Unlike the settlements in the south, northern communities were frequently established by the French and other European immigrants (Hecht, et al, 1983). This was due largely to the saturation of the southern parts from the point of view of agricultural development and also to the Government's efforts to develop the north. The high concentration of the French in the north may be attributed to the close geographical relationship with the province of Quebec. In Quebec, as population increased there was migration to the adjoining northern



counties of Ontario. The northern parts of Ontario witnessed further development following World War I when the quest for land was high as the south along with the entire country was hit by economic depression. In the north the important census divisions that witnessed rapid development are characterised by high population of French ethnic group are Algoma, Cochrane, Kenora, Manitoulin, Muskoka, Nipissing and Sudbury while in the east the important French inhabited counties are Lanark, Leeds, Ottawa-Carleton, Prescott, Dundas and others (Maxwell, 1979).

#### 3.1.2. POST WORLD WAR II IMMIGRATION TO ONTARIO.

The period after 1945 was characterised by rapid economic expansion and increased immigration to Canada from Third World countries. The increase of Third World immigrants had a tremendous impact on the province of Ontario. Persons of Caribbean, Chinese and Indo-Pakistani ethnic origin were inclined to settle in the core areas of southern Ontario. The majority of the post-World War II immigrants had higher education levels and better skills than the pre-World War II immigrants, and employment prospects in southern Ontario were better than in the north. Also, these immigrants came from urbanised areas. The northern regions of the

provinces with their lower urban population consequently were less attractive to the immigrants (Marshall, 1972). The sponsored class of immigrants of Asian, Italian or Caribbean ethnic groups showed a tendency to settle close to those of the same ethnic origin or relatives. Thus, one encounters the increasing numbers of these immigrants in southern Ontario. This trend, as identified by Harris and Warkentin (1974), was also prevalent amongst the early British immigrants to Ontario.

In spite of the fact that Ontario is considered a core region within Canada, in the province the northern parts are characterised by primary occupations and unemployment. Therefore as the immigrants arrived in search of better prospects in a new country few tended to settle in the north. Amongst the pre-World War II immigrants, those of British ethnic origin have undergone the process of assimilation and presently are well represented in the high-income core occupations.

It is apparent that the destination of the ethnic immigrants is largely determined by the occupation structure of an area. The pre-World War II period reflects the concentration of the European ethnic groups in the primary occupations with marginal concentration

of the Third World immigrants. Since World War II the economic structure of Canada has changed to a great extent and this is reflected in the occupation structure. Therefore the principal aim of this section is to portray the extent to which the British have continued to maintain their superior status over the French and the Italians in the occupations even in the post-World War II period. As this recent period is characterised by increasing numbers of Third World immigrants, the degree to which the Indo-Pakistani, Indo-Chinese and Caribbean groups differ from the French and Italians who comprise the five peripheral groups will be assessed. In spite of the fact that the French and Italians settled in Ontario since the 19th century, there does not appear to exist considerable variation between these two ethnic groups and the other three peripheral ethnic immigrant (Third World) groups when compared with the core group, the British. In fact, in some occupations the Indo-Pakistani group appears to be in a better position than the French or the Italians.

Table 3.1 summarises the representation of six ethnic groups in eleven different occupations in Ontario, in 1971 and in 1981 (thus, in 1981 for instance, in the managerial occupation the British comprise 10.18 percent of the total British labour in

all occupations). In the managerial occupation the strong British representation (10.18 %) is followed by the Indo-Pakistani (9.23%) ethnic group. The latter having high education obviously tend to concentrate in the heartlands of the south. This is further supported by the fact that the same group has the highest percentage of manpower represented in the natural and social sciences (10.00%).

The high percentage of Indo-Pakistani labour in the managerial and scientific fields suggest that apart from the fact that the post-War immigrants possess higher skill the second generation immigrants also have higher levels of education and have eventually undergone upward mobility (Reitz et. al., 1981). In the occupation category of education, health services and religion, it is clear that the Caribbean immigrants (12.48%) and Indo-Pakistani (8.78%) are over represented- that is, relative to the British group, which in this sector is 8.8 percent. This over representation may be attributed to the fact that they tend to concentrate in medical occupations at various levels (Richmond, 1981). In the clerical, sales and service occupations the six ethnic groups are more or less represented in a uniform pattern because this, being an expanding sector of the economy, employs a

TABLE 3.1.

PERSONS ENGAGED IN DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONS IN ONTARIO.  
(EXPRESSED IN PERCENT)

OCCUPATION	YEAR	BRITISH	FRENCH	ITALIAN	IN-CH	IN-PA	CARIBBEAN
MANAGERIAL	1981	10.18	7.08	5.68	1.62	9.23	5.14
	1971	5.46	3.13	1.59			1.80
NATURAL & SOCIAL SCIENCES	1981	5.35	3.65	2.57	4.60	10.00	3.80
	1971	4.42	2.50	1.44			4.26
EDUCATION, HEALTH & RELIGION	1981	8.88	8.01	4.17	4.60	8.78	12.48
	1971	8.90	7.27	2.64			19.02
ARTS & RECREATION	1981	1.63	1.41	0.86	0.77	0.86	0.88
	1971	1.11	0.78	0.58			
CLERICAL, SALES & SERVICE	1981	41.70	40.86	38.69	29.22	38.17	43.32
	1971	41.90	37.42	29.04			39.29
PRIMARY	1981	4.02	5.45	1.67	3.66	0.52	0.38
	1971	3.00	4.99	1.87			0.51
PROCESSING, MACHINING & FABRICATION	1981	14.11	16.95	23.76	42.50	23.92	22.98
	1971	13.45	17.00	27.83			16.75
CONSTRUCTION	1981	4.81	6.55	13.06	2.56	1.13	2.73
	1971	4.72	7.35	16.62			3.38
TRANSPORT	1981	4.02	4.64	2.38	0.94	1.50	2.18
	1971	3.86	4.67	2.48			1.43
MATERIAL HANDLING	1981	3.82	3.82	4.23	4.26	4.61	4.83
	1971	4.23	4.39	4.99			3.98
OCCUPATIONS NOT ELSEWHERE CLASSIFIED	1981	1.46	1.58	2.59	5.62	1.44	1.28
	1971	2.21	2.46	4.17			1.94

\* IN-CH = INDO-CHINESE, \*\* IN-PA = INDO-PAKISTANI.

Source: STATISTICS CANADA: SPECIAL COMPUTER RUNS OF 1971 & 1981 CENSUS.

considerable proportion of the manpower.

The Italians are clearly the strongest group in the construction sector which is again concerned with the economic prosperity of an area. The over representation of the Italians in the construction industries is due largely to the abundance of this sector by the British during the Depression. However, since the post-War period with construction receiving a boom, the Italians have maintained a control over the sector (Richmond, 1981; Reitz et. al., 1981). The southern part of Ontario is characterised by higher income which generates higher demand for houses, bridges, highways and the Italian community is well represented in areas where the economy is on its way to expansion.

In the primary occupations, the French ethnic group (5.45%) is followed by the British (4.02%) and then by the Chinese (3.66%). This reflects the fact that amongst the ethnic groups under consideration apart from the British and the French (pioneer groups), the others are less represented in the primary occupations (fishing, farming, mining and lumbering). This may be due to the fact that the Italians, Indo-Chinese, Indo-

Pakistani and Caribbean immigrants find it difficult to adapt to the prevalent socio-economic conditions of the rural areas. A significant proportion of the Chinese immigrants who entered Ontario in the early years of the 20th century worked as mine and lumber workers and this accounts for their representation in the primary activities.

The processing occupation (involving processing, machining and fabrication) is again highly characteristic of the southern areas of Ontario. The over representation of the ethnic groups, apart from the British and French in this sector suggests the peripheral nature of these jobs. According to Reitz (1982) and Richmond (1981) the Indo-Chinese and Caribbean women are highly segregated in these jobs (operators of data-processing equipments). The immigrants of Indo-Chinese ethnic origins followed by Italians and Caribbeans in this category are well represented as a significant proportion enter the country as refugees or sponsored relatives. Also, in this category may be placed the Indo-Pakistani immigrants who came to Canada as sponsored relatives.

The reason behind the uneven representation in the

labour market is that the British as the pioneer group occupy the high status jobs and have control over the economy and political arena of the country. Hence the immigration of unskilled labour was accomplished to fill in the peripheral jobs. It is, therefore, apparent that amongst the six ethnic groups, apart from the British and the French, the others tend to be employed in the secondary and tertiary occupations which are better developed in the south owing to the economic conditions. The next chapter reveals the differential representation of the ethnic groups among selected counties of Ontario, which depict the core-periphery structure.

#### CONCLUSION:

The present chapter analysed the concentration of ethnic groups in response to the economic structure of a region. The Britishers who were the pioneer immigrants are concentrated in the core region of Ontario and occupy the high-income jobs. The initial distribution of immigrants irrespective of their origin was based on a primary economic condition whereas the subsequent immigrants diverged into an industrial-based economy. The British ethnic group is spatially well represented across Ontario followed by the French as the two have been able to adjust to the primary occupation



prevalent in the peripheries. In contrast, the other ethnic groups find it difficult to adapt to the peripheral occupations. Furthermore, the core group dominates the subordinate peripheral groups in economic and social respects. Thus the eventual settlements of the non-British ethnic groups not only determined by the availability of employment opportunities but also by the autonomy of the British core group (Friedmann, 1973).

The early arrival into jobs in the industrial economy resulted in an initial advantage for the dominant group. Also, the concentration in the urban areas where industrialisation continued to occur led to the increasing accessibility of the core group to the high-income occupations, while the subordinate groups have to take the occupations requiring less skills and hence receive less pay. The occupational structure has been shaped by the demand in specific areas of the economy which was followed by restriction imposed on the peripheral groups giving rise to socio-economic stratification. Again, with the unfavourable economic condition prevailing within the country the peripheral ethnic groups are expected to face greater difficulty in securing jobs in occupations they intend to join upon arrival in Canada/Ontario.

## CHAPTER IV

### REPRESENTATION OF ETHNIC GROUPS IN OCCUPATIONS IN ONTARIO.

The assimilation of an ethnic group into the economic and social realm of the core group depends not only on the group but also on the attitude of the host society. Although Canada has been a country where various immigrant groups have settled since the mid-eighteenth century, economic disparities between groups have yet to disappear. The differential representation of the ethnic groups both in the occupational structure and income earned may be ascribed to a number of factors. The important factors are: the period of immigration, language, level of education and possibly discrimination. These may again be responsible for the varying degree of assimilation between those groups from Europe (i.e., British, French and Italian) and those from the other countries (i.e., Indo-Chinese, Indo-Pakistani and Caribbean).

According to Ramcharan (1976), the differential rate of adaptation to the economic sphere depends on the qualifications of the immigrants as well as on the economic needs of the host society. In spite of a

selective immigration policy, stratification has resulted in Canadian society with the French, Italian and non-White ethnic groups generally in the low status jobs. Porter (1965) attributed this to the Anglo-Saxon Protestant group which controlled the Canadian socio-economic system.

In the present chapter, the occupational representation of six ethnic immigrant groups is discussed. The first section (4.1) gives an account of the factors which may be responsible for the variation in occupations between the immigrants. In the following section (4.2) the six ethnic groups are studied to account for some of the inherent causes that may contribute to the core-periphery relationship between the British and the other peripheral ethnic immigrants. Then in section 4.3 the spatial distribution of the immigrants in twenty selected counties of Ontario is discussed. The aim is to determine the extent to which the economic prospects or employment structure controls the destination of the immigrants. The employment of the peripheral ethnic groups is also compared with the British core group.

#### 4.1. VARIABLES ACCOUNTING FOR DIFFERENCES IN OCCUPATIONS AMONG ETHNIC GROUPS.

In the present section, a number of variables which may account for variation in occupation/income structure of ethnic groups are considered. However, there are certain limitations with respect to the availability of data for the census year 1971 for the Indo-Pakistani and Indo-Chinese groups.

##### 4.1.1. PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION.

The 1971 census data reveal differences between ethnic groups with respect to the proportions of all persons in each group who arrived in Ontario during five time periods. In Table 4.1 we present the proportions (%) for four ethnic groups who immigrated to Ontario. Over 40 percent of all British immigrants arrived in Ontario before 1931. This is followed by 31.94 percent in the case of the French, 5.88 percent in the case of the Italians and 1.34 percent for the Caribbeans. Italian immigration was strong (32.02%) in 1946 to 1955 and in the 1956 to 1964 period (37.86%). In the case of the Caribbeans the immigration was 17.91 percent during 1956 to 1964 and 76.72 percent in the 1965 to 1971 period. The dynamic aspect of immigration policy since 1965 reflects the rising immigrants of Caribbean ethnic origin gaining momentum. In contrast, the immigrants of European ethnic origin declined over the same period.

TABLE 4.1.

IMMIGRATION TO ONTARIO BY GROUPS AND  
BY TIME PERIOD (%).

PERIOD	BRITISH	FRENCH	ITALIAN	CARIBBEAN
BEFORE 1931	40.24	31.94	05.88	01.34
1931 - 1945	03.74	08.42	01.27	00.48
1946 - 1955	22.03	22.84	32.02	03.54
1956 - 1964	17.19	15.88	37.86	17.91
1965 - 1971	16.79	20.91	22.87	76.72

Source: STATISTICS CANADA: SPECIAL COMPUTER RUNS OF 1971  
CENSUS.

Considering the period of immigration and labour force participation rate, it is evident that major differences exist between the ethnic immigrants of diverse origin. Table 4.2 illustrates that the labour force participation rate has continued to decline for the British ethnic immigrants from 23.54 percent in the pre-1945 period to 5.50 percent in 1977 to 1981 period. But for the Italians and the non-White immigrants the labour force participation has increased considerably as the immigration of the cohorts continues to rise.

#### 4.1.2. EDUCATION.

The factor of education was given prime importance after 1965 when considering prospective immigrants because during that period Canada required skilled manpower. However, amongst the native-born the importance of education was highest for the British (Fenwick, 1982). Considering the ethnic groups of European origin (Table 4.3) the British had the highest percentage with university education (27.14%) followed by the French (22.41%) and Italian (18.67%). Amongst the non-European ethnic groups the figure was highest for those of Caribbean ethnic origin (39.96%) followed by those of Indo-Pakistani origin (32.02%).

Table 4.2.

IMMIGRATION OF FIRST GENERATION ETHNIC IMMIGRANTS  
AND LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATE (%).

PERIOD	a BRIT	b FREN	c ITAL	d IC	e IP	f CARB
Pre -1945	23.54	19.07	02.94		00.07	00.27
1946-1955	19.71	14.82	26.15	00.29	00.26	00.89
1956-1964	18.51	20.62	38.73	00.52	03.10	06.89
1965-1971	21.17	23.85	26.35	03.50	26.99	40.64
1972-1976	11.17	14.03	04.25	10.49	49.04	37.64
1977-1981	05.50	07.61	01.58	85.21	29.55	13.69

Source: STATISTICS CANADA: SPECIAL COMPUTER RUNS OF 1981 CENSUS.

a= BRITISH, b= FRENCH, c= ITALIAN, d= INDO-CHINESE,  
e= INDO-PAKISTANI, f= CARIBBEAN.

Note: In the 1981 census, labour force participation rate is defined as the proportion the total labour force forms of the total population 15 years and over. In the above table, 23.54 percent in the pre-1945 period, in the case of the British group, means that over 23.54 percent of all British immigrants over 15 years of age were in the labour force.

TABLE 4.3.

ATTAINMENT OF EDUCATION BY ALL AGES (%), 1971.

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LEVEL          a      b      c      d      e      f
              BRIT FREN ITAL IC   IP   CARB
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Grade 7-13  60.65  62.64  47.31  52.44  33.15  48.33
University  27.14  22.41  18.67  23.69  32.02  39.96
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Source: STATISTICS CANADA: SPECIAL COMPUTER RUNS OF 1971 CENSUS.

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a= BRITISH, b= FRENCH, c= ITALIAN, d= INDO-CHINESE,
e= INDO-PAKISTANI,      f= CARIBBEAN.
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The importance of education is considered to be high when the income from all occupations is accounted for in 1981 (Table 4.4). In spite of higher proportion of the Caribbeans with university education this group is exceeded by those of Indo-Pakistani origin while considering the percentage of labour earning over \$21,670 annually. This may, again, be due to the fact that the latter as an immigrant group had an earlier start than the former. Thus the Indo-Pakistani ethnic immigrants have been able to overcome the initial disadvantages and have experienced upward mobility while for the Caribbean the lack of adequate Canadian experience may still be a restraint.

#### 4.1.3. LANGUAGE.

Language is a very important factor with regard to the assimilation of the ethnic groups. The retention of the mother tongue affects the eventual assimilation and integration within the host society (Liberson, 1970). This can be shown by referring to the Indo-Chinese ethnic group, which is one of the earliest Oriental immigrant groups. This group continues to retain its mother tongue with 48.11 percent speaking in their native language (Table 4.5). The knowledge of English and French affects the occupational

TABLE 4.4.

VARIATION OF INCOME FROM ALL OCCUPATIONS (%),  
1981 and 1971.

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1981
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INCOME          a      b      c      d      e      f
                BRIT  FREN  ITAL  IC     IP     CARB

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< $04,334      19.73  19.23  19.07  50.68  16.20  18.25
< $10,385      22.01  22.97  24.63  32.35  24.22  26.52
< $17,335      23.72  24.31  26.04  10.82  28.82  32.41
< $21,669      13.01  14.65  14.49  02.73  12.19  11.12
> $21,670      21.53  18.84  15.77  03.64  18.57  11.68

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1971
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< $01,999      26.63  21.61  17.69                22.85
< $05,000      22.42  24.27  28.15                33.94
< $08,000      23.86  26.18  29.64                26.34
< $10,000      10.47  11.13  10.64                06.76
< $15,000      09.63  08.15  06.39                04.68
> $15,000      03.63  01.92  01.36                00.97

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Source: STATISTICS CANADA: SPECIAL COMPUTER RUNS OF 1981
      & 1971 CENSUS.
=====
a= BRITISH, b= FRENCH, c= ITALIAN, d= INDO-CHINESE,
e= INDO-PAKISTANI,      f= CARIBBEAN.
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TABLE 4.5.

HOME LANGUAGE OF ETHNIC GROUPS WITH DIFFERING  
MOTHER TONGUE (%), 1981.

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LANGUAGE      BRITISH FRENCH  ITALIAN  IC*      INDO-PAKISTANI
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ENGLISH      94.55          74.01   50.27   84.82
FRENCH       00.02    18.48    00.22          00.03
ENGLISH
OR
FRENCH      05.41    81.52    05.80    01.62   02.43
OTHERS       00.02          19.98   48.11   12.71
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Source: STATISTICS CANADA: SPECIAL COMPUTER RUNS OF 1981  
CENSUS.

\* = INDO-CHINESE.

representation in the Government offices.

#### 4.1.4. OTHER VARIABLES.

Discrimination is important when considering ethnic stratification. According to Chandra (1973), and Ramcharan (1976) immigrants of non-European ethnic origin face discrimination in spite of being educated and possessing the necessary skills while being considered for employment. In the majority of the cases the coloured people seek employment in those jobs for which the White labour is not available (Chandra, 1973). The other factors explaining income differences are gender, experience in labour market and weeks worked.

#### 4.2. REPRESENTATION OF ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE LABOUR MARKET OF ONTARIO.

Having discussed the variables accounting for the variations in occupation/income structure, attention will now be focused on the six ethnic groups to examine the core-periphery relationship between the immigrants.

##### 4.2.1. BRITISH.

In Canada, immigrants from different countries have settled through time. In Ontario, however, the British ethnic group has been considered as the core

group. Being the earliest settlers, this group had the power to decide the future immigration of ethnic groups and the occupations which they were to be destined for. Though at the initial stage the British immigrants comprised distinct groups from Scotland, Ireland, America, Wales and England, these were assimilated (Hecht, et al, 1983). The then prevailing agro-based economy employed the immigrants while some arrived as merchants and artisans. With the turn of the century and following World War I the majority of the British immigrants were urbanised and were engaged in industrial and clerical occupations (Porter, 1965). This was brought about by the industrialisation of Ontario and the subsequent demand for manpower. The pre-war immigrants were over-represented in the tertiary sector while those of non-British origin were engaged in the primary and secondary occupations. This reflects dominance of the core group which gave preference to the unskilled peripheral groups. The important factors contributing towards the high representation is the fact that the British immigrants had the opportunity to be educated and possessed the additional advantage of fluency in English language.

Following World War II, the demographic, economic and social conditions prevalent in Canada, required

immigrants, and Great Britain continued to be the most important source. A study by Richmond & Verma (1978) reveals that the immigrants from the United Kingdom were employed as managers, teachers, natural scientists, doctors, in service occupations as clerical workers and machinists. The British male immigrants were overrepresented in managerial, professional and semi-professional occupations as well in the service sector. Amongst the women of British ethnic background the pre-war immigrants were represented in managerial, services and in farming and primary services. The post-war immigrants were to a great extent represented in the managerial and service sector because of high education.

Considering the occupational structure it is to be noted that apart from the high education achievements of the post-War immigrants the British in Canada also showed a gradual inclination towards the high status jobs. According to Fenwick (1982), the British, being the pioneer group, could retain their dominance through the employment of subordinate labour. Furthermore, possessing the initial advantages only a few of the immigrants were liable to face an initial downward mobility on arrival to the country. The proportion of labour engaged in the primary sector may be inferred to

have migrated prior to 1931.

Being the core group, the British enjoy a higher income (Table 4.4) than the other peripheral groups. In spite of the fact that the post-War immigrants had education and skills adequate enough to be employed in the tertiary sector the immigrants of diverse origin were subject to certain restrictions. The immigrants of the core group were among the high status occupations with a high percentage earning an annual income of \$21,670 or more in 1981.

According to Clement (1985), the pioneer group brought the initial capital from Britain and had established business contracts which enabled them to gain the control. The subsequent generations thus were in a position to maintain the financial and political power, thereby excluding the other ethnic groups from accessing power. However, the percentage of British immigration has continued to decline since the 1950s (Table 4.1). This may be due to the lack of opportunities in Canada which is presently facing economic stagnation.

#### 4.2.2. FRENCH.

The French were one of the pioneer groups to

settle in Canada. However, in Ontario they were less significant than the British, who gained economic and social power. Presently, the economic structure of the French reveals that a smaller proportion of the labour force continues to be represented in the high status occupations, namely managerial, natural and social sciences, teaching, etc in Ontario. On the contrary, this ethnic group tends to be increasingly concentrated in the primary sector followed by the service sector, fabrication, construction, etc. The low percentage of the French ethnic group in the core occupations may be understood by referring to the principal areas of settlement. In Ontario, the areas where the group tends to be concentrated are the counties where the economy is primary based. For instance, in the south Essex, Niagara and Frontenac are the important areas with high French settlement, followed by those in the north and the east where the economy is again based on farming, mining and forest resources. However, over time they have begun to be represented in the service sector especially where the aspect of knowledge of French language comes into account. This holds true especially in Government jobs in Ottawa. About 81.52 percent of the French ethnic group used either French or English as the home language (Table 4.5).



The French and the British have fared differently, in spite of the fact that both of them were the initial settlers and the former dominates over the latter. On the average the French have lower incomes than the British owing to their employment in less skilled occupations. Jackson (1975) and Fenwick (1982) examined determinants of inequalities. Fenwick (1982) views the economic hierarchy due to cultural differences existing between the two groups. Economic structure was, he argued, to a great extent, controlled by the Catholic Church which felt that with increasing urbanisation and industrialisation it would lose power. Thus the French community was more encouraged to preserve the traditional culture through active participation in the rural economy. According to Porter (1965) French education did not encourage industrial skills at managerial or technical levels.

Another important factor that affects the economic status of the French is the ability to speak English. The ability to speak English is related to occupational status and income. For the British the ability to communicate in English was one of the important factors responsible for the upward mobility (Fenwick, 1982). Furthermore, as the economic power or wealth was concentrated in the hands of the British they had the early access to the industrial activities while the French, in the rural economy, failed to accumulate the

necessary capital.

The impact of education being one of the prime factors for access to high status jobs, the low educational attainment of the French in the initial period was according to Fenwick (1982) due to the Church. The Church prepared the students for priesthood or professions, viz., law and medicine. In 1981, 22.41 percent of the French immigrants in Ontario had acquired university or college education while about 60.65 percent had grade seven to thirteen education (Table 4.3).

The period of immigration has been important while attempting to explain the occupational differences. Since World War II more British immigrants entered Canada than those of French origin. The first generation immigrants and labour force participation of the latter group experienced a decline with only 7.61 percent immigrated between 1971 to 1981. This indicates that during the period when immigrants were granted admission on the basis of certain points few French showed an inclination to immigrate and settle in Ontario while the corresponding figure for the Indo-Pakistani continues to be higher, 29.44 percent (Table 4.2). Owing to a host of factors, the French group is associated with lower

economic status than the core group.

Thus it can be said that the traditional culture and the overwhelming importance of the Church over the community resulted in a lesser degree of assimilation in the economic structure. Furthermore, being confined to rural areas made the eventual assimilation takes a longer duration than if an ethnic group is concentrated in the urban or industrial core of a region or province.

#### 4.2.3. ITALIAN.

The Italians constitute the third of the European immigrant groups considered in the present study. The period between 1946 and 1955 saw a sudden rise in the immigration of Italians. According to Reitz (1980) the earliest immigrants came from the southern parts of Italy and were uneducated farmers with little knowledge of English. Driven by poor economic condition these early immigrants tended to settle in the urban areas which were, during the period, undergoing industrial expansion. Following the War, the Government's search for unskilled labour and the possibility for sponsorship encouraged the immigration of the Italians (Harney, 1979).

Initially, owing to their low education and limited knowledge of English, the immigrants were engaged in the typical occupations, e.g. barber, tailor, shoe repairmen, stone cutter and other unskilled occupations. Railway construction was yet another important source of employment (Reitz, 1980). Again, a few came as seasonal workers, to return to Italy during the winter. The influx of the huge component of unskilled labour was due to the interest of the British who controlled the economic structure of the country. As identified by Reitz (1980), the British, having control over industrial and construction firms, promoted the immigration of the Italians who were ignorant of the language, were satisfied with lower wages and had little bargaining power.

Following World War I, the occupational structure changed considerably. However, even to date Italians continue to be represented in the construction trade primarily, followed by the other sectors. The women are concentrated in fabricating, assembling and repairing occupations, sewing machine, confectionary, etc (Reitz, 1980). Owing to the concentration in a few sectors of the economy, there developed the ethnic job segregation, which, according to Porter (1965) reflects the control of a group over certain occupations. This also obstructs

the minority group from access to other jobs outside the domain. The ethnic control of certain businesses is especially prevalent in the construction industry with the firms owned by the Italians and staffed by members of the same group (Reitz, et al, 1981).

Although the peripheral ethnic groups are segregated in the peripheral occupations they may have higher income in spite of the low job status. Upward mobility in respect of income was brought about by the post-War construction boom. Table 4.4 indicates that about 15.77 percent of the Italian immigrants earned an annual income over \$21,670 in spite of the fact that 18.67 percent possessed university education (Table 4.3). The corresponding figure for the immigrants of Indo-Chinese and Carribean origin reveal marked variation.

An important aspect to be taken into account when considering the low job status is that apart from education the Italians have less knowledge of English. However, this is even more true for the immigrants who immigrated prior to 1965. Also, coupled with this are the very strong cultural ties that exists among the members of the community. The initial immigrants being settled in the urban areas of Ontario the subsequent groups settled in the same areas where the industrial

expansion gave employment to the unskilled labour. According to Jansen (1971), many of the immigrants have little urban job skills, yet they tend to settle in urban areas as they are expected to be engaged only in the construction works. Table 4.2 summarises the diminishing proportion of the first generation immigrants over the period between 1956-1964 to 1977-1981 from 38.73 percent to 1.58 percent.

In spite of the attempt to promote skilled manpower since 1965, the tendency of the employers belonging to the British ethnic group is to give little employment opportunities to the Italians on the pretexts of lack of Canadian experience or of language difficulties (Jansen, 1971). Hence, it may be inferred that the concentration of the Italians in the low status jobs has been the result of ethnic dominance of the British. However, with the present emphasis on education by the Canadian Immigration programme it may be expected that the immigration of unskilled labour will decline with the exception of those entering on the basis of sponsorship.

#### 4.2.4. INDO-CHINESE.

The Indo-Chinese were the earliest Oriental

immigrant group to arrive to Canada. The immigration of the Chinese group was governed by the poor economic conditions in the home country and the demand for labour in the Canadian gold mines of the west and railway construction firms (Li, 1978). Though initially concentrated in British Columbia, this ethnic group has now begun to be increasingly concentrated in Ontario. This is due to employment opportunities available and the increasing attraction towards education resulting in an appreciable rise in the number of educated people seeking professional and service occupations. Following the second World War, there has been a heavy influx of Indo-Chinese immigrants who entered as refugees. The refugees, due to their inability to communicate in English or French and limited knowledge of the skills were subjected to restriction in the economic market. The majority tend to be concentrated in the service occupations (Samuel, 1984). Table 4.2 summarises the increasing immigration and labour force participation of the immigrants (85.21%) during the period 1977 to 1981.

The Indo-Chinese, very much like the Italian immigrants, were subjected to discrimination at the hands of the British (Reitz, 1980 & Li, 1978). The cheap Chinese labour enabled the British entrepreneurs

to earn profit which would otherwise be difficult if they had to employ other labourers because then the cost of production would exceed the return. Also, in the nineteenth century many labourers were subjected to restrictions in their choice for other occupations apart from the railway and mine workers. According to Li (1978), the employment of the Indo-Chinese in the unskilled labour fields gave the British an advantage of easier access to the skilled professions.

Presently, the immigrants of Indo-Chinese origin are concentrated in the service sector and in processing occupations in Ontario. The male members of the group are concentrated in the service sector as cooks, waiters, laundry owners and operators, while some are in the medical and scientific professions. The women, on the other hand, are concentrated in the service sector in clerical jobs, as machine operators, electronic data processing equipment operators and among accommodation occupations (Richmond, 1981).

According to Lai (1971), the service industries are highly connected with high representation of female labour. British society, at the initial period, compelled the minority group to undertake occupations as cooking, washing and as domestic workers. As a



consequence of the control over the economic opportunities there developed the ethnic business among the Indo-Chinese immigrants. The ethnic business comprised restaurants and laundries and were allowed to grow as these were "non-competitive with White labour" (Li, 1978). The low economic status was acceptable by the British core group and as a result even today a significant proportion remain concentrated in the ethnic business.

Since World War II there have been significant changes in the immigration policies, and the vast majority of the immigrants tend to be concentrated in service occupations as file clerk, typist, secretary, or as social workers, engineers (Lai, 1971). Few of the post-War immigrants are concentrated in the ethnic business. However, amongst pre World War II immigrants there has been a growing tendency to migrate from the lower status service occupations to the professional, financial and clerical ranks (Reitz, 1980). The upward mobility may be due to the increasing importance of education. In 1981 about 23.69 percent of the members of the group possessed university education (Table 4.3). Apart from education the other important factor affecting job status is the difficulty to communicate in English or French. In 1981 about 48.11 percent of the

immigrants continued to use the mother tongue which is a major hinderance towards the process of assimilation (Table 4.5).

Amongst the post-War immigrants who entered the country as refugees, according to Samuel (1984), a major proportion has to face a longer period of unemployment. The same study revealed that nearly 85 percent of the refugees faced downward mobility, while a meagre 4 percent were concentrated in the high status jobs. However, the ethnic job segregation that prevailed for the pioneer immigrants is less prevalent. The ethnic stratification which is shaped by the socio-economic factors was the result of market conditions and with the limited opportunities available owing to the dominance of the core group.

#### 4.2.5. INDO-PAKISTANI.

The earliest immigrant of Indo-Pakistani ethnic origin may be traced to as early as 1897 when the Sikh regiments entered Canada through British Columbia. The pioneer immigrants were uneducated and unskilled, and they worked in the lumber mills and as farm workers (Krauter & Davis, 1978). The major immigration of the group has occurred since World War II, when Canada had

ample opportunities available for the immigrants. The availability of services and high per capita incomes relative to the country of birth, induced immigration to the host country. The demand for labour promoted by industrial activity and growth being very high since the War, encouraged the immigration of manpower with certain skills or qualifications. Also, among the immigrants the higher education increases the propensity to immigrate to countries with higher standard of living (Richmond, 1978).

Immigrants arriving after 1961 possessed higher skills and in 1981 about 32.02 percent of them had university education (Table 4.3). According to Basavarajappa and Verma (1985), both the immigrant men and women had high educational levels. As a result of this, the majority of them are well represented in services, teaching, medical and health occupations, as scientists and managers. The same study revealed that in spite of the fact that upon arrival the majority undergo downward mobility with the passage of time, on achieving the required experience and qualifications, the group experiences upward mobility.

Since the 1970s there have been certain changes. The country had experienced the baby boom in

the 1950s and this labour force on attainment of required skills has entered the labour market. As a result of the increasing representation of the native born in the core occupations, the immigration of Indo-Pakistani skilled manpower is continuing to decline as evidenced in 1981, 29.55 percent (Table 4.2). As a result the first generation immigrant and the labour force participation has declined. However, the immigrants who continue to migrate as part of the family re-union programmes are represented in the low status of the core occupations.

With respect to income, it is revealed that of the total labour engaged in all occupations 18.57 percent received an annual income of \$21,670 or more. This may be attributed to the fact that as the period of immigration increases the labour force participation rate rises and therefore unlike the other peripheral groups, viz., Italians and Indo-Chinese, the income gap between this group and the core group diminishes.

The Indo-Pakistani ethnic group is highly urbanised and concentrated in urbanised heartland of southern Ontario. The high level of urbanisation may be attributed to the fact that incomes in the metropolitan and urban counties tend to be higher than that in the rural areas (Basavarajappa & Verma, 1985). Another

important factor is that apart from employment opportunities, the minority group can undergo assimilation and integration at a more rapid pace in these parts than in the rural counties. As a result with the passage of time more and more members of the group begin to be assimilated. Eventually this increases the proportion of persons employed in the high status jobs.

#### 4.2.6. CARIBBEAN.

Caribbean immigration to Canada received a spurt following 1967 with the implementation of the Immigration Act (see Chapter 2). Based on age, education and skill the larger proportion of the cohorts immigrated, with Ontario as the most important province to settle. Prior to the specified period a very insignificant proportion were concentrated in the country. However, following 1965, 76.72 percent (Table 4.1) of the total ethnic group immigrated with 40.64 percent of the first generation immigrants in the labour force (Table 4.2).

As with all the other peripheral groups, employment opportunities available to the Caribbeans depends on the education, fluency of language and period of immigration. About 39.96 percent of the immigrants

possessed university education (Table 4.3), which may again account for the 11.68 percent of the labour earning an annual income of over \$21,670 (Table 4.4). In contrast, the corresponding figure for the Italians indicates that 18.67 percent had university education and 15.77 percent earned an annual income of over \$21,670. This, to a great extent, confirms the existence of a vertical mosaic (Porter, 1965 & Reitz, 1982) with the non-White ethnic groups in spite of their higher education are subject to a certain degree of discrimination.

According to Ramcharan (1976), the representatives of the Caribbean group are dispersed throughout the occupational structure with a high preference for secondary and tertiary activities. They possess advantage regarding their ability to speak English over the Italians and Indo-Chinese cohorts. Owing to discrimination they are subjected to initial downward mobility in the occupations upon arrival to Canada. However, according to Ramcharan (1976) and Richmond (1967) inspite of the initial loss they eventually upgrade their status.

According to Reitz (1982), a major proportion of the Caribbean is well represented in the blue-collar

jobs with some in white-collar too. The men are employed in the medical occupations at various levels, service sector as clerks, guards, watchmen and taxi drivers. The women, on the other hand, tend to be represented in medical, service occupations and as operators of data-processing equipment.

#### 4.3. IMPORTANCE OF NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN COUNTIES OF ONTARIO IN SPATIAL CONCENTRATION OF ETHNIC GROUPS: A CORE-PERIPHERY CONCEPT.

Having discussed the inherent characteristics of the ethnic immigrants, this section examines the application of the core-periphery model in determining the destinations of ethnic groups amongst the regional municipalities and counties of Ontario. It is hypothesised that the differences in education, occupations and income would lead to marked variation in ethnic group concentration as the employment opportunities vary greatly between the core and the peripheral areas. The former is characterised by presence of secondary and tertiary industries while the latter by primary industries. Within Ontario, the southern part is characterised as the core while the northern and eastern region of Ontario are considered to be the part of the periphery. However, within the developed industrial core there are a few municipalities

which are characterised by over representation of the core-like characteristics (industries, services, education and income).

In the present study twenty counties have been selected as they provide a better picture of the different levels of socio-economic development and the inevitable destination of the peripheral ethnic groups. Owing to the concentration of industries, existence of infrastructure, education centres and high income the urban heartland of southwestern Ontario is very important. Within Ontario the southwestern and southern regions are recognised as the core while the north and eastern regions constitute the periphery. The southern core is again characterised by different economic development and hence within this area a high order and a low order core can be distinguished. The representatives of the southern core are Durham, Essex, Haldimand-Norfolk, Hamilton-Wentworth, Middlesex, Niagara, Ottawa-Carleton, Peel, Toronto and York. The following represent the peripheral north: Algoma, Cochrane, Glengarry, Hastings, Kenora, Lennox and Addington, Prescott, Russell, Rainy River and Timiskaming (Figure 4.1). The core region is again characterised by high-order and low-order core i.e., a core-periphery structure (Figure 4.2) within the core



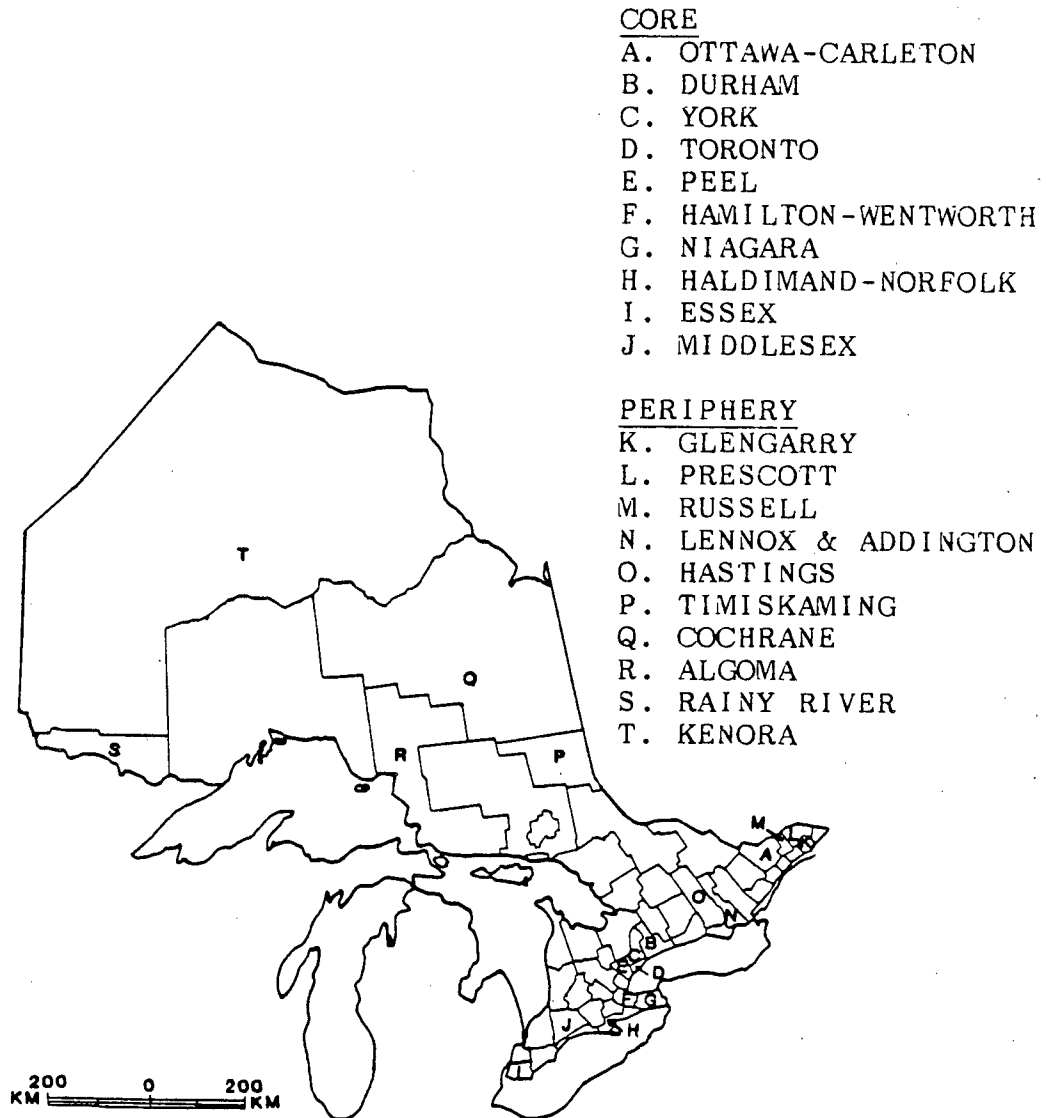
areas (Hecht et. al., 1983).

The highly developed "high-order" core is the focus of economic, political and social activity characterised by innovation, concentration and increasing investment of capital. The initial advantages of Toronto, Hamilton and Ottawa lead to the increasing concentration of economic activities. This was brought about by the cumulative effects reinforced by the movement of goods, capital and services (Myrdal, 1957). The high-order core municipalities are distinguished by the presence of a highly diversified economy while the low-order core, with limited resources in the form of labour, raw material and capital, have a less diversified economy (Figure 4.2).

The high-order core municipalities of Toronto, Hamilton and York are described by high level of income, education, housing and occupation status (Ansari, 1979). The most important economic activity is manufacturing followed by services. Outside the Golden Horseshoe, Ottawa is an important municipality with a high concentration of the French ethnic group in all the occupation categories under consideration. In contrast, in northern and eastern Ontario the economies of most of the counties are based on pulp and paper or other

FIGURE 4.1.

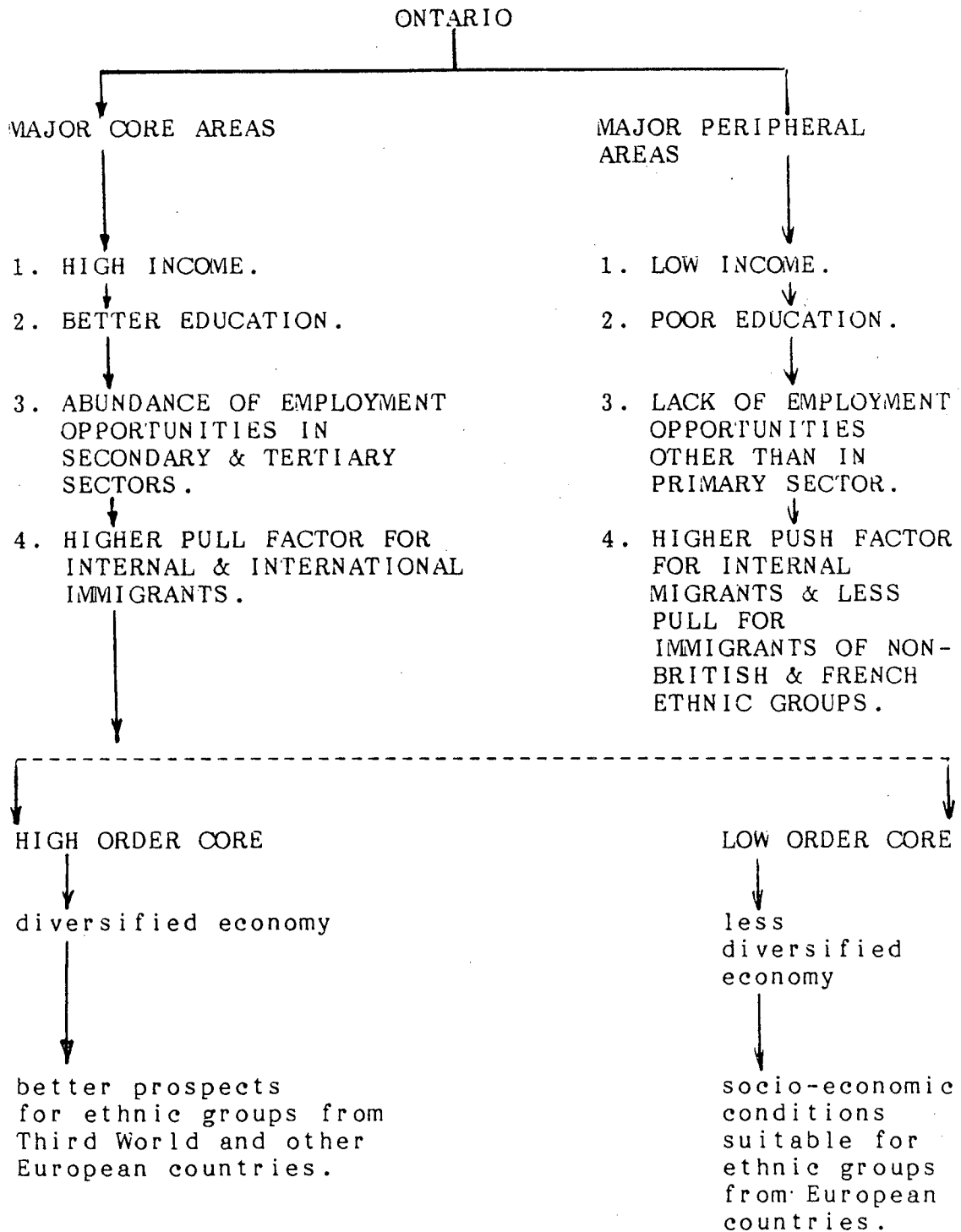
ONTARIO: CORE AND PERIPHERAL COUNTIES SELECTED FOR STUDY PURPOSES.



Source: CENSUS OF CANADA, 1981.

FIGURE 4.2.

SCHMATIC DIAGRAM OF THE CORE-PERIPHERY  
STRUCTURE IN ONTARIO.



primary industries. Thus they represent the low-order core along with few municipalities of the south.

Concentration of the ethnic groups in space is determined in part by the presence of employment opportunities in the core and periphery. Representations of the peripheral ethnic groups in each occupation category as percentage of the British are estimated and illustrated in Table 4.6. The estimation involves two steps: (i) the proportion of the labour force of a given ethnic group engaged in each occupation category is calculated as percentage of the total labour force of an ethnic group and (ii) the percentage of labour of each peripheral ethnic group engaged in a given occupation category is then divided by the percentage of the British labourers engaged in respective occupation category and multiplied by 100.

The French ethnic immigrants in southern Ontario appear to be well represented in the following occupations: processing, machining and fabrication, construction, transportation, material handling and occupations not classified. While in the occupation related to scientific works or managerial or administrative or education, health and religion or service sectors, the ethnic immigrants of French origin

TABLE 4.6.

DIFFERENTIAL REPRESENTATION IN OCCUPATIONS<sup>+</sup> AS A PERCENTAGE OF BRITISH  
ETHNIC GROUP IN TWENTY SELECTED COUNTIES<sup>++</sup> OF ONTARIO.

+OCCUPATIONS: 1. MANG = MANAGERIAL  
2. NATSOC = NATURAL & SOCIAL SCIENCES  
3. REL = EDUCATION, HEALTH & RELIGION  
4. ART = ARTS & RECREATION  
5. SERVICE = CLERICAL, SALES & SERVICE  
6. PRIM = PRIMARY  
7. PROC = PROCESSING, MACHINING & FABRICATION  
8. CONS = CONSTRUCTION  
9. TRA = TRANSPORT  
10. MATHA = MATERIAL HANDLING  
11. NOTCL = OCCUPATIONS NOT ELSEWHERE CLASSIFIED

++COUNTIES: A = OTTAWA-CARLETON B = DURHAM  
C = YORK D = TORONTO  
E = PEEL F = HAMILTON-WENTWORTH  
G = NIAGARA H = HALDIMAND-NORFOLK  
I = ESSEX J = MIDDLESEX  
K = GLENGARRY L = PRESCOTT  
M = RUSSELL N = LENNOX AND ADDINGTON  
O = HASTINGS P = TIMISKAMING  
Q = COCHRANE R = ALGOMA  
S = RAINY RIVER T = KENORA

continued...

A. OTTAWA-CARLETON:

OCCUPATION	FRENCH		ITALIAN		IN-CH	IN-PA	CARIBBEAN	
	1981	1971	1981	1971	*	**	1981	1971
MANG	72.03	58.75	54.84	27.11		96.37	68.29	52.16
NATSOC	54.48	44.01	43.95	35.31	55.11	192.86	124.92	113.75
REL	98.37	90.04	49.04	43.10	50.39	164.91	171.36	229.66
ART	112.40	94.90	54.26	44.77		52.50		
SERVICE	112.38	106.58	103.58	83.20	105.91	82.29	108.96	101.45
PRIM	64.71	60.69	63.07	40.39	221.43			
PROC	115.87	138.37	205.57	278.46	433.04	82.04	61.36	33.25
CONS	148.76	187.23	575.83	807.49			76.13	87.39
TRAN	136.61	146.22	65.10	53.66		67.05		109.31
MATHA	132.60	111.63	74.54	73.46				50.88
NOTCL	108.65	122.73	146.49	147.72	342.88	78.74		94.41

\*IN-CH = INDO-CHINESE; \*\*IN-PA = INDO-PAKISTANI.

B. DURHAM:

OCCUPATION	FRENCH		ITALIAN		IN-CH	IN-PA	CARIBBEAN	
	1981	1971	1981	1971	*	**	1981	1971
MANG	69.47	84.57	60.89				71.81	
NATSOC	63.28	27.18	83.97	230.25		178.86	235.71	
REL	90.26	65.51	41.26	79.27		260.20	145.14	673.77
ART	101.88	103.79						
SERVICE	92.23	84.17	84.76	73.12		81.69	98.68	155.39
PRIM	33.66	23.72	46.72	50.24				213.51
PROC	123.67	162.59	166.39	179.64		67.19	113.32	127.24
CONS	144.60	133.60	239.95	205.64			100.24	
TRAN	117.72	107.87	51.28					
MATHA	153.10	103.79	61.80	146.52			60.74	
NOTCL	124.73	114.17	107.18					

\*IN-CH = INDO-CHINESE; \*\*IN-PA = INDO-PAKISTANI.

continued...

C. YORK:

OCCUPATION	FRENCH		ITALIAN		IN-CH	IN-PA	CARIBBEAN	
	1981	1971	1981	1971	*	**	1981	1971
MANG	95.51	53.76	67.63	34.78		109.72	80.50	
NATSOC	79.71	54.33	35.61	39.43		249.84	282.52	34.30
REL	103.17	83.08	45.57	39.38		129.48	157.29	465.32
ART	105.60	100.49	36.69	53.05				
SERVICE	104.99	83.88	94.77	64.16		89.72	112.09	58.94
PRIM	89.68	64.17	51.93	90.63				
PROC	99.64	131.09	166.56	178.20		132.73	110.38	103.04
CONS	113.12	165.35	317.30	300.24				47.30
TRAN	100.63	118.62	76.66	44.09				27.14
MATHA	89.31	135.15	89.60	113.65		61.23	69.26	70.68
NOTCL	77.37	116.17	141.13	116.74				83.39

\*IN-CH = INDO-CHINESE; \*\*IN-PA = INDO-PAKISTANI.

D. TORONTO:

OCCUPATION	FRENCH		ITALIAN		IN-CH	IN-PA	CARIBBEAN	
	1981	1971	1981	1971	*	**	1981	1971
MANG	77.13	56.93	37.59	18.59	17.90	70.82	34.36	25.84
NATSOC	70.72	66.37	37.02	22.97	75.41	125.39	111.81	74.96
REL	91.89	79.35	37.75	19.98	52.87	77.66	241.98	215.33
ART	122.49	89.49	32.00	32.03	45.22	28.70	4.42	37.32
SERVICE	96.39	90.76	84.41	58.81	57.42	92.84	97.98	88.86
PRIM	67.22	109.68	130.70	169.10		29.86	35.24	40.97
PROC	130.32	145.66	247.81	288.36	475.66	244.63	234.43	168.42
CONS	126.38	151.27	420.50	552.88	67.38	32.95	74.18	98.30
TRAN	130.06	149.05	72.53	76.50		39.48	60.32	36.59
MATHA	124.84	132.82	102.00	109.67	95.88	101.64	113.25	90.14
NOTCL	148.41	128.67	224.79	228.15	481.01	119.43	108.05	116.00

\*IN-CH = INDO-CHINESE; \*\*IN-PA = INDO-PAKISTANI.

continued...

## E. PEEL:

OCCUPATION	FRENCH		ITALIAN		IN-CH	IN-PA	CARIBBEAN	
	1981	1971	1981	1971	*	**	1981	1971
MANG	91.21	59.78	56.20	45.95		63.51	48.91	22.23
NATSOC	86.86	58.48	58.63	38.94		182.28	185.51	159.67
REL	72.21	82.12	46.40	29.93		83.94	173.09	164.67
ART	130.31	67.12	75.17	31.09		46.61		
SERVICE	93.18	91.90	85.41	82.06	41.30	74.60	86.74	82.56
PRIM	62.91	49.31	38.75	38.65		34.74		66.28
PROC	128.49	149.20	182.89	189.79	403.21	220.03	192.46	149.70
CONS	131.33	112.90	370.00	321.21		52.84	98.17	140.92
TRAN	110.89	122.15	62.22	72.00		36.06	71.77	77.62
MATHA	120.97	143.46	109.64	107.85		170.05	124.22	72.66
NOTCL	109.11	163.21	167.89	178.18		90.83	56.25	101.86

\*IN-CH = INDO-CHINESE; \*\*IN-PA = INDO-PAKISTANI.

## F. HAMILTON-WENTWORTH:

OCCUPATION	FRENCH		ITALIAN		IN-CH	IN-PA	CARIBBEAN	
	1981	1971	1981	1971	*	**	1981	1971
MANG	66.75	53.81	60.98	53.28		65.95		
NATSOC	54.60	67.77	60.71	53.91		179.67	110.97	98.61
REL	81.84	81.15	58.96	30.55		171.83	225.25	274.27
ART	52.90	46.77	54.56	49.62				
SERVICE	85.08	99.34	83.87	81.56	50.90	45.97	82.13	98.00
PRIM	47.51	76.71	63.00	94.22		195.44		70.50
PROC	137.14	136.55	155.92	165.25	173.25	189.00	141.75	67.17
CONS	159.64	123.77	251.93	286.44			117.92	
TRAN	121.09	123.95	45.37	87.66		50.22		180.37
MATHA	148.65	142.80	109.68	90.89		61.14		199.49
NOTCL	125.25	77.82	126.69	141.51		140.24		194.12

\*IN-CH = INDO-CHINESE; \*\*IN-PA = INDO-PAKISTANI.

continued...



G. NIAGARA:

OCCUPATION	FRENCH		ITALIAN		IN-CH	IN-PA	CARIBBEAN	
	1981	1971	1981	1971	*	**	1981	1971
MANG	65.42	39.06	62.22	28.61		132.24		
NATSOC	58.75	59.79	63.75	48.02		253.63		450.78
REL	72.23	66.91	57.12	34.73			373.60	381.00
ART	85.12	51.75	86.87	47.48				
SERVICE	84.90	77.58	96.13	81.42		61.26		43.39
PRIM	75.54	71.20	107.12	106.71	759.05	234.41		226.49
PROC	156.60	154.72	136.47	162.81	188.92	77.79		189.46
CONS	138.56	191.82	177.65	214.29				
TRAN	91.56	113.34	38.93	55.71				206.02
MATHA	120.50	117.85	95.19	98.30				
NOTCL	130.71	151.63	204.62	206.00				

\*IN-CH = INDO-CHINESE; \*\*IN-PA = INDO-PAKISTANI.

H. HALDIMAND-NORFOLK.

OCCUPATION	FRENCH		ITALIAN		IN-CH	IN-PA	CARIBBEAN	
	1981	1971	1981	1971	*	**	1981	1971
MANG	66.00	43.09	168.44	81.68				
NATSOC		182.48		115.32				
REL		58.67		27.81				
ART								
SERVICE	87.55	73.99	56.43	91.18				
PRIM	110.68	66.95	78.52	98.73				
PROC	127.50	121.95	50.20	121.39				
CONS	166.37	290.56		32.40				
TRAN	89.63	67.44		85.24				
MATHA	64.53	97.32		184.51				
NOTCL		132.01		166.84				

\*IN-CH = INDO-CHINESE; \*\*IN-PA = INDO-PAKISTANI.

continued...

I. ESSEX:

OCCUPATION	FRENCH		ITALIAN		IN-CH	IN-PA	CARIBBEAN	
	1981	1971	1981	1971	*	**	1981	1971
MANG	71.02	53.04	66.66	46.41		126.57		
NATSOC	57.85	44.64	70.39	40.12		253.50		188.09
REL	84.17	75.99	62.63	41.85		156.67	112.03	132.49
ART	50.99	68.53	40.20	63.96				
SERVICE	89.30	88.70	79.01	64.61	43.49	50.40	57.94	30 00
PRIM	114.87	98.34	108.65	122.38	454.25			
PROC	139.81	144.96	153.65	170.27	82.61	184.72	70.04	266.92
CONS	129.90	120.37	303.86	392.34				
TRAN	107.93	108.94	30.90	50.17				
MATHA	127.54	114.70	95.90	94.33				
NOTCL	106.80	131.87	139.88	179.63				

\*IN-CH = INDO-CHINESE; \*\*IN-PA = INDO-PAKISTANI.

J. MIDDLESEX:

OCCUPATION	FRENCH		ITALIAN		IN-CH	IN-PA	CARIBBEAN	
	1981	1971	1981	1971	*	**	1981	1971
MANG	75.47	62.15	63.15	32.06		75.07		65.43
NATSOC	84.66	80.61	74.80	47.38		291.31		87.90
REL	97.39	96.70	63.03	50.64		165.82	144.87	383.32
ART	77.91	105.36	92.57	78.82				
SERVICE	99.68	95.44	88.63	84.16	92.55	91.00	80.02	44.04
PRIM	43.22	48.31	17.12	22.00				
PROC	140.23	133.66	216.62	206.93	157.62	116.52	188.96	113.36
CONS	132.69	116.76	232.62	335.68				69.90
TRAN	82.05	97.47	41.36	55.76				
MATHA	109.84	116.88	65.26	79.83				232.73
NOTCL	54.94	114.28	139.89	156.12				

\*IN-CH = INDO-CHINESE; \*\*IN-PA = INDO-PAKISTANI.

continued...

K. GLENGARRY

OCCUPATION	FRENCH		ITALIAN		IN-CH	IN-PA	CARIBBEAN	
	1981	1971	1981	1971	*	**	1981	1971
MANG	69.02	77.42						
NATSOC	52.63	18.43						
REL	63.15	47.57						
ART		16.59						
SERVICE	113.38	103.99		222.10				
PRIM	61.18	71.79		179.24				
PROC	180.08	194.81						
CONS	92.80	121.66						
TRAN	120.15	138.25						
MATHA	126.31	94.01						
NOTCL	136.31	102.09						

\*IN-CH = INDO-CHINESE; \*\*IN-PA = INDO-PAKISTANI.

L. PRESCOTT:

OCCUPATION	FRENCH		ITALIAN		IN-CH	IN-PA	CARIBBEAN	
	1981	1971	1981	1971	*	**	1981	1971
MANG	63.05	55.01						
NATSOC	65.25	50.78						
REL	90.26	68.86		157.69				
ART		45.14						
SERVICE	110.23	146.21		89.13				
PRIM	65.20	53.20						
PROC	158.48	163.06		153.75				
CONS	137.28	143.31		307.50				
TRAN	117.76	139.93						
MATHA	86.24	255.78						
NOTCL	46.90	93.10						

\*IN-CH = INDO-CHINESE; \*\*IN-PA = INDO-PAKISTANI.

continued...

M. RUSSELL:

OCCUPATION	FRENCH		ITALIAN		IN-CH	IN-PA	CARIBBEAN	
	1981	1971	1981	1971	*	**	1981	1971
MANG	96.35	191.67						
NATSOC	30.89	28.79						
REL	79.89	139.39						
ART		33.33						
SERVICE	110.54	93.52						
PRIM	89.25	73.61						
PROC	145.03	145.00						
CONS	177.48	285.71						
TRAN	76.98	158.33						
MATHA	141.31	316.67						
NOTCL	22.31	150.00						

\*IN-CH = INDO-CHINESE; \*\*IN-PA = INDO-PAKISTANI

N. LENNOX & ADDINGTON:

OCCUPATION	FRENCH		ITALIAN		IN-CH	IN-PA	CARIBBEAN	
	1981	1971	1981	1971	*	**	1981	1971
MANG	111.96	130.92						
NATSOC		42.78						
REL	92.96	70.39						
ART		272.75						
SERVICE	106.72	93.00		212.24				
PRIM		37.95		281.45				
PROC	48.78	133.20						
CONS	70.93	160.01						
TRAN	171.33	100.71						
MATHA		38.96						
NOTCL		155.86						

\*IN-CH = INDO-CHINESE; \*\*IN-PA = INDO-PAKISTANI

continued...

O. HASTINGS:

OCCUPATION	FRENCH		ITALIAN		IN-CH *		IN-PA **		CARIBBEAN	
	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981	1981	1981	1971	1981	1971
MANG	37.62	70.69	98.29	142.64						564.61
NATSOC	87.80	61.02		109.13						575.96
REL	64.15	71.15		106.65						633.24
ART		122.65								
SERVICE	114.55	106.24	89.52	72.17						43.95
PRIM	69.14	65.79		15.98						
PROC	111.62	114.01	64.73	156.33						107.62
CONS	131.00	140.92	271.50	136.91						
TRAN	91.91	93.23		97.82						
MATHA	69.42	95.99		125.89						
NOTCL		118.29								

\*IN-CH = INDO-CHINESE; \*\*IN-PA = INDO-PAKISTANI.

P. TIMISKAMING:

OCCUPATION	FRENCH		ITALIAN		IN-CH *		IN-PA **		CARIBBEAN	
	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981	1981	1981	1971	1981	1971
MANG	73.08	57.24		109.09						
NATSOC	72.88	64.45		127.54						
REL	75.49	80.09	124.19	79.86						
ART	55.59	61.29		525.62						
SERVICE	103.48	85.56	93.12	79.57						
PRIM	130.80	144.17		86.11						
PROC	102.86	120.52		155.43						
CONS	94.75	114.53		74.13						
TRAN	103.89	103.19		59.00						
MATHA	91.00	95.51		96.36						
NOTCL	157.50	88.29		206.49						

\*IN-CH = INDO-CHINESE; \*\*IN-PA = INDO-PAKISTANI.

continued...

Q. COCHRANE:

OCCUPATION	FRENCH		ITALIAN		IN-CH	IN-PA	CARIBBEAN	
	1981	1971	1981	1971	*	**	1981	1971
MANG	59.34	43.41	87.59	83.85				
NATSOC	44.39	28.78	52.39	89.55				
REL	84.73	63.72	48.49	57.65				
ART	42.51	44.15		46.12				
SERVICE	96.06	89.51	101.52	110.97				
PRIM	115.70	137.07	155.99	150.78				
PROC	151.43	139.92	126.88	110.43				
CONS	167.76	130.02	76.15	101.86				
TRAN	111.35	168.95	74.24	43.92				
MATHA	112.73	89.24		127.57				
NOTCL	110.82	134.69		99.72				

\*IN-CH = INDO-CHINESE; \*\*IN-PA = INDO-PAKISTANI

R. ALGOMA:

OCCUPATION	FRENCH		ITALIAN		IN-CH	IN-PA	CARIBBEAN	
	1981	1971	1981	1971	*	**	1981	1971
MANG	61.07	46.22	77.60	44.60				
NATSOC	51.17	33.84	66.95	40.83				492.72
REL	67.27	57.87	69.12	41.06				
ART	43.08	22.21	78.41	32.15				137.69
SERVICE	96.98	82.91	103.94	90.41				
PRIM	236.51	206.44	23.62	44.47				
PROC	109.51	131.98	140.91	172.98				
CONS	102.50	134.61	103.64	144.07				
TRAN	103.95	103.51	50.96	43.55				
MATHA	117.18	130.20	159.95	157.05				
NOTCL	68.93	140.14	120.95	287.05				

\*IN-CH = INDO-CHINESE; \*\*IN-PA = INDO-PAKISTANI

continued...

S. RAINY RIVER:

OCCUPATION	FRENCH		ITALIAN		IN-CH	IN-PA	CARIBBEAN	
	1981	1971	1981	1971	*	**	1981	1971
MANG		63.26		203.85				
NATSOC		60.92						
REL	88.32	91.38	250.00	117.78				
ART		137.07						
SERVICE	93.17	88.58		118.11				
PRIM	86.81	92.85						
PROC	114.31	100.45		161.83				
CONS	96.35	159.62		134.18				
TRAN	104.66	143.03		76.81				
MATHA		133.73		129.27				
NOTCL		49.84						

\*IN-CH = INDO-CHINESE; \*\*IN-PA = INDO-PAKISTANI.

T. KENORA

OCCUPATION	FRENCH		ITALIAN		IN-CH	IN-PA	CARIBBEAN	
	1981	1971	1981	1971	*	**	1981	1971
MANG	67.57	39.71	92.73	34.33				
NATSOC	68.73	67.92		78.31				
REL	71.71	62.78		96.51				
ART		30.73		159.41				
SERVICE	86.72	90.30	96.35	87.84				
PRIM	204.91	215.08	84.57	148.78				
PROC	110.97	107.05	88.25	131.28				
CONS	136.56	117.62	185.63	191.79				
TRAN	110.14	119.88	112.05	36.59				
MATHA	62.78	44.69		57.97				
NOTCL	140.20	104.28		202.89				

\*IN-CH = INDO-CHINESE; \*\*IN-PA = INDO-PAKISTANI.

continued...

lag behind the British. On the other hand, in the northern counties where the French form an important ethnic group the British maintain the core character in the tertiary activities. The northern area is characterised by the overwhelming importance of the French ethnic group in most occupations except in the managerial and scientific areas. This may be attributed to the fact that the traditional French culture limits the degree of assimilation in the industrial economy and thereby prevents employment of manpower in the high status jobs (Fenwick, 1982). The particular aspect is true for the French throughout the province but is more striking in the present case where they form a dominant ethnic group.

Table 4.6. demonstrates the existing differences both in the northern and southern counties. However, among the southern core the municipalities of Toronto, Peel, York and Ottawa-Carleton there seems to be a higher concentration of the French in managerial occupation or scientific jobs than in Essex, Durham or Haldimand-Norfolk.

The occupation representation reflects a similar core-periphery relationship when the Italian group is compared with the British ethnic immigrants. The



important difference in this group (Table 4.6) is the overwhelming representation in construction. In Ottawa-Carleton, Toronto, Peel, York and Essex, the construction sector employs a significant proportion of Italian ethnic immigrants. The northern counties reflect a less striking difference which may be attributed to the fact that in this part of the province there is less demand for construction works owing to the passive nature of the economy. In general, the Italians appear to be more concentrated in processing, transport and other jobs requiring lower level of education and skill.

Amongst post-World War II immigrants the Indo-Chinese ethnic group exhibits a striking variation when compared with the British cohorts in the occupation categories (Table 4.6). In most of the southern core municipalities, the Indo-Chinese ethnic group is proportionally less employed in administrative and managerial jobs; scientific and occupation related to education, health and teaching as well as services. In the peripheral occupations these ethnic immigrants appear to be well represented proportionally (481.01% in occupation not classified in Toronto and 342.88% in Ottawa-Carleton). The Indo-Chinese tend to be concentrated in data-processing occupations, an important characteristic of the women (Richmond, 1981).

In the southern low order core municipalities of Durham and Haldimand-Norfolk this ethnic group is not represented in either of the eleven occupation category. The same holds true in case of the northern peripheral counties of Ontario (Table 4.6.K-T).

The salient feature of Table 4.6 is the high representation of Indo-Pakistanis in managerial, natural and social sciences related jobs, teaching, education and health services. This is largely due to the fact that the vast majority of this group immigrated to Canada following the war when the point system of selection was enforced. In some of the high order core municipalities, this ethnic group is overwhelmingly represented in the scientific occupation (192.86% in Ottawa-Carleton and 125.39% in Toronto). Indo-Pakistanis are poorly represented in the peripheral occupations in Durham, Middlesex and Essex. This reflects the fact that Toronto being a high order core has a higher concentration of immigrants of Indo-Pakistani origin. In the northern counties these ethnic immigrants demonstrate a weak concentration.

The third non-White ethnic group that has been compared with the charter group is the Caribbean. This group illustrates a similar pattern to the Indo-

Pakistani because both immigrated to Canada after the implementation of the point system. However, this ethnic immigrant group has a high proportion employed in the occupation category of education, health services and religion. Again, in some of the high order core municipalities of southern Ontario (Peel, York, Toronto, and Ottawa-Carleton) the cohorts are highly represented in the scientific occupation. The northern peripheral counties of Ontario have insignificant representation of the Caribbeans owing to poor economic conditions.

#### CONCLUSION.

This chapter demonstrated the existence of stratification in the economic domain between some ethnic groups in Ontario. The important aspects that have been revealed indicate that a number of factors contribute towards the prevailing uneven strata. Assimilation depends on the linguistic, educational and racial characteristics. However, in spite of these attributes, there exists evidence of quicker attainment of assimilation on the part of the Indo-Pakistani group amongst the other non-White ethnic groups. This feature is, again, due largely to the higher proportion of educated and skilled persons. According to Basavarajappa & Verma, (1985) as skilled manpower immigrates the

assimilation is quicker as they tend to become "economically independent in the receiving society in a relatively short time". The same holds true with respect to the cohorts of diverse origin.

Prior to 1965 the British granted immigration to the unskilled labour who were restricted from migrating to occupations other than the specific ones. However, presently when the minority groups are engaged in the high status jobs it is apparent that the control of the British is less. It is possible for the initial immigrants to face downward mobility yet they tend to rise up the occupation strata irrespective of racial background. It may be true for the immigrants for those granted admission on the basis of refugee status or sponsored class who have a long way to go in order to attain the specific educational, cultural and social characteristics.

## CHAPTER V

### GEOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC VARIATIONS BETWEEN ETHNIC GROUPS IN ONTARIO

The purpose of the thesis as stated earlier is in part to examine the occupational representation of ethnic groups in Ontario and identify the relationship between income, earned by the members of different groups, and ethnic origin. In the preceding chapter the social, economic and cultural characteristics of the different groups were examined and they partially explained the core-periphery relationship between them.

In section 5.1 the variables that may account for variations in the income earned are discussed. This is followed by section 5.2 in which the five peripheral groups are compared with the British, settled in the core area of southern Ontario, with respect to university education, language spoken at home, period of immigration and labour force activity and income earned in respective occupations. Then in section 5.3 the same task is done to explore the core-periphery relation between the six ethnic groups of northern peripheral counties of Ontario. Finally, in section 5.4 the variations between the immigrants of the same ethnic

origin concentrated in the core and peripheral counties is discussed.

In order to identify under and over representation of ethnic groups in northern and southern parts of Ontario, particularly for "visible" ethnic groups, a number of counties and regional municipalities had to be selected. The representative municipalities of the core are Durham, Essex, Haldimand-Norfolk, Hamilton-Wentworth, Middlesex, Niagara, Ottawa-Carleton, Peel, Toronto and York. The counties representing the periphery are Algoma, Cochrane, Glengarry, Hastings, Kenora, Lennox and Addington, Prescott, Rainy River, Russell and Timiskaming. The southern counties tend to have industrial economies with a strong emphasis on the service sector component, while the peripheral counties are based mainly on primary jobs with some secondary jobs. The purpose of selecting the named counties is to present an overview of the spatial variation of immigrants who have settled in northern and southern parts of Ontario. The depressed economy of the periphery affects immigrant distribution while diverse employment opportunities in the core provides incentives to the immigrants (Anderson and Frideries, 1981).

An important characteristic of Canadian society is

the relationship between ethnic origin and socio-economic position in society (Porter, 1965). The Canadian population is comprised of ethnic immigrants and as the immigrants enter to form a part of the mosaic the economic position is a clear indication of their status in the society. As the pioneer immigrants the British had the initial advantage about which other group should be allowed to settle in and in which economic activity. Thus, there develops a relationship between ethnic origin and class (Porter, 1965). This is distinctly evident as immigration policies are reviewed. The socio-economic status of the Asian in the early nineteenth century was low because most of the immigrants were compelled to take inferior jobs as domestic servants, workers in the mines, railways and forest. Present immigration policies being biased toward quality of immigrants, the socio-economic status of the pre-World War II and post-World War II immigrants reflect considerable differences. But even during the present time the core-periphery relationship continues to exist as the immigrants are allowed to enter the country depending on the needs of the host society. Hence, it was hypothesized that a distinct core-periphery structure exists among ethnic groups in occupational structure and also while considering the relative distribution of the groups.

The data used in the present analysis to highlight the core-periphery relationship between immigrants are from 1971 and 1981 Special Computer Runs, and for the purpose of the present study the occupational groups have been reorganised. The re-classified occupation categories are expected to reveal the core-periphery relation between the concerned ethnic groups in the economic sphere of Ontario. By rearranging the occupation structure the preference of the immigrants towards primary, secondary or tertiary jobs can be assessed. Information regarding occupation has been arranged to show the variation among the income earned by ethnic groups in different occupations.

Eleven occupation categories have been selected in the present study. These are (1) Managerial, Administrative and Related Occupations (MANG); (2) Natural and Social Science Related Fields (NATSOC); (3) Education, Health Services and Religion (REL); (4) Arts and Recreation (ART); (5) Clerical, Sales and Service Occupations (SERVICE); (6) Farming, Fishing, Mining and Forestry (PRIM); (7) Occupations Related with Processing, Machining and Fabrication (PROC); (8) Constructions (CONS); (9) Transportation (TRAN); (10) Material Handling, Crafts and Equipment Operating Occupations (MATHA) and (11) Occupations Not Elsewhere



Classified (NOTCL).

For 1981, the distribution of income is organised in terms of five classes: (i) income less than \$ 4, 334; (ii) income \$4,335 to \$ 10,385; (iii) income \$ 10,386 to \$ 17,335; (iv) income \$ 17,336 to \$ 21,669 and (v) income more than \$ 21, 670.

For 1971, income involves six classes: (i) less than \$ 1, 999; (ii) \$ 2,000 to \$ 4,999; (iii) \$ 5,000 to \$ 7,999; (iv) \$ 8,000 to \$ 9,999; (v) \$ 10,000 to \$ 14,999 and (vi) more than \$ 15, 000.

The income categories of 1971 correspond with those of 1981 if the figure of each class be multiplied by 2.167 (inflation between 1971 and 1981). The inflation rate has been estimated according to the Consumer Price Index. In 1981, the last income group of over \$ 21,670 corresponds to the annual income of \$ 10,000 to \$ 14,999 and over \$ 15,000 taken together.

In the present analysis, for 1981 the highest income category, over \$ 21, 670, has been considered while for census year 1971, the annual income category \$ 10,000 to \$ 15,000 has been examined. The last annual income category of over \$ 15,000 has not been accounted

for because immigrants other than the British have a very low proportion earning over \$ 15,000 and the information was held back by Statistics Canada, to ensure confidentiality. For both periods, the proportion of ethnic immigrants earning the specified income has been considered with reference to the total income of each occupation category. The criterion has been followed to identify the differential representation of ethnic groups earning the income category both in the core and peripheral parts of Ontario.

#### 5.1. VARIABLES MEASURING SOCIO-ECONOMIC VARIATIONS BETWEEN AND WITHIN ETHNIC GROUPS.

While attempting to identify the disparities of income in occupations between the British and the peripheral ethnic immigrant groups of French, Italian, Indo-Chinese, Indo-Pakistani and Caribbeans, the importance of university education, period of immigration and labour force activity and the ability to speak in English are considered to be obvious. These factors, to a great extent, are expected to account for the existing disparity between the British and the peripheral groups and the relative importance of southern counties to northern counties of Ontario,

because the higher one is educated and possesses adequate skills the greater the inclination to settle in the southern core.

The northern part with a less urbanised economic system has few jobs to offer to the educated. The south, in contrast, because of the presence of important cities not only attracts the internal migrants but also international migrants. Southern Ontario is characterised by the presence of important cities namely, Oshawa, Hamilton, St. Cathrines, Ottawa, Toronto, Windsor and London. In contrast, the north does not have any city of parallel importance.

Census data from a Special Computer Run furnishes information regarding educational levels by ethnic group. There are four levels: (i) no schooling; (ii) less than grade seven; (iii) grade seven to thirteen and (iv) some university or college education. In this study, the proportion of ethnic immigrants with some university education (UNED) have been compared as there is evidence of some relationship between high income and education.

With respect to time of immigration of individuals and to labour force participation, the

ethnic data set was grouped into six classes: (i) pre-1946 period; (ii) 1947 to 1955; (iii) 1956 to 1964; (iv) 1965 to 1971; (v) 1972 to 1976 and (vi) 1977 to 1981. However, for the 1971 census there remain some limitations owing to the non-availability of data, the Computer Run Tape of 1971 fails to furnish information on Indo-Chinese and Indo-Pakistani ethnic immigrants. Also, there is no information regarding immigration and labour force participation for the census year 1971. As a result the comparison between 1971 and 1981 ethnic immigrants is not possible. Regarding these variables, the three periods since 1965 have been grouped as it was only after 1965 that Canada showed a bias towards educated immigrants. The proportion of the immigrants with reference to the total immigration has been accounted for (IMMI). The primary reason for doing so is to explain the relative importance of the north and the south to the newly arriving ethnic groups who are expected to possess education and knowledge of English language prior to their arrival. Moreover, since 1965, some of the ethnic groups show a gradual decline in the proportion immigrating to Canada because of the economic recession the country has been facing since the late 1970s.

With regard to the importance of language, while

explaining the under representation of some ethnic groups earning high income, the importance of the mother tongue is expected to be very high. The ethnic data set provides information of immigrants of different mother tongue; the classes are (i) English; (ii) French; (iii) either English or French and (iv) neither English nor French. In the present analysis the proportion of the ethnic groups of different mother tongues using English as their home language have been used (MTONGUE). Mother tongue refers to the language spoken by an individual since childhood and still understood (Jackson, 1975). For 1981, the data set, however, fails to furnish information about MTONGUE with respect to the Caribbean group, and thus this immigrant group could not be included in the study.

The core-periphery relations existing between the spatial and aspatial aspects of Ontario may be explained by analysing the data through using a Difference of Means Test. The test is associated with Student's t-Test and tests the significance of the difference between the means. It also tests both independent and paired samples (Norcliffe, 1982; SPSS<sup>X</sup> User's Guide, 1986) and calculates the probability of t-value based on a two-tailed test of significance. The method is used to measure the difference between means of the core ethnic

group (British) and the means of the French, the Italian, the Indo-Chinese, the Indo-Pakistani and the Caribbean groups. Also, the analysis is used to explain the existing difference within the ethnic groups of northern and southern Ontario.

The Statistical Package For the Social Sciences (SPSS<sup>X</sup>) was the program used to identify the differences existing between and within the ethnic groups regarding income earned in the eleven occupational categories, possessing university or College education (UNED), immigration following 1965 (IMMI) and ability to speak English (MTONGUE). The test has been performed amongst the groups represented in the core and peripheral counties and within the same ethnic group by taking representatives from the core and peripheral areas.

The t-value as calculated measure the difference. If positive value is obtained it explains that the British ethnic immigrants have a higher mean value than the other ethnic groups. On the contrary, if it is negative, one may conclude that the British had a lower percentage of manpower earning an annual income of over \$ 21, 670 than the respective group in concern. Also, depending on the t-value it may be inferred whether

core-periphery concept holds true with respect to the percentage of labour earning income above the specified limits within the members of the ethnic groups in identical occupation category, educational background, period of immigration and English language between the rural areas and the urbanised south. While calculating the t-values, the SPSS<sup>X</sup> program deletes the missing values listwise. Therefore, in the present data set wherever the information is concealed by Statistics Canada, for confidentiality reasons, the missing values are deleted. In a few cases, however, the data set has zero because the number of replies were more than thirty but were all negative to the pertinent questions. In such cases, the zero values are included in the t-statistics.

#### 5.2. SOCIO-ECONOMIC VARIATION BETWEEN ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE CORE REGION OF SOUTHERN ONTARIO.

A close examination of the different variables selected is expected to reveal a distinct core-periphery structure between the ethnic groups of urban southern Ontario. Any area with industrial development experiences a demand for diversified labour in all sectors. The immigrants settling in these areas need to adapt to the socio-economic system and therefore amongst

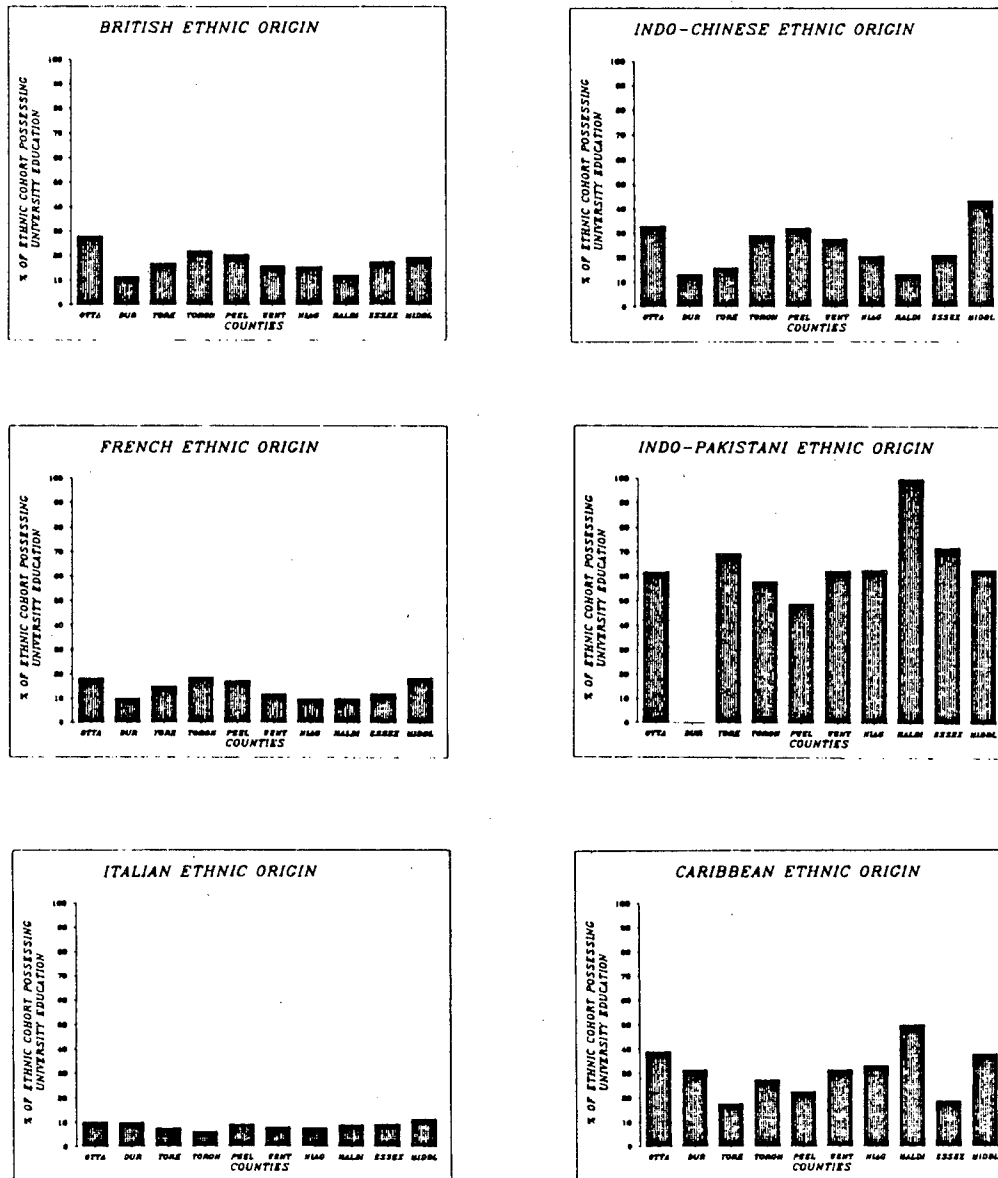
the immigrants the section possessing the adequate skills tend to settle in the south. Again, dependent on education and knowledge of the official language of the host society, stratification emerges in the economy. Therefore in this section the aim is to examine the factors of university education (UNED), immigration and labour force participation (IMMI), use of English at home (MTONGUE) and the income structure and to explain the differences between the British and the other ethnic immigrant groups of the core areas of Ontario.

Taking into account the factor of university education (UNED), it is evident that within the core area there is a distinct variation between the British and the peripheral groups both in 1981 (Figure 5.1) and 1971 (Figure 5.2). Amongst the regional municipalities the highest proportion of UNED persons, of the different ethnic origin are concentrated in Ottawa-Carleton, Durham, York, Toronto, Peel and Middlesex, which may again be due to the presence of highly specialised economic activities requiring adequate education and skill. The British, both for 1981 and 1971 census years reveal core features with high percentage possessing university education (UNED). The British ethnic immigrants had the highest mean value (27.69) in the core areas of Ontario, 1981 (Table 5.1). For the census



FIGURE 5.1.

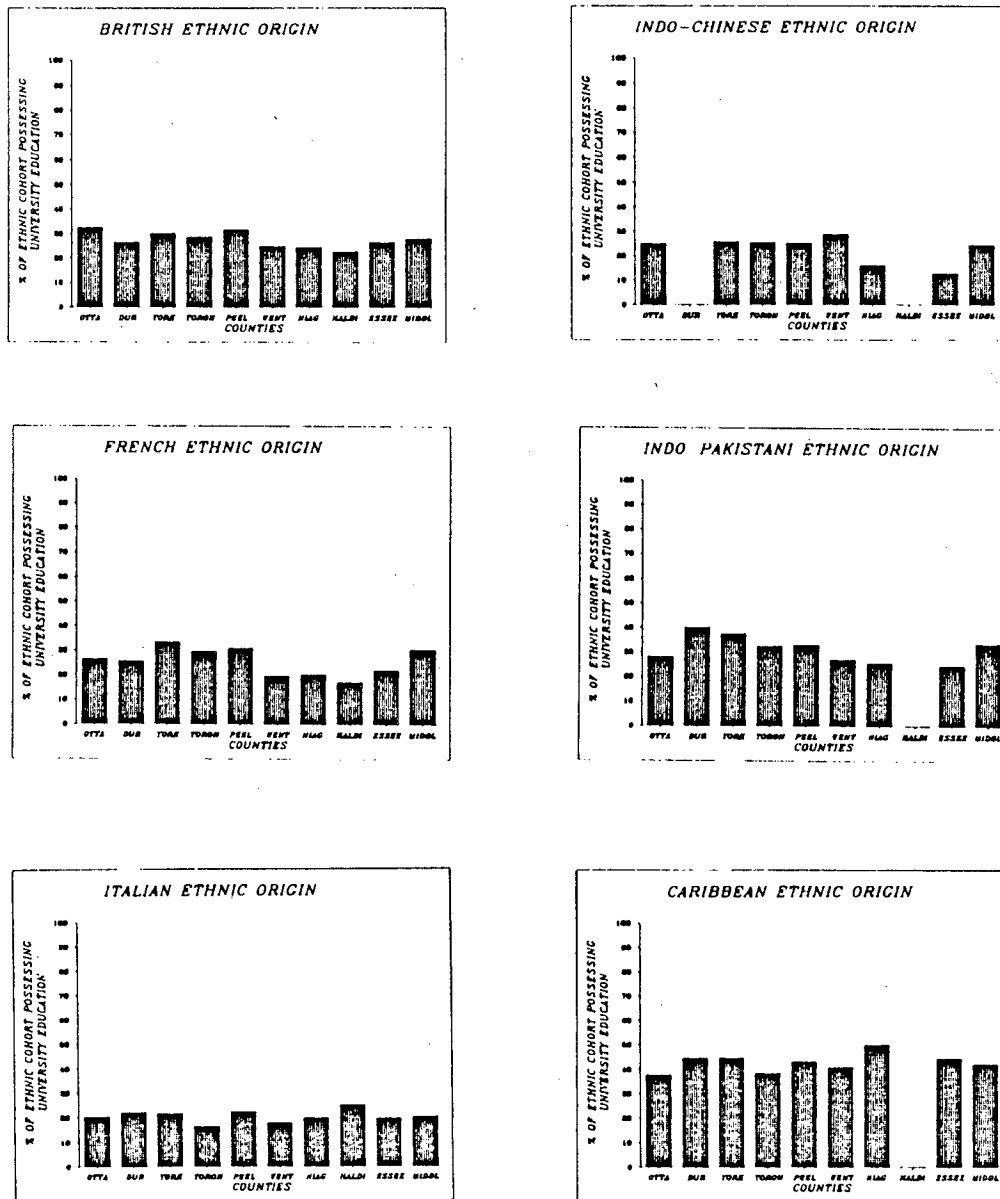
PROPORTION OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATED PERSONS IN EACH OF TEN CORE COUNTIES, BY ETHNIC ORIGIN, 1981.



Source: STATISTICS CANADA: SPECIAL COMPUTER RUN OF 1981.

FIGURE 5.2.

PROPORTION OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATED COHORTS IN EACH OF TEN CORE COUNTIES, BY ETHNIC ORIGIN, 1971.



Source: STATISTICS CANADA: SPECIAL COMUTER RUN OF 1971.

TABLE 5.1.

VARIATIONS BETWEEN DIFFERENT ETHNIC GROUPS AND THE BRITISH  
ETHNIC GROUP CONSIDERING THE VARIABLES OF IMMIGRATION,  
UNIVERSITY EDUCATION AND MOTHER TONGUE.

Mean (%)  $\pm$  Standard Deviation (s.d) and Number of Counties (n):

	IMMIGRATION 1981	UNIVERSITY EDUCATION 1981	UNIVERSITY EDUCATION 1971	MOTHER TONGUE 1981
British: CORE				
mean $\pm$ s.d	49.73 $\pm$ 9.88	27.69 $\pm$ 3.22	18.12 $\pm$ 4.85	94.77 $\pm$ 4.45
n	10	10	10	10
PERIPHERY				
mean $\pm$ s.d	36.72 $\pm$ 9.79	23.71 $\pm$ 2.40	13.72 $\pm$ 1.17	86.69 $\pm$ 10.97
n	10	10	10	10
French: CORE				
mean $\pm$ s.d	50.85 $\pm$ 22.58	25.68 $\pm$ 5.83	14.42 $\pm$ 3.76	
n	10	10	10	
PERIPHERY				
mean $\pm$ s.d	16.90 $\pm$ 18.44	17.41 $\pm$ 4.39	7.84 $\pm$ 1.77	
n	10	10	10	
Italian: CORE				
mean $\pm$ s.d	64.99 $\pm$ 12.86	20.53 $\pm$ 2.41	9.08 $\pm$ 1.51	78.55 $\pm$ 7.96
n	10	10	10	10
PERIPHERY				
mean $\pm$ s.d	32.51 $\pm$ 23.69	20.36 $\pm$ 12.60	11.16 $\pm$ 5.56	76.14 $\pm$ 12.01
n	8	10	10	8
Indo-Chinese: CORE				
mean $\pm$ s.d	9.50 $\pm$ 11.34	10.39 $\pm$ 10.85		66.75 $\pm$ 24.46
n	10	10		8
PERIPHERY				
mean $\pm$ s.d		7.35 $\pm$ 14.70		100.00
n		4		1
Indo-Pakistani: CORE				
mean $\pm$ s.d	78.88 $\pm$ 9.83	28.32 $\pm$ 11.15		86.93 $\pm$ 5.47
n	10	10		10
PERIPHERY				
mean $\pm$ s.d	60.11 $\pm$ 39.27	13.55 $\pm$ 20.00		90.40 $\pm$ 13.60
n	5	5		6
Caribbean: CORE				
mean $\pm$ s.d	75.69 $\pm$ 27.43	29.99 $\pm$ 10.39	38.69 $\pm$ 14.10	
n	10	10	10	
PERIPHERY				
mean $\pm$ s.d	31.25 $\pm$ 44.19		48.09 $\pm$ 33.27	
n	2		6	

continued...

continued...

TABLE 5.1.

Student's t-Values:

	IMMIGRATION 1981	UNIVERSITY EDUCATION 1981	1971	MOTHER TONGUE 1981
-----				
French				
CORE	-0.22NS	1.80NS	4.44***	67.32***
PERIPHERY	3.65***	4.48***	7.22***	25.56***
Italian				
CORE	-6.95***	5.33***	5.74***	10.40***
PERIPHERY	0.47NS	0.76NS	1.28NS	3.26***
Indo-Chinese				
CORE	8.74***	3.15***		3.11***
PERIPHERY	13.67***	2.41NS		
Indo-Pakistani				
CORE	-10.12***	-0.21NS		4.70***
PERIPHERY	-1.23NS	1.19NS		-0.42NS
Caribbean				
CORE	-3.81***	-2.67***	-3.33***	
PERIPHERY	0.27NS	-0.03NS	-2.61*	

-----

t Statistics:    NS = t probability > 0.05  
                   \* = "                 "         < 0.05  
                   \*\* = "                 "         < 0.025  
                   \*\*\* = "                 "         < 0.001

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Source: STATISTICS CANADA: SPECIAL COMPUTER RUNS OF 1981 and 1971 CENSUS.

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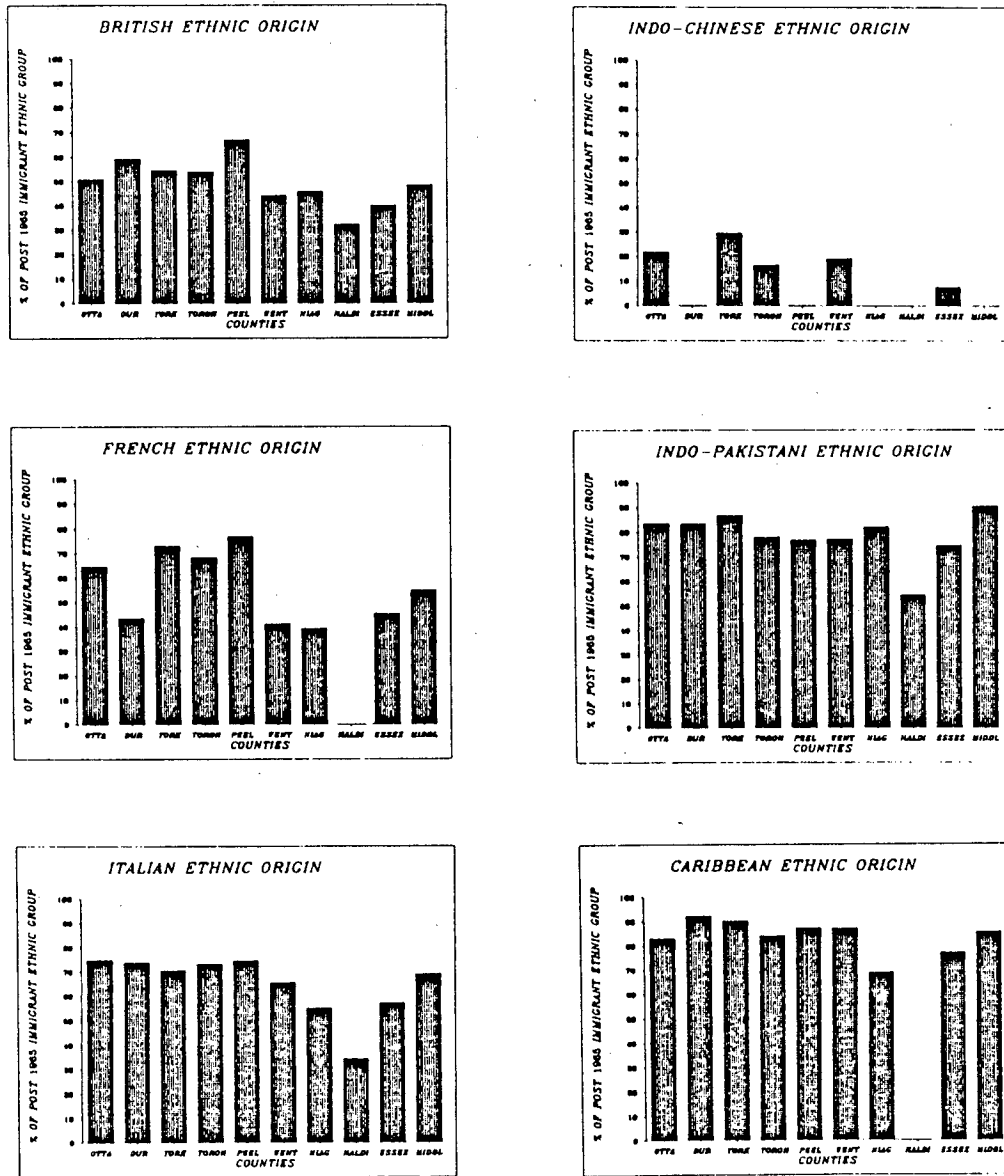
year 1981, the Indo-Pakistani and Caribbean ethnic immigrants demonstrated a higher proportion possessing university education ( $\bar{X} = 28.32\%$ ). The French in the core areas of southern Ontario demonstrates a lower proportion with high education ( $\bar{X} = 25.68\%$ ). The Italian immigrants also have a lower percentage of university educated cohorts ( $\bar{X} = 20.53\%$ ) followed by the Indo-Chinese ( $\bar{X} = 10.39\%$ ). In the case of the Indo-Pakistani ethnic group the mean value of 28.32 percent may be due to the fact that the vast majority immigrated to Canada following 1965. At this time Canada's immigration policy was highly biased towards education. Also, a tendency prevalent within this group is to educate the children as the parents are themselves educated. This may be due to the relationship which exists between education and family status (Porter, 1965). Porter (1965) refers to the existence of a positive connection between the desire to acquire higher education and status that any family has in the society. For the Caribbean the same reasoning may be applied. However, an important fact to be mentioned is that the data are set in such a manner that if there are less than thirty persons of any particular ethnic group with university education the information is held back and this may explain the very high percentage in certain areas.

The data in Table 5.1 demonstrate that the British in 1971 had a higher proportion of immigrants with university education when compared with the French or the Italian. The Caribbean immigrants reflect a higher mean value (22.99 %) amongst the peripheral ethnic groups in 1971. With respect to  $t$  statistics obtained while analysing the data available for 1971 it is apparent that the British did maintain the core characteristics (Table 5.1) with the French ( $t = 4.44$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) and the Italian representatives ( $t = 5.74$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). On the other hand, the Caribbean group demonstrates a higher percentage of immigrants with university education ( $t = -3.33$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) than the British. However, both the British and the French reveal that since 1971 higher percentage of ethnic group possess UNED in the southern parts of Ontario. The children born during the baby boom are increasingly attaining UNED and this helps to explain the decreasing  $t$  value between the charter and peripheral groups over the period.

Turning to period of immigration and the labour force participation since 1965 (IMMI), it is clearly visible that the following areas of the core Ontario contain the higher proportion of IMMI: Ottawa-Carleton, Durham, York, Toronto and Peel (Fig 5.3). For the ethnic

FIGURE 5.3.

PROPORTION OF ETHNIC IMMIGRANTS ARRIVING AFTER 1965 IN EACH OF TEN CORE COUNTIES, BY ETHNIC ORIGIN, 1981.



Source: STATISTICS CANADA: SPECIAL COMPUTER RUN OF 1981.

group of Indo-Pakistani and the Caribbean origin the regional municipality of Haldimand-Norfolk has a relatively lesser attraction. For the latter the non-existence may be explained by the fact that with the absence of any city paralleling the importance of Toronto, Ottawa, Hamilton and others there may be less diversified activities. The Indo-Chinese appear to be concentrated only in the few municipalities of Ottawa-Carleton, York, Toronto, Hamilton-Wentworth and Essex where there is demand for diversified labour of high and low skills.

By comparing the mean figures of the ethnic groups with that of the British (Table 5.1), it is clear that with the exception of the Indo-Chinese group ( $t = 8.74$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) immigration of the other groups, after 1965 has been higher than the core group. The lower percentage of Indo-Chinese immigration may be due to the selective scheme of immigration policy. The French also reveal a negative value with the  $t$  value at  $-0.22$  which, however, is not significant as in the case of the other peripheral ethnic groups.

Ability to converse in English is one of the important variables when considering the employment and income structure. The French in southern Ontario

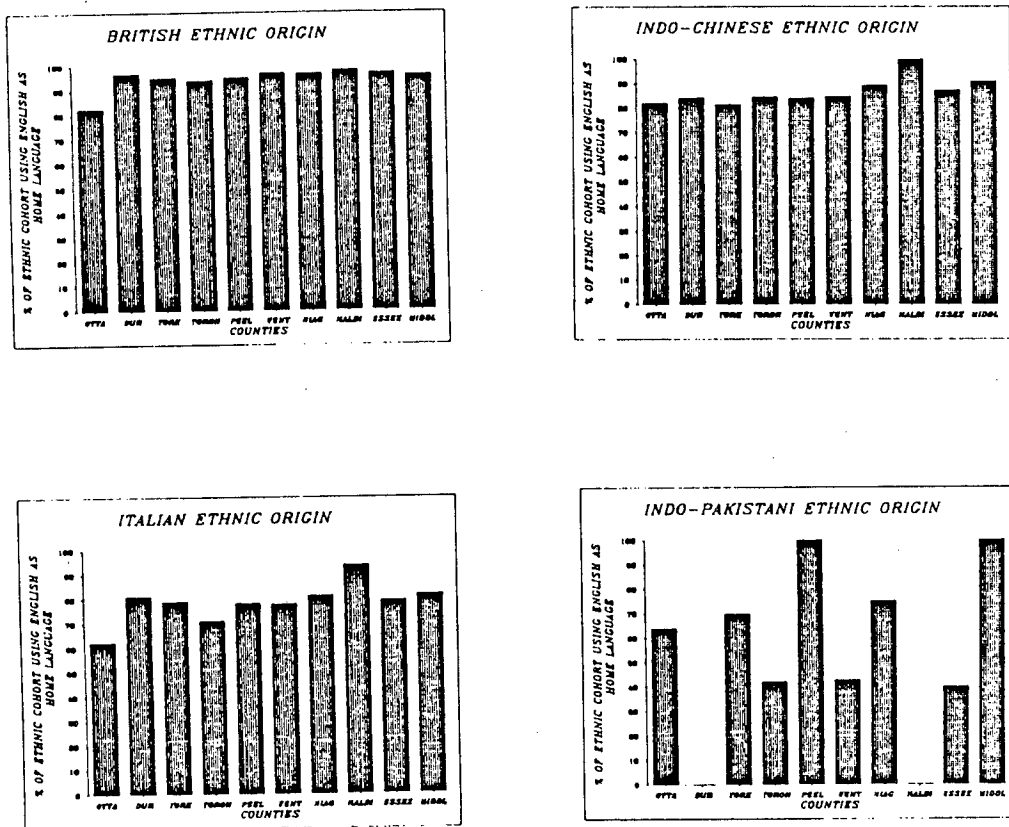


reflect that a negligible percentage of the immigrants speak English. This indicates the propensity to retain the mother tongue amongst the French. The British group has less than 100 percent speaking MTONGUE at home which may be partially due to the fact that in some parts for instance Ottawa- Carleton area the proximity of Quebec is responsible and also the other factor may be inter-ethnic group marriage (Figure 5.4). The concept of multiple origin has been recognised in the 1981 census, and this factor may explain that in southern Ontario the mean value in the case of the British stands at 94.99 percent (Table 5.1).

Between peripheral groups, the Italians demonstrate a highly significant proportion of immigrants who do not use English at home ( $t= 10.40$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). Like the other peripheral ethnic immigrants the Indo-Pakistani cohorts represent a significantly high proportion using MTONGUE ( $t= 4.70$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). The Indo-Chinese ethnic group demonstrates a highly significant variation when compared with a t-value of 3.11 ( $p < 0.001$ ). This result appears to be striking as it was expected that the last named group would have a higher difference than the Indo-Pakistani as the former entered in large numbers as refugees who had poor language skills. Furthermore, the non availability of data for

FIGURE 5.4.

PROPORTION OF IMMIGRANTS IN EACH OF TEN CORE COUNTIES USING ENGLISH AS HOME LANGUAGE, BY ETHNIC ORIGIN, 1981.



Source: STATISTICS CANADA: SPECIAL COMPUTER RUN OF 1981.

two municipalities may be responsible for the variation.

The above mentioned variables may contribute significantly to the variation of income structure among ethnic immigrants. In 1981 the British maintained the core features in almost all the occupational categories and particularly in MANG, NATSOC, REL, SERVICE. The high representation in these occupations as demonstrated by the mean values illustrated in Table 5.2 as against those of the other ethnic groups is due to the pioneer status. Also, the south with its diverse occupation structure centered around the Golden Triangle has demand for skilled jobs in the tertiary and quaternary services. The percentage of French in MANG sector earning annually above \$ 21, 670, however, reflects variation (Table 5.2) from the British counterparts but is less significant than the other ethnic immigrants ( $t= 2.80, p < 0.025$ ). As already stated, the income category used for testing the difference of mean varies for 1971, and for this period too the British had a higher percentage of manpower earning over \$ 21, 670 ( $t= 1.86, p > 0.05$ ). With regard to the Italians ( $t= 3.63, p < 0.001$ ), Indo-Pakistani ( $t= 3.75, p < 0.001$ ) and Caribbean ( $t= 6.08, p < 0.001$ ) groups, the British maintained its core status in 1981.

TABLE 5.2.

## VARIATION IN INCOME BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND OTHER PERIPHERAL ETHNIC GROUPS IN DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONS IN THE CORE AREAS OF ONTARIO.

Mean (%)  $\pm$  Standard Deviation (s.d) and Number of Counties (n):

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
British											
1981											
mean	56.00	45.11	29.85	19.33	10.16	3.49	22.92	31.99	24.47	22.60	10.11
s.d	7.98	7.44	2.75	9.53	2.47	1.93	4.89	4.90	4.89	4.22	4.96
n	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
1971											
mean	27.24	24.77	10.97	12.72	6.40	1.68	11.51	20.89	10.25	11.49	6.08
s.d	2.39	6.93	1.89	6.95	1.98	0.82	4.02	5.52	3.77	3.04	1.91
n	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
French											
1981											
mean	51.62	37.10	24.30	11.96	14.15	1.30	19.59	24.32	23.71	16.27	4.44
s.d	7.53	9.22	4.90	14.70	7.61	4.12	5.65	11.64	12.06	12.46	4.87
n	10	9	9	9	10	10	10	10	10	10	8
1971											
mean	19.83	26.60	7.20	7.26	4.40	0.96	11.30	20.70	13.60	10.76	6.80
s.d	11.65	25.68	3.80	10.87	3.40	1.55	5.26	5.04	10.34	6.49	7.01
n	10	10	10	9	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
Italian											
1981											
mean	42.14	31.03	26.42	5.09	4.77	1.86	15.75	25.09	20.89	11.86	8.65
s.d	16.51	9.85	12.51	9.95	3.05	4.06	7.09	8.96	16.85	10.51	7.24
n	10	9	9	8	10	9	10	9	9	9	9
1971											
mean	21.86	18.48	20.47	5.75	3.22	3.53	8.93	15.66	10.08	2.90	3.60
s.d	9.63	10.94	28.85	8.64	2.49	5.89	4.74	13.82	7.61	3.11	3.04
n	9	10	10	8	10	10	10	10	9	10	9
Indo-Chinese											
1981											
mean		15.00									
s.d		21.21									
n		2									
Indo-Pakistani											
1981											
mean	26.56	50.70	31.99	7.31	2.23		6.01	32.09	18.65	3.37	
s.d	30.07	23.86	17.99	10.34	3.93		7.55	22.24	29.78	3.92	
n	8	9	8	2	9		9	2	4	4	
Caribbean											
1981											
mean	43.90	15.14	9.58		0.72		9.12	6.89	23.52	1.79	6.92
s.d	11.05	17.43	10.73		1.36		9.69	9.96	11.98	3.58	9.79
n	5	6	8		8		7	5	2	4	2
1971											
mean	1.87	5.62	12.40	8.33	0.93		7.69	30.39	8.33	5.55	0.55
s.d	4.19	10.50	16.04		1.77		16.19	41.35	20.41	13.60	1.24
n	5	8	10	1	9		9	5	6	6	5

continued...

TABLE 5.2.

Student's t-Values

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
French											
	**	***	***	*	*	NS	*	*	NS	NS	***
1981	2.80	4.55	4.26	2.52	-2.28	1.64	2.53	2.53	0.28	1.58	5.34
	NS	NS	*	*	***	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS
1971	1.86	-0.56	2.38	2.25	3.64	1.52	0.13	0.10	-1.15	0.38	-0.28
Italian											
	***	***	NS	***	***	NS	***	***	NS	***	NS
1981	3.63	7.22	0.95	5.92	7.63	0.89	4.12	3.19	0.97	3.06	0.94
	NS	***	NS	***	***	NS	NS	NS	NS	***	***
1971	1.64	2.72	-1.05	3.09	10.57	-1.05	1.24	1.05	0.37	9.27	3.59
Indo-Chinese											
		NS									
1981		1.53									
Indo-Pakistani											
	***	NS	NS	NS	***	***	***	NS	NS	***	***
1981	3.75	-0.61	-0.24	1.93	6.10	7.83	5.25	-0.04	0.37	4.10	6.75
Caribbean											
	***	***	***		***		***	***	NS	***	NS
1981	6.08	5.46	5.56		11.24		3.21	5.00	1.27	4.68	0.25
	***	***	NS		***	***		NS	NS	NS	***
1971	8.96	5.99	-0.29		5.90	3.90		-0.42	0.34	1.14	8.46

t statistics:      NS = t probability > 0.05  
                      \* = "                    " < 0.05  
                      \*\* = "                    " < 0.025  
                      \*\*\* = "                    " < 0.001

SOURCE: STATISTICS CANADA: SPECIAL COMPUTER RUNS OF 1981 & 1971 CENSUS.

A= MANG; B= NATSOC; C= REL;    D= ART;    E= SERVICE; F= PRIM; G= PROC;  
 H= CONS; I= TRAN;    J= MATHA; K= NOTCL.

Also, in this context it is to be remembered that in certain cases the t-value may be subject to a certain degree of misrepresentation owing to the fact that the peripheral groups are not represented in the income category of all the core municipalities or counties. In 1971 the Italians ( $t= 1.64$ ,  $p > 0.05$ ) and Caribbean ( $t=8.96$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) were confined to the peripheral position as in 1981. The variation in income earned between the British and Caribbean ethnic immigrants reflects the persistence of the core-periphery relationship over the period.

Of all the ethnic groups in the occupation related to natural and social sciences (NATSOC) the Indo-Pakistani reflect that owing to the higher education a considerable proportion are engaged in this sector and earn an annual income of \$ 21,670 ( $t= -0.61$ ,  $p > 0.05$ , Table 5.2). The other groups that reflect the true peripheral nature are the French ( $t= 4.55$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), Italians ( $t= 7.22$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), Indo-Chinese ( $t= 1.53$ ,  $p > 0.05$ ) and the Caribbeans ( $t= 5.46$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). In 1971, the French ( $t= -0.56$ ,  $p > 0.05$ ) showed that a higher percentage of the manpower in NATSOC earned between \$ 10, 000 and \$ 15, 000. This may again be explained by the fact that in Durham Regional Municipality 100 percent of the manpower earned the

specified income annually which may partially account for the positive value.

Considering the occupations classified under the category of religion, education and health services (REL), the negative value (Table 5.2) for the Indo-Pakistani group ( $t = -0.24$ ,  $p > 0.05$ ) may be explained by the fact that SPSS<sup>X</sup> deletes missing data from the variables to be compared when calculating the  $t$  statistics. The other ethnic groups, however, maintain the peripheral status as evident from Table 5.2.

Turning now to the ART sector, which encompasses within its fold arts and recreation, a distinct core-periphery structure is found to exist between the ethnic groups. This is more due to the fact this sector is monopolised by the charter group while the other groups, especially the non-White ethnic immigrant representatives, face limitations owing to the disadvantage with respect to language.

Southern Ontario with a highly urbanised and industrialised economic system has had the SERVICE sector gaining momentum especially within the Golden Triangle. Within this triangle particularly in Toronto and adjacent municipalities the demand for tertiary and

quaternary services being high a large proportion of the labour is engaged in this occupation. However, unlike the other occupations already discussed the SERVICE sector has a lower percentage of labour earning above \$ 21, 670 and this holds true for all the ethnic groups in 1981 and 1971. The British continue to maintain the high representation as previously with the exception of Ottawa-Carleton where the French maintain a higher percentage. The knowledge of both English and French in the Federal Government administration is an added advantage for the representatives of the French ethnic group. This helps to explain that the British are over represented in the sector with a higher t value over all the other groups with the exception of the French ( $t = -2.28$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ) in 1981 (Table 5.2). However, the value may be subjected to a certain degree of misrepresentation owing to data set problems as mentioned earlier.

The primary occupations (PRIM) are more the monopoly of the British ethnic group representatives than the other ethnic groups because the representatives of the Italian, Indo-Pakistani, Indo-Chinese and the Caribbean are highly urbanised: they show greater inclination towards urban occupations, as they mostly arrive from countries that vary in the socio-economic



and cultural background. The non-White ethnic groups reveal the highest differences from the British in 1981.

With respect to the processing, machining and fabrication occupations (PROC), French immigrants depict the core-periphery relationship when compared with the British ( $t= 2.53$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ). The Caribbean ethnic group, according to Reitz (1982) has a considerable proportion of its manpower in this sector, yet, like all other groups, it, too, is under represented in the income category of \$ 21,670 ( $t= 3.21$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ).

When the other occupational categories of transportation (TRAN), construction (CONS), material handling (MATHA) and occupations not classified (NOTCL) are considered the British are found to be relatively less represented than those in the core occupation namely, MANG, NATSOC, etc. Yet the British continue to maintain their core status over all the other ethnic groups, due to their pioneer status.

### 5.3. SOCIO-ECONOMIC VARIATIONS BETWEEN ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE PERIPHERAL AREAS OF NORTHERN ONTARIO.

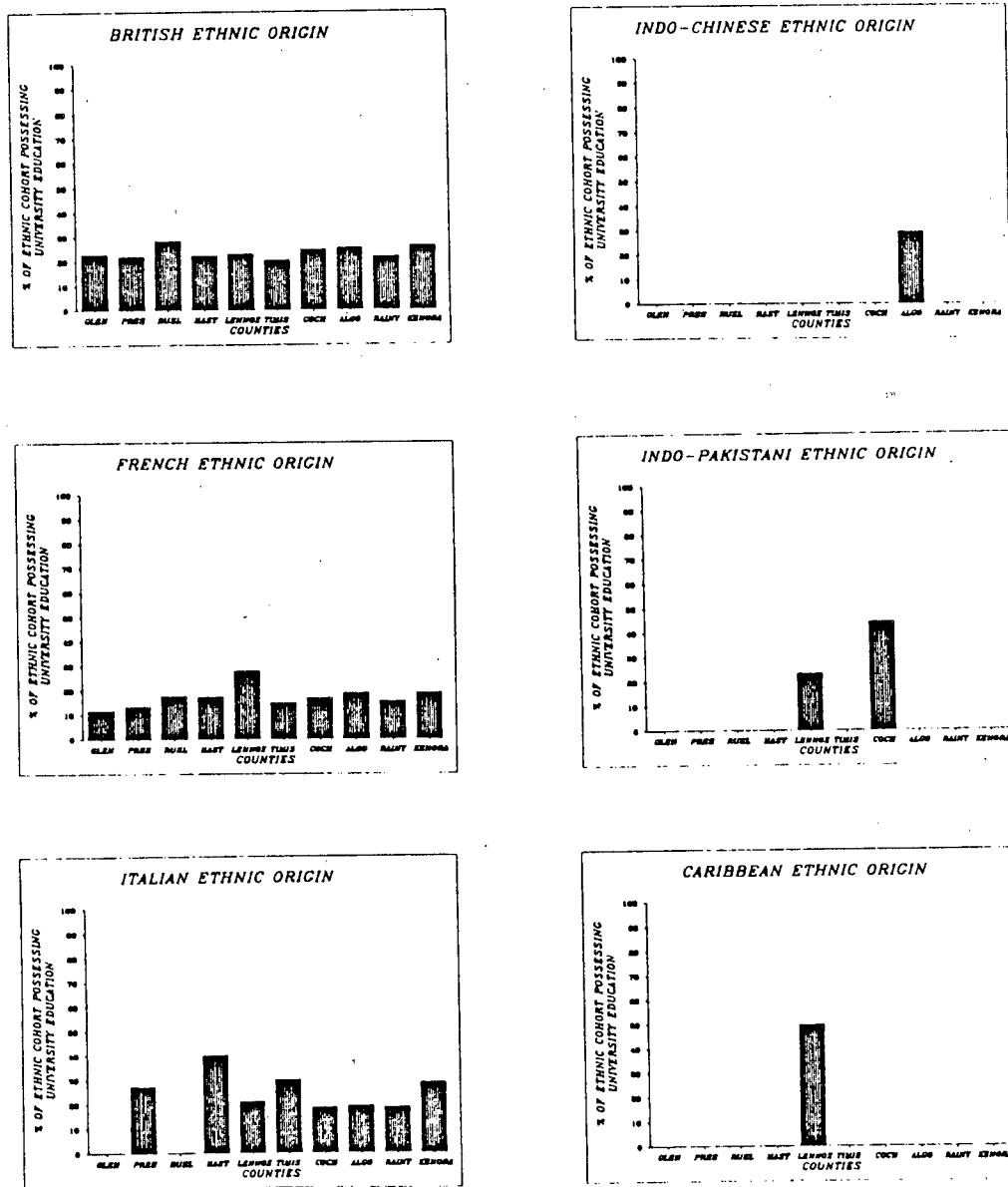
In this section the aim is to show the socio-

economic variations within the peripheral counties and the degree to which the peripheral ethnic groups have adjusted to the economic realm. While considering the proportion of representatives of each ethnic immigrant group it is evident that the northern areas, representing the periphery of Ontario, have fewer university educated (UNED) persons (Figures 5.5 and 5.6). This may be due to a number of causes. Firstly, this part being oriented towards the rural economy has less demand for higher education, and as a result there is migration of the educated persons towards areas where employment opportunities exists. Again, as Porter (1965) stated, the education system and industrialisation go hand in hand the latter has a great impact on the former. In the southern part of the province the growing concentration of the universities may not only be due to the demand for higher education but also the continuous demand for research by the industries. Another factor worth mentioning in this context is that in a rural area the attitude towards attainment of higher education is limited as the parents are themselves less educated.

Table 5.1 reveals that amongst the ethnic groups the British have a higher percentage of university educated individuals; among the other groups,

FIGURE 5.5.

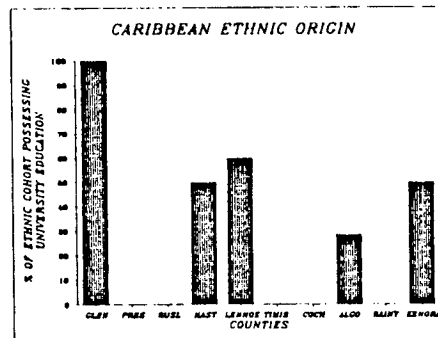
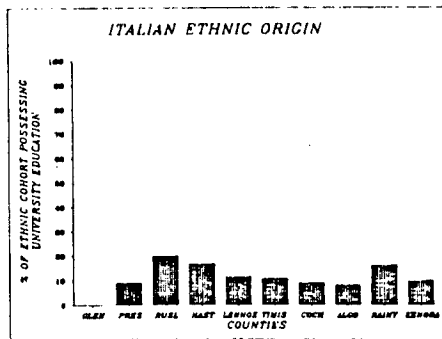
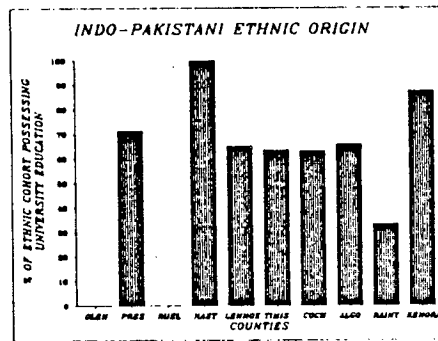
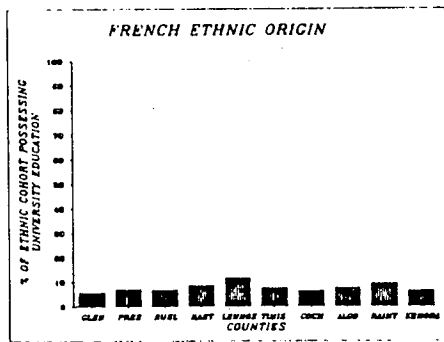
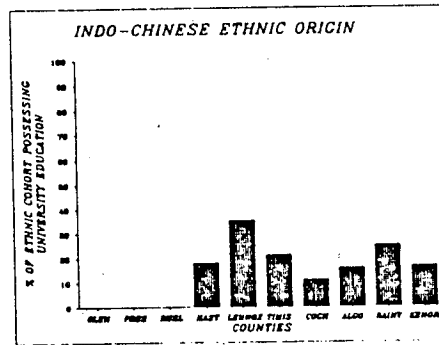
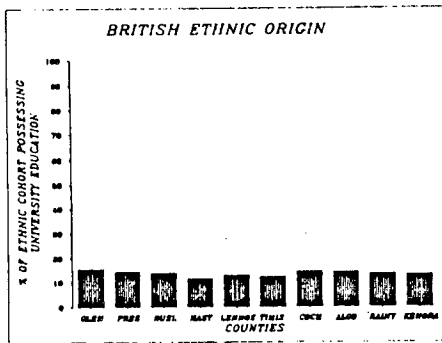
PROPORTION OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATED COHORTS IN EACH OF TEN PERIPHERAL COUNTIES, BY ETHNIC ORIGIN, 1981.



Source: STATISTICS CANADA: SPECIAL COMPUTER RUN OF 1981.

FIGURE 5.6.

PROPORTION OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATED COHORTS IN EACH OF TEN PERIPHERAL COUNTIES, BY ETHNIC ORIGIN, 1971.



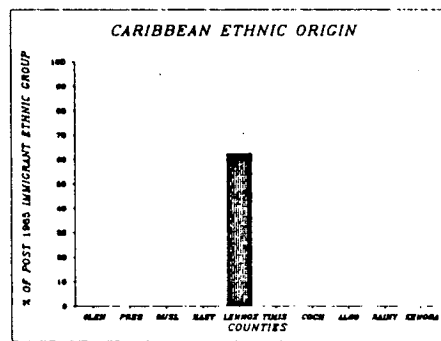
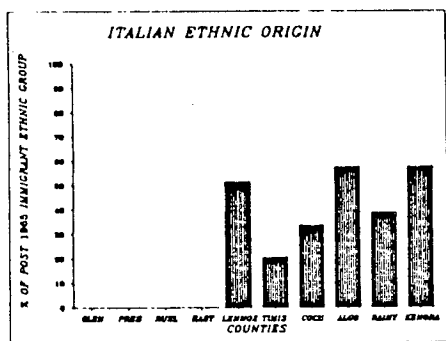
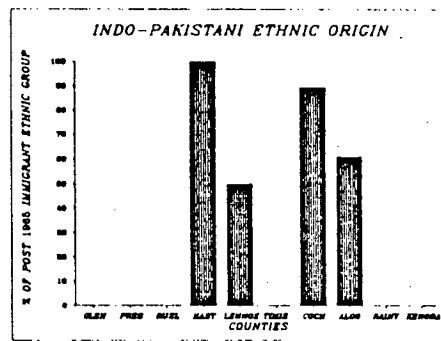
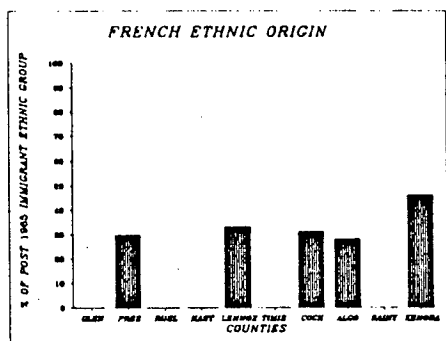
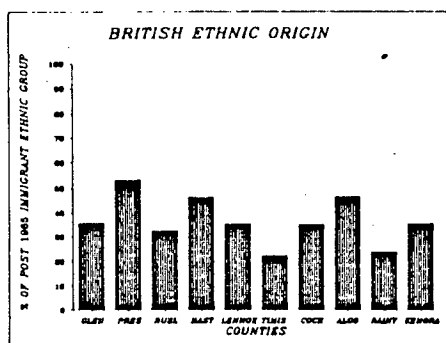
Source: STATISTICS CANADA: SPECIAL COMPUTER RUNS 1971.

particularly the French ( $t= 4.48$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) the lower education is due to the dominance of the Church (discussed in Chapter IV) and large family size as compared to those of the British origin (Porter, 1965). Furthermore, in rural society the number of children, per family, is more than in an urban area economic causes and may also attribute to the lower proportion of the population with higher education. The Italian group has a higher percentage of UNED ( $t= 0.76$ ,  $p > 0.05$ ) than the counterparts of French ethnic origin. The explanation to this may be the fact that this group is less oriented towards farming than the French. In 1971, the variation between the ethnic groups is seen to exist, with the French having a highly significant difference from the British ( $t= 7.22$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). Again, in the case of the Italian ethnic group the  $t$  value of 1.28 reveals a greater inclination towards education than the French.

Turning to period of immigration and labour force participation (IMMI), it is apparent (Fig 5.7) that the British group had a continuous inflow of immigrants, even in the peripheral north. However, for the entire area IMMI were less in proportion than their counterparts in the south. The Indo-Chinese, Indo-Pakistani and Caribbean ethnic groups further retain the

FIGURE 5.7.

PROPORTION OF ETHNIC IMMIGRANTS ARRIVING AFTER 1965  
IN TEN PERIPHERAL COUNTIES, BY ETHNIC ORIGIN, 1981.



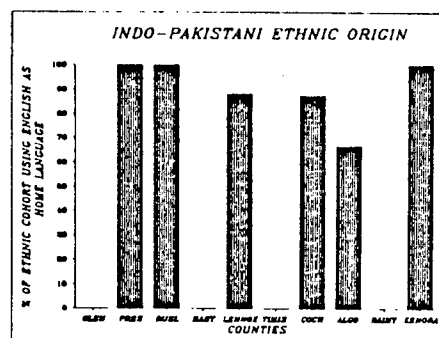
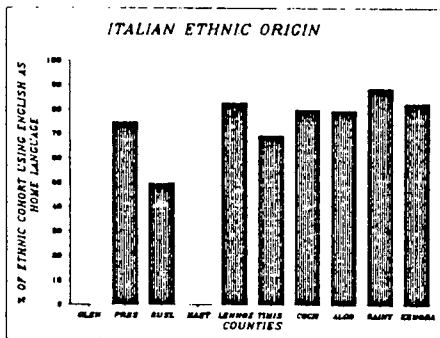
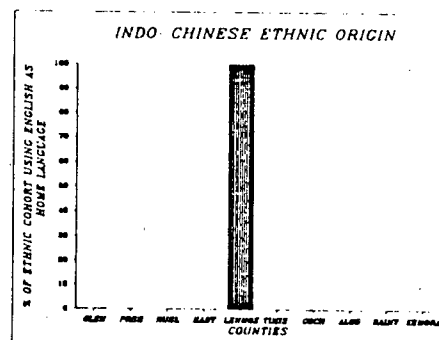
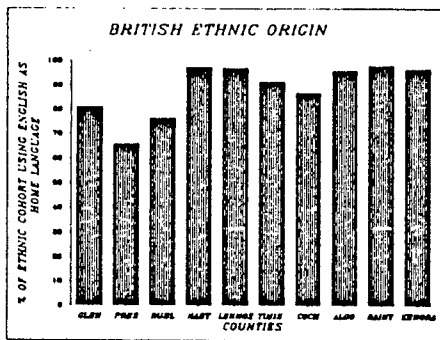
Source: STATISTICS CANADA: SPECIAL COMPUTER RUNS, 1981

low representation as the north has higher degree of unemployment, and also the cooler climate has less attraction for the immigrants coming from warm environments. The British in the north have a higher proportion of immigrants who came after 1965. Though it was expected that in the north the French have a higher concentration in the areas selected, the  $t$  value of 3.65 ( $p < 0.001$ ), shows a significant difference from the British immigrant group. However, the Indo-Pakistani and Caribbean immigrants do not illustrate a significant difference, which may be due to the absence of the immigrants in majority of the counties.

The effect of English language on occupation is very important. The survey data on the peripheral counties support the hypothesis that the peripheral ethnic groups use MTONGUE to a lesser extent than the British (Figure 5.8). For the French group (Table 5.1) the non availability of data is due to the fact that only a limited proportion speak English at home. The Indo-Pakistani immigrants, however, depict a significant difference, but this may be attributed to exaggeration of the original data set which reveals that in Glengarry, Prescott and Kenora 100 percent of the representatives converse in English. This may be due to the fact that in any area where the number of people of the same

FIGURE 5.8.

PROPORTION OF ETHNIC IMMIGRANTS IN EACH OF TEN PERIPHERAL COUNTIES USING ENGLISH AS HOME LANGUAGE BY ETHNIC ORIGIN, 1981.



Source: STATISTICS CANADA: SPECIAL COMPUTER RUN OF 1981.



group is low the ability to retain the language and culture is difficult.

In the peripheral areas as represented by the ten counties of Algoma, Cochrane, Glengarry, Hastings, Kenora, Lennox and Addington, Prescott, Rainy River, Russell and Timiskaming - the economy is primary and secondary based. There is no urban center equal in importance to Toronto, Hamilton or Windsor. In spite of the fact that in Ontario the service sector has gained importance, in the north the absence of any major cities leads to less demand for highly professional and technical occupations. Also, in the north-eastern counties, the French form the most important ethnic group but the British continue to sustain the core characteristics as in the south. However, the differences in the income earned by the representatives of the British and the peripheral ethnic groups appear to be less significant in most of the occupations. In the managerial (MANG), natural and social sciences (NATSOC), religion, education and health services (REL) and clerical, sales and service (SERVICE) sectors the variations between the British and the French is less striking than in the core counties of the south.

When considering the occupation-income representation in managerial and administrative (MANG) sector, it is apparent that in 1981 the French had a lower proportion of the labour force earning over \$ 21,670 annually ( $t = 0.42$ ,  $p > 0.05$ ). On the other hand, in 1971 the French preserved higher position ( $t = -1.06$ ,  $p > 0.05$ ); but at this point it should be noted that in 1971 the income category considered (\$ 10,000 to \$ 14,999) varies from that of 1981 (\$ 21,670). Amongst the other peripheral groups, the Italians retain the peripheral position as in the south (Table 5.3). However, a striking aspect as expected is that the Caribbeans, Indo-Chinese and Indo-Pakistani are not represented in the peripheral areas of the north.

As shown in Table 5.3 the British group reveals a significant variation when cohorts earning over \$ 21,670 annually in the natural and social sciences (NATSOC) are considered in 1981. The highly significant variation ( $t = 4.44$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) may be because a lower proportion of French ethnic representatives prefer to go for the scientific occupation. In contrast, with respect to the occupation related to REL the French have a less distinct variation from the British ( $t = 1.40$ ,  $p > 0.05$ ) as many cohorts of this group go for religious activities and medicine (Fenwick, 1982). The same

TABLE 5.3.

PERSISTENCE OF ECONOMIC VARIATIONS BETWEEN ETHNIC GROUPS  
OF PERIPHERAL NORTHERN ONTARIO.

Mean (%) + Standard Deviation (s.d) and Number of Counties (n):

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
British											
1981											
mean	52.98	37.27	27.75		9.12	15.65	24.48	28.88	20.74	1.73	15.31
s.d	12.71	8.71	5.61		3.13	14.06	19.64	14.53	13.45	4.59	19.37
n	8	8	10		10	10	10	9	10	7	8
1971											
mean	21.79	18.25	9.39	6.40	4.90	3.75	11.60	12.77	9.30	9.17	3.79
s.d	10.42	16.31	1.59	15.62	1.02	3.84	8.05	5.12	7.00	6.94	3.93
n	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
French											
1981											
mean	50.61	12.54	21.16	2.50	7.65	20.04	20.24	17.05	18.39	1.55	8.87
s.d	7.23	15.06	12.23	7.90	5.13	21.38	21.89	9.53	13.04	4.12	13.60
n	8	8	10	10	10	9	10	9	10	7	8
1971											
mean	25.81	16.31	6.51		3.78	6.65	9.17	9.45	10.87	6.85	3.63
s.d	8.58	21.53	5.22		3.88	7.15	6.96	5.65	8.89	6.96	6.11
n	10	10	10		10	10	10	10	10	10	10
Italian											
1981											
mean	23.85	14.47	6.90		1.46	27.14	16.35	23.03	16.66		29.48
s.d	27.52	20.46	13.81		3.28	25.27	19.09	28.09	28.86		
n	4	2	4		5	3	4	4	3		1
1971											
mean	33.53	21.66	11.75	20.83	3.85	1.98	10.46	10.17	9.56		0.53
s.d	19.11	21.73	13.36	25.00	8.09	3.44	17.14	9.58	21.02		1.19
n	6	5	10	4	9	7	8	8	6		5
Caribbean											
1971											
mean			50.00							5.53	
s.d			50.00							10.08	
n			3							6.00	

continued...

continued...

TABLE 5.3.

Student's t-Values:

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
French											
1981	NS 0.42	*** 4.44	NS 1.40		NS 1.07	NS -0.90	NS 1.64	* 2.44	NS 0.64	NS 0.07	NS 1.31
1971	NS -1.06	NS 0.26	NS 1.69	NS 0.67	NS 1.20	* -2.26	NS 1.31	NS 1.81	NS -0.49	NS 1.32	NS 0.09
Italian											
1981	NS 2.56	NS 2.06	* 3.88		*** 5.84	NS 0.25	NS 1.95	NS 0.75	NS 0.76		
1971	NS -0.71	NS -0.31	NS -0.42	NS -1.68	NS -0.35	*** 3.22	NS 0.64	NS 1.12	NS 0.64	NS 1.28	NS 2.18
Caribbean											
1971		NS -0.39	NS -1.44		*** 12.44		NS -0.72				

t statistics:            NS = t probability > 0.05  
                          \* = "            "        < 0.05  
                          \*\* = "            "        < 0.025  
                          \*\*\* = "            "        < 0.001

SOURCE: STATISTICS CANADA: SPECIAL COMPUTER RUNS OF 1981 & 1971 CENSUS.

A= MANG; B= NATSOC; C= REL; D= ART; E= SERVICE; F= PRIM; G= PROC  
 H= CONS; I= TRAN; J= MATHA; K= NOTCL.

explanation holds true when considering the 1971 data set ( $t = 1.69$ ,  $p > 0.05$ ). The demand for arts and recreation (ART) is lower in northern Ontario which may be attributed to the cause that an area with high urbanisation has greater demand for photography, music, dance, etc. In 1981, no significant difference existed between the British and the other peripheral groups. However, in 1971, certain variations appear to have existed (Table 5.3).

In the clerical, sales and service sector (SERVICE), there exists variation between the core and the peripheral ethnic groups as in the case of the French group ( $t = 1.07$ ,  $p > 0.05$ ) in 1981. In contrast, the Italian ethnic immigrants reveal a highly significant variation from the British ( $t = 5.84$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). This may be attributed to the fact that in an area of low employment opportunities the peripheral immigrant groups are more represented in the lower income strata. Though the French are a peripheral ethnic group, a less distinct difference may be because of their high concentration in most of the selected peripheral counties. While in the primary sector the French earned higher income than the British ( $t = -0.90$ ,  $p > 0.05$ ) owing to the greater inclination of the French towards agriculture. There are differences existing

between the French and the Italian groups in the peripheral north in almost all sectors of the economy. In 1971, the French had a higher proportion earning between \$ 10,000 to \$ 15,000 than the British ( $t = -0.49$ ,  $p > 0.05$ ) as in the peripheral counties of the north.

#### 5.4. SOCIO-ECONOMIC VARIATION BETWEEN THE CORE AND PERIPHERAL AREAS OF ONTARIO.

As discussed in the previous section it is apparent that a stratified socio-economic structure exists between the British and the other ethnic groups of northern and southern Ontario. The present hierarchy between the British and peripheral groups continue to prevail both in the industrialised-urbanised sector of the south and the rural-agro based economy of the north. In this section, the existence of core-periphery structure within each ethnic group representing the southern core and the peripheral north will be analysed.

There are certain differences among the representatives of the ethnic groups when university education (UNED) is accounted for. The reasons behind the variation have been explained to some extent in the preceeding sections. From Table 5.4 it is evident that the core areas of the south retain a higher percentage

of UNED persons. In 1981, the difference has been highly significant both in the case of the British ( $t = 3.28$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) and the French ( $t = 4.46$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) ethnic immigrants. The reason is that the north being dependent on rural economy has little need for higher education. Also, the French tend to maintain the tradition without any important changes through the passage of time (Fenwick, 1982). In 1971, the noteworthy distinction between the northern periphery and the southern core ( $t = 7.72$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) was reduced within a decade as more and more French immigrants aspired for higher education. The out migration to the south was caused by the stagnation of the rural economy which had little demand for labour as agriculture is highly mechanised; therefore in order to earn a livelihood education may have been considered to be of a prime necessity. The British immigrants in 1971 demonstrated a less significant variation than observed in 1981. This may be attributed to the fact that the northern counties have a lower proportion of university educated (UNED) cohorts because there is out migration owing to repressed economy. The negative value of the Caribbean group in 1981 ( $t = -1.0$ ,  $p = 0.005$ ) may be explained due to the unavailability of the data.

TABLE 5.4.

PRESENCE OF VARIATION WITHIN ETHNIC GROUPS  
OF CORE AND PERIPHERAL ONTARIO.  
(Student's t-Values)

	IMMIGRATION	UNIVERSITY EDUCATION	MOTHER TONGUE
	1981	1981	1971
BRITISH	*** 3.35	*** 3.28	* 2.43
FRENCH	*** 3.30	*** 4.46	*** 7.72
ITALIAN	* 2.64	NS 0.04	NS -1.08
INDO-CHINESE	NS 1.00	NS 0.71	
INDO-PAKISTANI	NS 0.81	NS 1.15	NS -0.26
CARIBBEAN	NS 1.00	NS -1.00	

t statistics:           NS = t probability > 0.05  
                          \* = "           "           < 0.05  
                          \*\* = "           "           < 0.025  
                          \*\*\* = "           "           < 0.001

SOURCE: STATISTICS CANADA: SPECIAL COMPUTER RUNS OF 1981 & 1971 CENSUS.



When accounting for immigration and labour force participation rate (IMMI), it is evident that both the British ( $t= 3.35$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) and the French ( $t= 3.30$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) reveal a highly significant core-periphery characteristic between the representatives of the different areas (Table 5.4). The economy of the south has a higher demand for educated and skilled manpower while the unemployment already existing in the north has little positive prospects to offer. As a result of the retarded economic growth in the north the factor of discrimination is more apparent. The low t-value with respect to Indo-Chinese, Indo-Pakistani and the Caribbean ethnic groups may be explained by the fact that these groups immigrated to Canada after the second World War II when the rural economy had little demand for the arriving ethnic immigrants as it had in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Language is also a very important factor in economic stratification. As more and more people attain education there is a growing tendency to use English as the home language. In the north where there is smaller proportion of the ethnic groups, the importance of the mother tongue continues to be higher than in the south. Table 5.4 also illustrates the greater use of English by the British in the south ( $t= 1.75$ ,  $p > 0.05$ ). The same

holds true in case of the Italian ethnic group ( $t= 1.25$ ,  $p > 0.05$ ). But the use of English at home does not reflect any significant difference between the cohorts settled in the core or peripheral areas.

Having surveyed the existing variation between the core and the peripheral areas of Ontario, the same feature is evident within the groups with respect to the income earned in 1981 and 1971. The British, as expected, shows a variation amidst the members of the northern and the southern counties (Table 5.5). The ART sector reveals the highest variation ( $t= 4.94$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) followed by the other urban based activities. The highly significant variation in the income earned in art and literary related occupations (ART) between the core and peripheral counties may be because of the variation in demand in these respective areas. The agriculture, forestry, mining and logging (PRIM) occupation category reflects the dominance of the peripheral counties over the southern ( $t= -2.19$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ) in 1981 as the north is primarily dependent on the rural sector. With respect to the processing, machining and product fabrication (PROC) sector, the northern counties again reveal a

TABLE 5.5.

ECONOMIC DIFFERENCES WITHIN ETHNIC GROUPS OF CORE  
AND PERIPHERAL AREAS OF ONTARIO.  
(Student's t-Values)

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
British											
1981	NS 1.10	* 2.51	NS 1.19	*** 4.94	NS 0.98	* -2.19	NS -0.26	NS 0.99	NS 0.71	NS 1.70	*** 3.11
1971	NS 1.64	NS 1.84	NS 1.65	NS 1.13	* 2.55	NS -1.57	NS -0.04		NS 0.37	NS 0.98	NS 1.64
French											
1981	NS 0.56	*** 4.60	NS 0.71		* 2.19	** -2.74	NS -0.10	NS 1.16	NS 0.83	NS 0.91	NS 0.87
1971	NS -1.35	NS 1.20	NS 0.35	NS 0.88	NS 0.43	* -2.38	NS -0.10	*** 3.78	NS 0.58	NS 1.12	*** 2.77
Italian											
1981	NS 0.37		*** 8.28		NS 0.86	NS -4.38	NS -0.27	NS 0.20	NS 1.00		
1971	NS -1.01	NS -0.27	NS 0.16	NS -1.00	NS -1.90	NS -0.07	NS -0.13	NS 1.42	NS 0.41	NS -0.52	NS 2.14
t statistics:                    NS = t probability > 0.05											
* = "                    "                    < 0.05											
** = "                    "                    < 0.025											
*** = "                    "                    < 0.001											

SOURCE: STATISTICS CANADA: SPECIAL COMPUTER RUNS OF 1981 & 1971 CENSUS.

A= MANG; B= NATSOC; C= REL; D= ART; E= SERVICE; F= PRIM; G= PROC;  
H= CONS; I= TRAN; J= MATHA; K= NOTCL.

predominance of cohorts earning over \$ 21,670 annually over the representatives of the south. The t-statistics calculated for 1971 show a similarity with those of 1981 and thus the persistence of the variation between the core and periphery is apparent.

The French ethnic group in 1981 showed the highest variation within its representative of the north and the south in the natural and social sciences (NATSOC) sector ( $t = 4.60$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). This is due to the fact that in the south the demand for scientific studies is higher owing to the economic structure. The French illustrates a highly significant variation which may again be due to the fact that the ethnic representatives in the periphery were more controlled by the Church than in the south. Also, the scientific occupations require high level of education which may vary significantly for the French immigrants concentrated in the southern core and the northern periphery. As an area advances economically there is growing demand for scientific studies while in the rural area the need for the scientific research is low owing to passive nature of the economy. In the agriculture, forestry, mining and logging (PRIM) occupations ( $t = -2.74$ ,  $p < 0.025$ ) and processing machining and product fabrication (PROC) sector ( $t = -0.10$ ,  $p > 0.05$ ) the French show a higher

proportion of immigrants earning over \$ 21,670 income in the peripheral areas than in the southern core. For 1971, the available statistics indicate that in the north the proportion of the manpower earning between \$ 10,000 to \$ 15,000 annually was highest in the case of the managerial and administrative (MANG) sector ( $t = -1.35$ ,  $p > 0.05$ ). However, in 1981 the existing t-value was estimated to be 0.56 ( $p > 0.05$ ; Table 5.5) because the administrative sector had a larger concentration of French ethnic group.

Amongst the Italian group in 1981 the most significant variation was evident in the religion, education and health services (REL) sector ( $t = 8.28$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) for the north has very few representatives earning the specified income. Also, the French are found to have the highest concentration in this category due to the traditional causes (Fenwick, 1982). This may again be attributed to the fact that in the pre-World War II era when Italians immigrated to Canada, the vast majority settled in rural areas where there was a demand for unskilled labours. In contrast, after the second World War the southern part of Ontario received the immigrants who are better represented in the urban based activities than their counterparts in the north.

## CONCLUSION.

In this chapter the principal aim of the thesis is considered and significant findings are explained. One of the findings is the persistence of variations between the British and five other ethnic groups. The significant variation between the core and peripheral groups are more apparent in the tertiary and quaternary sectors.

The British possessing financial control had strong hold over the political, economic and social system. The French, Italian, Indo-Chinese, Indo-Pakistani and Caribbean ethnic immigrants were dependent on the British charter group and hence there developed the distinct relation of the core (or dominant) and the peripheral (or subordinate) concept as discussed. This autonomy/dependency relationship is expected to persist as long as the immigration policy of Canada is oriented towards immigration of low skilled manpower on humanitarian grounds. The core-periphery relationship is also dependent on the extent to which the immigrants of diverse origin are assimilated within the host society.

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSIONS

A number of conclusions from the research undertaken have been noted in the previous chapters. In this chapter, the thesis is summarised and its findings are discussed in section 6.1. In the following section (6.2) a brief note of some recommendation for future research have been put forward.

#### 6.1. SUMMARY

The aim of the thesis has been to examine the validity and persistence of the core-periphery structure between the ethnic groups in spatial distribution as well as in the socio-economic sphere. The core-periphery concept was derived from Friedmann's (1973) model of regional development and McCann's (1982) heartland-hinterland theory. The present study aimed to look at some of the basic issues and concerns in the field of ethnic relations.

The persistence of spatial concentration and job allocation were the result of social, political and economic control by the charter group. Depending on the

requirements of the country, unskilled labourers were allowed to immigrate and the destinations of these early immigrants were very much linked to the needs of the country. Thus historically, the charter group allowed the farmers and the labourers to enter Canada/Ontario as they had control over the overall economic system.

Chapters II and III provided an overall picture of the ethnic minority settlement and occupation structure in Canada and Ontario and noted the extent to which this has changed over the post-World War II period. It was only since the mid 1960's that immigration policies underwent certain changes, and the succeeding immigrant groups were skilled and educated. During this time the country was experiencing rapid industrial and technological developments which required skilled and trained labour. At present the immigration policies are different and entrepreneurs and skilled persons are highly favoured though, at the same time, refugees who have begun to enter Canada possess few skills. Therefore, a core-periphery relationship continues to exist, with the charter group deciding who is to enter and which occupations need the immigrant.

The existence of the vertical mosaic in the socio-economic aspect between major and minor ethnic



immigrants groups may partially be due to socio-cultural differences. The findings in Chapter IV and Chapter V show that the variation in terms of occupation representation between the British versus the other peripheral groups (French, Italian, Indo-Chinese, Indo-Pakistani and Caribbean) has been due to social, economic and cultural contrasts: specifically, the variables of education, language fluency and period of immigration. These variables not only account for occupation and income differences between the ethnic immigrants but also in their spatial concentration. The economic prospects and the employment structure controls the destination of the immigrants. It is because of this that presently the immigrants tend to settle in the high-order core areas within the major core which have a demand for the newly arriving immigrants. The increased number of immigrants from Third World countries, the spatial concentration is more in the urbanised south than in the peripheral north. A clear distinction between the core and the peripheral areas of Ontario, as destination of immigrants, is apparent because the recent ethnic immigrants tend to seek employment in the industrialised south.

Although the British do maintain a higher status in the different occupations when compared with the

peripheral groups there are few exceptions. Among the peripheral immigrant groups the Indo-Pakistanis demonstrate a somewhat similar occupation specialisation and income earned annually, as the British, in the natural and social sciences, managerial and administrative, health services and education. This could be attributed to the higher level of education of Indo-Pakistani immigrants.

Italians, Indo-Chinese and Carribeans show a heavy concentration in processing, construction, transportation and material handling occupations because these are more numerous in the industrial south. This accounts for the low distribution of the Indo-Chinese, Indo-Pakistanis and Caribbeans in the northern counties of Ontario. Ethnic immigrants of French origin are distributed throughout the selected counties with pockets of high concentration. French are found to demonstrate a distinct peripheral relationship to the charter British group in a majority of the occupations. Though the French were one of the pioneer ethnic groups their upward mobility was restricted because of their desire to retain their ethnic identity.

Thus a core-periphery relationship continues to persist among and within the ethnic groups when annual

income earned by the immigrants was considered. The results of the analysis (Chapter V) indicate the persistence of this difference over the period from 1971 to 1981. Upward mobility can be observed in the case of few ethnic groups, which may be due to differences in education, skill and language fluency.

It can be said, therefore, that the Canadian policy of multiculturalism has yet to eradicate the present vertical mosaic. Again, the major difficulty faced by the immigrants in the economic arena may be due to the lower education and skill of some of the immigrants entering Canada as refugees or as sponsored relatives or as political refugees. Though some of the groups have experienced upward mobility, the vertical mosaic continues to persist.

## 6.2. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH.

The present study has dealt with six ethnic groups in Ontario and the core-periphery relationship was found to exist. One possible area for further research would be to explore the presence of the core-periphery structure between the ethnic immigrants of Ontario versus those of British Columbia. British Columbia has

been yet another important recipient of immigrants from Europe as well as the Third World. This may involve the analysis of the socio-economic variation of a few selective ethnic immigrants and the extent to which the core-periphery relation holds good.

A second possible area of research pertains to the socio-economic differences within the metropolitan municipality of Toronto. The assimilation of newly arrived immigrants tend to be faster in an urban area than in the peripheries. Therefore, one important question is the extent to which socio-economic differences between the major and minor ethnic groups vary in Toronto as well as the whole of Ontario. The extent to which eventual integration and assimilation has taken place in this principal core municipality of Ontario may be assessed.

The data from the Special Computer Tape Runs furnish information for Ontario as well as Quebec. It would be interesting to examine the autonomy/dependency relationship between the British and the French in the two provinces. The important question pertaining to this study may be whether and to what extent the core-periphery relation exists in Quebec where the French ethnic immigrants form the charter group.

An index of dissimilarity can be computed to assess the variation, for each ethnic group, in the highest income category and that of the total labour force in the same category in Ontario. Occupational differences may have declined over time as Darroch's (1980) work suggests, but it is necessary to investigate how far the income differences have declined or continue to persist.

\* \* \* \* \*

It would appear that the core-periphery model provides an ideal framework for the further research noted above, i.e., research encompassing selected ethnic immigrants in Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia. What is certain, is that the reduction of socio-economic differences between ethnic groups is socially and politically desirable - when this is achieved inter-group tensions may subside.

APPENDIX 1.

EMPLOYMENT IN TWENTY TWO OCCUPATIONAL CLASSES, BY ETHNIC GROUP, ONTARIO, 1981.

OCCUPATIONS	BRITISH	FRENCH	ITALIAN	INDO-CHINESE	INDO-PAKISTANI	CARIBBEAN
ALL OCCUP	2317225	340870	266125	5870	48760	35575
MANAG & ADMIN	235925 10.18%	24120 7.08%	15125 5.68%	95 1.62%	4500 9.23%	1830 5.14%
NAT. SCI.	82750 3.57%	7700 2.26%	5300 1.99%	225 3.83%	4180 8.57%	995 2.80%
SOC. SCI.	41325 1.78%	4755 1.39%	1935 0.73%	45 0.77%	695 1.43%	350 0.98%
RELIGION	5820 0.25%	1055 0.31%	170 0.06%	- -	40 0.08%	45 0.13%
TEACHING	97335 4.20%	14665 4.30%	6860 2.58%	85 1.45%	1645 3.37%	760 2.14%
MED. & HEALTH	102535 4.42%	11570 3.39%	4060 1.53%	150 2.56%	2595 5.32%	3635 10.22%
ART. & REC.	37870 1.63%	4820 1.41%	2285 0.86%	45 0.77%	330 0.68%	315 0.89%
CLERICAL	495495 21.38%	66675 19.56%	44550 16.74%	445 7.58%	11885 24.37%	8975 25.23%
SALES	222960 9.62%	27320 8.01%	22685 8.58%	140 2.39%	3435 7.04%	1780 5.00%
SERVICES	247925 10.705	45280 13.28%	35725 13.42%	1130 19.25%	3290 6.75%	4655 13.09%

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APPENDIX 1.

OCCUPATIONS	BRITISH	FRENCH	ITALIAN	INDO- CHINESE	INDO- PAKISTANI	CARIBBEAN
FARMING	80705 3.42%	8660 2.54%	3605 1.35%	215 3.66%	255 0.52%	105 0.30%
FISHING	695 0.03%	75 0.02%	45 0.02%			
FORESTRY	4745 0.20%	3365 0.99%	210 0.08%			
MINING	7105 0.31%	6465 1.90%	580 0.22%			30 0.08%
PROCESSING	75895 3.28%	16230 4.76%	14770 5.55%	445 7.58%	1930 3.96%	1340 3.77%
MACHINING	68515 2.96%	11480 3.37%	11975 4.50%	515 7.58%	2855 5.86%	1915 5.38%
FABRICATION	182570 7.88%	30080 8.82%	37010 13.91%	1535 26.15%	6880 14.11%	4920 13.83%
CONSTRUCT.	111560 4.81%	22335 6.55%	34750 13.06%	150 2.56%	550 1.13%	970 2.73%
TRANSPORT	93160 4.02%	15815 4.64%	6325 2.38%	55 0.94%	730 1.50%	775 2.185
MAT. HAND.	53535 2.31%	8820 2.59%	9075 3.41%	175 2.98%	1675 3.44%	1110 3.12%
CRAFTS & EQUIPMENTS	34955 1.51%	4195 1.23%	2180 0.82%	75 1.28%	575 1.18%	610 1.71%
OCC. NOT CLASSIFIED	33860 1.46%	5390 1.58%	6905 2.59%	330 5.62%	700 1.44%	455 1.28%

Source: STATISTICS CANADA: SPECIAL COMPUTER RUNS OF 1981 & 1971 CENSUS.

APPENDIX 2.

EMPLOYMENT IN TWENTY TWO OCCUPATIONAL CLASSES, BY ETHNIC GROUP, TORONTO, 1981.

OCCUPATIONS	BRITISH	FRENCH	ITALIAN	INDO- CHINESE	INDO- PAKISTANI	CARIBBEAN
ALL OCCUP	523320	33400	126755	2360	28515	24165
MANAG & ADMIN	68150 13.02%	3355 10.04%	6205 4.90%	55 2.33%	2630 9.22%	1080 4.47%
NAT. SCI.	20380 3.89%	905 2.71%	2150 1.70%	110 4.66%	1945 6.82%	590 2.44%
SOC. SCI.	11965 2.29%	555 1.66%	750 0.59%		265 0.93%	210 0.87%
RELIGION	1245 0.24%	40 0.12%	95 0.07%			25 0.10%
TEACHING	20925 4.00%	1355 4.06%	2360 1.86%	55 2.33%	695 2.44%	355 1.47%
MED. & HEALTH	19775 3.78%	1065 3.19%	1380 1.09%	45 1.91%	1080 3.79%	2370 9.81%
ART. & REC.	14710 2.81%	1150 3.44%	1140 0.90%	30 1.27%	230 0.81%	215 0.89%
CLERICAL	148510 28.38%	8860 25.63%	23270 18.36%	265 11.23%	8430 29.56%	6615 27.37%
SALES	50770 9.70%	2650 7.93%	11205 8.84%	55 2.33%	1895 6.65%	1190 4.92%
SERVICES	45940 8.78%	3575 10.70%	15660 12.35%	315 13.35%	2080 7.29%	3290 13.61%

continued...



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APPENDIX 2.

OCCUPATIONS	BRITISH	FRENCH	ITALIAN	INDO- CHINESE	INDO- PAKISTANI	CARI BBEAN
FARMING	2975 0.57%	145 0.43%	1035 0.82%		55 0.19%	55 0.23%
FISHING						
FORESTRY	200 0.04%		35 0.03%			
MINING	205 0.04%					
PROCESSING	9265 1.77%	770 2.31%	5305 4.19%	140 5.93%	1040 3.65%	955 3.95%
MACHINING	10105 1.93%	765 2.29%	5105 4.03%	215 5.93%	1525 5.35%	1205 4.99%
FABRICATION	30745 5.87%	2635 7.89%	19670 15.52%	720 30.51%	4115 14.43%	3265 13.51%
CONSTRUCT.	18100 3.46%	1460 4.37%	18435 14.54%	55 2.33%	325 1.14%	620 2.57%
TRANSPORT	18130 3.46%	1505 4.51%	3185 2.51%		390 1.37%	505 2.09%
MAT. HAND.	13470 2.57%	1260 3.77%	4725 3.73%	45 1.91%	960 3.37%	815 3.37%
CRAFTS & EQUIPMENTS	10815 2.07%	675 2.02%	1275 1.01%	60 2.54%	385 1.35%	455 1.88%
OCC. NOT CLASSIFIED	6915 1.32%	655 1.96%	3765 2.97%	150 6.35%	450 1.57%	345 1.43%

Source: STATISTICS CANADA: SPECIAL COMPUTER RUNS OF 1981 & 1971 CENSUS.

APPENDIX 3.

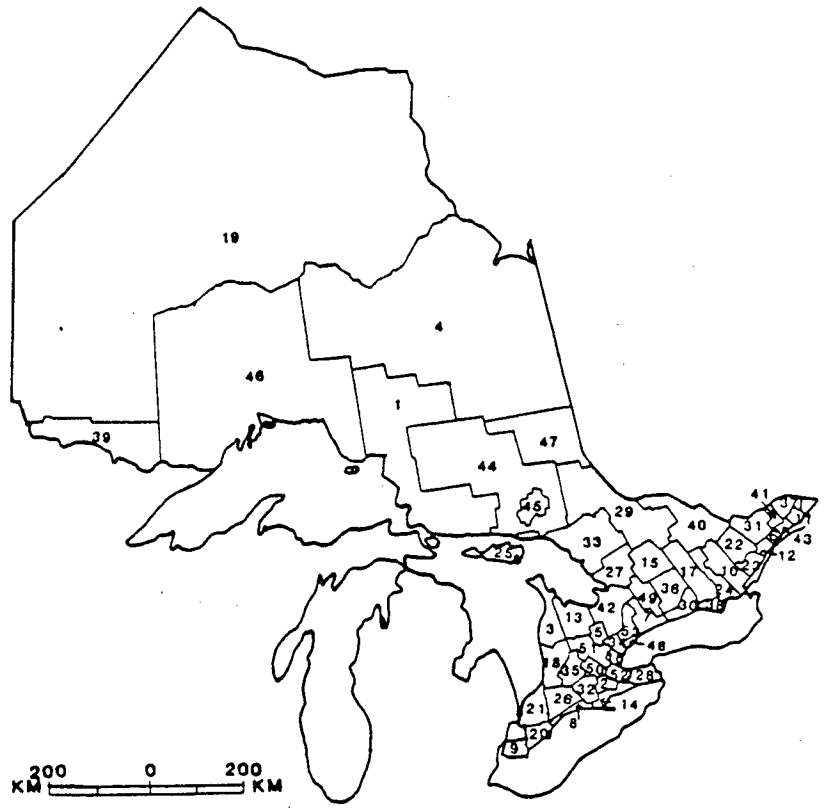
CENSUS DIVISIONS\* OF ONTARIO, 1981.

- \* 1. ALGOMA
- 2. BRANT
- 3. BRUCE
- 4. COCHRANE
- 5. DUFFERIN
- 6. DUNDAS
- 7. DURHAM
- 8. ELGIN
- 9. ESSEX
- 10. FRONTENAC
- 11. GLENGARRY
- 12. GRENVILLE
- 13. GREY
- 14. HALDIMAND-NORFOLK
- 15. HALIBURTON
- 16. HALTON
- 17. HASTINGS
- 18. HURON
- 19. KENORA
- 20. KENT
- 21. LAMBTON
- 22. LANARK
- 23. LEEDS
- 24. LENNOX AND ADDINGTON
- 25. MANITOULIN
- 26. MIDDLESEX
- 27. PEEL
- 28. NIAGARA
- 29. NIPISSING
- 30. NORTHUMBERLAND
- 31. OTTAWA-CARLETON
- 32. OXFORD
- 33. PARRY SOUND
- 34. PEEL
- 35. PERTH
- 36. PETERBOROUGH
- 37. PRESCOTT
- 38. PRINCE EDWARD
- 39. RAINY RIVER
- 40. RENFREW
- 41. RUSSELL
- 42. STORMOUNT
- 43. SIMCOE
- 44. SUDBURY
- 45. SUDBURY REGIONAL  
MUNICIPALITY
- 46. THUNDER BAY
- 47. TIMISKAMING
- 48. TORONTO
- 49. VICTORIA
- 50. WATERLOO
- 51. WELLINGTON
- 52. HAMILTON-WENTWORTH
- 53. YORK

continued...

continued...

APPENDIX 3.



APPENDIX 4.

ANNUAL INCOME\* IN OCCUPATIONAL CLASSES\*\* BY ETHNIC GROUP, BY  
COUNTIES\*\*\* IN ONTARIO (1981 & 1971).

\* \$ = Number of Persons Earning > \$ 21,670 in 1981  
& \$ 10,000 - \$ 15,000 in 1971  
t = Total Number of Earning Persons

\*\* OCCUP/INCOME

- 1 = MANAGERIAL
- 2 = NATURAL & SOCIAL SCIENCES
- 3 = EDUCATION, HEALTH & RELIGION
- 4 = ARTS & RECREATION
- 5 = CLERICAL, SALES & SERVICE
- 6 = PRIMARY
- 7 = PROCESSING, MACHINING & FABRICATION
- 8 = CONSTRUCTION
- 9 = TRANSPORT
- 10 = MATERIAL HANDLING
- 11 = OCCUPATIONS NOT ELSEWHERE CLASSIFIED

- \*\*\* A = OTTAWA-CARLETON  
C = YORK  
E = PEEL  
G = NIAGARA  
I = ESSEX  
K = GLENGARRY  
M = RUSSELL  
O = HASTINGS  
Q = COCHRANE  
S = RAINY RIVER

- B = DURHAM  
D = TORONTO  
F = HAMILTON-WENTWORTH  
H = HALDIMAND-NORFOLK  
J = MIDDLESEX  
L = PRESCOTT  
N = LENNOX & ADDINGTON  
P = TIMISKAMING  
R = ALGOMA  
T = KENORA

continued...

continued...  
APPENDIX 4.

A. OTTAWA-CARLETON:

OCCUP/ INCOME	BRITISH		FRENCH		ITALIAN		IC	IP	CARIBBEAN	
	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	+	++	1981	1971
1. \$	14485	4250	4330	940	355	60		295	70	
t	21225	13285	6680	3275	660	180		415	120	20
2. \$	8450	3590	1495	550	170	65		420	35	
t	14835	12185	3540	2250	319	215	50	605	95	30
3. \$	3900	1380	1730	410	85	30		195		15
t	12820	12070	5290	4560	390	260	35	390	165	80
4. \$	1010	545	570	235	25	5				
t	3130	2235	1595	890	95	50		30		
5. \$	6855	4435	2525	1175	135	85		35		5
t	64045	61480	13215	27495	3840	2560	305	1015	525	180
6. \$	55	55		10						
t	1720	3220	575	820	80	65	25			
7. \$	1110	575	420	215	100	20				
t	5905	5210	2980	3025	235	725	110	100		5
8. \$	1045	710	380	405	180	130				
t	3875	3965	2430	3115	1320	1600			25	10
9. \$	630	310	250	135		5				5
t	3560	3170	2180	1945	140	85		50		10
10. \$	560	470	320	120		5				
t	2665	3405	1535	1595	105	125				5
11. \$	220	120	65	60		10				
t	1390	1835	630	945	135	135	35	30		5

+ IC = INDO-CHINESE; ++ IP = INDO-PAKISTANI.

continued...

continued...  
APPENDIX 4.

B. DURHAM

OCCUP/ INCOME	BRITISH		FRENCH		ITALIAN		IC	IP	CARIBBEAN	
	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	+	++	1981	1971
1. \$	4720	125	185		75					25
t	7725	405	325	15	145					60
2. \$	2040	100	60	5	30			30		
t	4040	420	165	5	115	5		45		40
3. \$	2070	80	95	5	45					
t	7805	1220	430	35	105	5		95	110	10
4. \$	200									
t	920	110	45	5						
5. \$	4985	230	165		40					
t	35215	5290	905	195	990	20		165	385	10
6. \$	80	10								
t	1745	1925	55	20	25	5				5
7. \$	4595	150	375	10	170	5			30	
t	17525	3230	1350	230	985	30		70	210	5
8. \$	1620	110	180	10	60	5				
t	4820	940	395	55	335	10			55	
9. \$	1090	25	95	5	35					
t	3620	635	255	30	65					
10. \$	1055	30	120							
t	3800	660	360	30	80	5			25	
11. \$	160	10		5						
t	1245	40	95	20	50					

+ IC = INDO-CHINESE; ++ IP = INDO-PAKISTANI.

continued...

continued...  
APPENDIX 4.

C. YORK:

OCCUP/ INCOME	BRITISH		FRENCH		ITALIAN		IC	IP	CARRIBEAN		
	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981	+	++	1981	1971
1. \$	6775	955	235	10	590	20		100		55	
t	10630	3455	405	75	1040	70		170		110	
2. \$	1840	640	55	10	85	10		100			
t	3875	2195	110	60	220	45		155		40	10
3. \$	1895	620	75	10	110	15		30		25	5
t	6430	4735	270	155	460	55		130		135	30
4. \$	270	90									
t	1065	795	35	15	70	15					
5. \$	3885	1945	195	100	435	50					
t	29245	22085	735	885	4245	685		400		445	50
6. \$	115	40									
t	1595	3070	80	95	125	110					5
7. \$	1715	725	35	25	400	60		30		30	
t	7755	6445	305	335	2045	405		170		120	10
8. \$	1180	760	45	40	560	60					
t	3435	3305	145	165	1690	360					
9. \$	765	290	50	45	85	15					
t	2830	2400	120	120	330	80					10
10. \$	720	315		20	90						
t	2585	2170	105	125	385	75		30		25	10
11. \$	55	80			30	5					
t	910	1115		35	190	60					5

+ IC = INDO-CHINESE; ++ IP = INDO-PAKISTANI.

continued...

continued...  
APPENDIX 4.

D. TORONTO:

OCCUP/ INCOME	BRITISH		FRENCH		ITALIAN		IC	IP	CARIBBEAN	
	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	+	++	1981	1971
1. \$	36295	9570	1435	375	2195	280		855	295	15
t	64735	49755	3230	1580	5465	1520	45	2365	1025	160
2. \$	12290	6940	520	290	710	190	30	810	150	45
t	2925	28555	1380	1290	2575	1315	100	2080	725	225
3. \$	13145	5755	590	220	815	120		455	415	70
t	30910	44810	2325	2420	3570	1795	80	1615	2575	1465
4. \$	3005	1665	235	50	135	30		30		5
t	12075	10590	995	645	935	680	25	205	190	60
5. \$	23035	18385	1000	690	2060	935		600	345	25
t	230935	277955	6055	17170	45240	32775	465	11255	10375	3750
6. \$	130	85			45	15				
t	2955	3215	120	240	895	1090		40	45	20
7. \$	7560	6255	590	470	3145	1170		495	495	60
t	46920	55530	3915	5505	27940	32105	800	6165	5160	1420
8. \$	4815	5145	330	445	3930	2545		45	70	55
t	16150	19765	1240	2035	16470	21910	50	275	550	295
9. \$	4030	2200	340	215	460	270		40	70	
t	16595	20700	1415	2100	2795	3175		330	465	115
10. \$	3725	3055	245	210	540	225		75	85	
t	23145	27765	1835	2510	5705	6105	95	1225	1185	380
11. \$	505	650	40	50	195	115			45	5
t	6370	10220	610	895	3510	4675	110	370	325	180

+ IC = INDO-CHINESE; ++ IP INDO-PAKISTANI.

continued...



continued...  
APPENDIX 4.

E. PEEL:

OCCUP INCOME	BRITISH		FRENCH		ITALIAN		IC	IP	CARIBBEAN	
	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	+	++	1981	1971
1. \$	12470	1740	670	75	735	35		260	110	
t	19510	6530	1155	235	445	195		560	270	5
2. \$	3690	1505	185	35	280	30		320	40	5
t	7185	4545	395	160	590	115		640	120	20
3. \$	2790	745	95	15	150	15		95	130	
t	9155	6170	425	305	570	120		350	495	35
4. \$	325	165	35	10		5				
t	1530	990	130	40	150	20				
5. \$	7455	3400	350	130	605	135		235	40	
t	61120	35160	1750	1945	7020	1875	55	2075	1595	100
6. \$	50	60				10				
t	1600	2190	70	65	100	55		30		5
7. \$	4310	1655	245	145	915	115		285	160	5
t	18505	11655	1530	1045	4655	1435	135	1905	1065	60
8. \$	1425	865	80	45	775	125		55	25	5
t	4290	3090	355	210	2150	645		115	115	15
9. \$	2140	570	140	55	200	10			40	
t	6465	3740	455	275	570	175		85	125	10
10. \$	1280	485	110	45	150	5		35		
t	6590	3995	490	345	995	280		475	240	10
11. \$	190	115		10	60	5				
t	1920	1425	130	140	455	165		85	40	5

+ IC = INDO-CHINESE; ++ IP = INDO-PAKISTANI.

continued...

continued...  
APPENDIX 4.

F. HAMILTON-WENTWORTH:

OCCUP/ INCOME	BRITISH		FRENCH		ITALIAN		IC	IP	CARIBBEAN	
	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	+	++	1981	1971
1. \$	3325	995	155	35	315	55				
t	7085	3815	310	145	745	205		70		
2. \$	1770	775	55	20	110	50		60		
t	4460	3775	175	145	500	230		120	45	5
3. \$	2675	975	110	25	275	35		135	30	15
t	9450	9450	550	555	1045	575		225	190	170
4. \$	135	110				5				
t	1045	915	4	65	120	75				
5. \$	3555	2185	115	60	285	115				5
t	41695	43930	1310	2605	6475	4355		235	275	100
6. \$	40	70		5		10				
t	1335	2535	55	115	200	355		55		
7. \$	6035	2660	440	205	1220	390				5
t	19930	18830	1850	1745	5840	5185	35	525	260	25
8. \$	1605	1255	140	140	700	270				
t	4420	5475	490	640	2125	2540			40	10
9. \$	1055	425	100	25	60	15		25		
t	4580	4770	385	400	345	325		40		5
10. \$	1285	635	150	40	205	55				5
t	4935	5495	510	525	1020	765		50		15
11. \$	600	220		10	65	25				
t	1620	3105	135	255	410	800		35		10

+ IC = INDO-CHINESE; ++ IP = INDO-PAKISTANI.

continued...

continued...

APPENDIX 4.

G. NIAGARA:

OCCUP/ INCOME	BRITISH		FRENCH		ITALIAN		IC	IP	CARIBBEAN	
	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	+	++	1981	1971
1. \$	3200	930	245	60	225	45				
t	6425	3585	590	305	710	180		25		
2. \$	1735	800	110	60	135	55		40		
t	3650	3085	295	270	460	260		50		15
3. \$	2040	840	150	45	260	55				5
t	6805	7300	730	715	775	445			45	20
4. \$	70	40								
t	815	660	90	50	125	55				
5. \$	2410	1575	200	110	230	120				
t	31460	32050	2305	3640	5840	4580		100		10
6. \$	75	40	30	10						
t	1675	3070	230	320	430	575	25			5
7. \$	4705	1805	940	275	895	235				10
t	15855	14680	3555	3325	4210	4195		55		20
8. \$	1045	805	200	175	250	155				
t	3660	3935	765	1105	1290	1480				
9. \$	935	375	125	65	40	25				
t	3635	3375	480	560	275	330				5
10. \$	665	380	100	50	150	25				
t	3010	3130	525	540	545	540				
11. \$	205	155	25	40	65	15				
t	1370	2185	255	485	565	790				

+ IC = INDO-CHINESE; ++ IP = INDO-PAKISTANI.

continued...

continued...  
APPENDIX 4.

H. HALDIMAND-NORFOLK:

OCCUP/ INCOME		BRITISH		FRENCH		ITALIAN		IC	IP	CARIBBEAN	
		1981	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	+	++	1981	1971
1.	\$	660	65	25							
t		1460	240	50	5	40	5				5
2.	\$	245	15		5						
t		690	17		15		5				
3.	\$	450	25				5				
t		1815	705		20		25				5
4.	\$		5								
t		170	65								
5.	\$	465	110								
t		6835	2795	115	100	50	65				
6.	\$	35	10								
t		2480	1390	145	45	30	35				
7.	\$	940	135	40	20		5				
t		4535	1615	235	95	30	50				
8.	\$	405	95		25						
t		1380	605	95	85		5				
9.	\$	190	25								
t		1085	460	40	15		10				
10.	\$	280	45		5						
t		1065	425	30	20		20				
11.	\$		10								
t		415	235		15		10				

+ IC = INDO-CHINESE; ++ IP = INDO-PAKISTANI.

continued...

continued...  
APPENDIX 4.

ESSEX:

OCCUP/ INCOME	BRITISH		FRENCH		ITALIAN		IC	IP	CARIBBEAN	
	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	+	++	1981	1971
1. \$	2360	795	600	170	255	60				
t	4400	3075	1235	640	550	225		45		
2. \$	965	635	165	110	75	40				
t	2045	2055	490	360	295	130		50		5
3. \$	1835	685	535	130	280	65		30		5
t	5360	5835	1790	1740	695	385		95		10
4. \$	180	100	30	10						
t	695	595	140	160	45	60				
5. \$	2290	2085	665	570	235	110				
t	22245	25770	4455	8970	3505	2625	30	80	50	10
6. \$		55		20	30					
t	1230	2695	440	1040	255	520	25			
7. \$	2520	2260	1350	1125	740	425		25		
t	10150	11585	5625	6590	3125	3110		185	25	40
8. \$	870	695	310	305	460	370				
t	2225	2530	1140	1195	1355	1565				
9. \$	550	425	210	205	45	35				
t	2320	2655	990	1135	180	210				
10. \$	400	390	220	115	40	35				
t	1825	2555	905	1150	355	380				
11. \$	125	115	35	55	40	25				
t	865	1430	395	740	250	405				

IC = INDO-CHINESE; ++ IP = INDO-PAKISTANI.

continued...

continued...  
APPENDIX 4.

J. MIDDLESEX:

OCCUP/ INCOME	BRITISH		FRENCH		ITALIAN		IC +	IP ++	CARIBBEAN	
	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981	1981	1981	1971
1. \$	4715	1225	145	30	110	10				
t	9230	4695	330	145	230	50		50		5
2. \$	1480	760	35	15	25	10		35		
t	4495	3495	190	140	130	55		95		5
3. \$	3380	990	100	50		20		45		
t	11405	10405	555	500	290	175		125	70	65
4. \$	250	110								
t	1225	455	50	50	45	25				
5. \$	3445	2280	100	120	25	25				
t	42930	41855	1135	1985	1470	1170	60	245	160	30
6. \$	80	50								
t	2260	4790	65	115		35				
7. \$	2060	910	160	95	105	50				
t	11955	10840	790	720	1010	745	30	95	105	20
8. \$	1045	695	50	40	60	30				5
t	4275	4395	250	255	400	490				15
9. \$	800	330	30	15		15				
t	3910	3510	160	170	65	65				
10. \$	630	370		25						
t	3585	3960	195	230	95	105				15
11. \$	85	75		5						
t	1235	2025	40	115	70	105				

+ IC = INDO-CHINESE; ++ IP = INDO-PAKISTANI.

continued...

continued...  
APPENDIX 4.

K. GLENGARRY:

OCCUP/ INCOME	BRITISH		FRENCH		ITALIAN		IC	IP	CARIBBEAN	
	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	+	++	1981	1971
1. \$	105	5	110	15						
t	285	75	240	70						
2. \$	30	5								
t	115	45	60	10						
3. \$	80	25	70	15						5
t	330	340	215	195						10
4. \$										
t	30	25		5						
5. \$	25	30	30	20						
t	785	690	480	865		5				
6. \$				5						
t	295	855	175	740		5				
7. \$		15		15						
t	460	330	845	775						
8. \$	25	10	30							
t	220	150	215	220						
9. \$	70	5	35	10						
t	210	105	230	175						
10. \$		5								
t	70	75	120	85						
11. \$										
t	45	65	50	80		5				

+ IC = INDO-CHINESE; ++ IP = INDO-PAKISTANI.

continued...

continued...  
APPENDIX 4.

L. PRESCOTT:

OCCUP/ INCOME	BRITISH		FRENCH		ITALIAN		IC +	IP ++	CARIBBEAN	
	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981	1981	1981	1971
1. \$	105	20	170	30						
t	155	80	400	195						
2. \$	40	5	55	10						
t	105	8	300	180						
3. \$	35	5	225	20						
t	180	195	780	595		5				
4. \$		10	45	20						
t										
5. \$	65	25	165	85						
t	600	345	1540	2235		5				
6. \$		10		15						
t	125	560	525	1320						
7. \$	90	15	255	35						
t	350	200	2290	1445		5				
8. \$	45	10	110	25						
t	85	100	615	635		5				
9. \$			35	10						
t	75	50	375	310						
10. \$			30							
t	70	15	260	170						
11. \$		5		5						
t	50	40	100	165						

+ IC = INDO-CHINESE; ++ IP = INDO-PAKISTANI.

continued...



continued...  
APPENDIX 4.

M. RUSSELL:

OCCUP/ INCOME	BRITISH		FRENCH		ITALIAN		IC	IP	CARIBBEAN	
	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	+	++	1981	1971
1. \$	80		205	30						
t	110	10	410	115						
2. \$	65	15		10						
t	125	55	170	95						
3. \$	35	5	85	30						
t	160	55	510	460						
4. \$				5						
t		10	45	20						
5. \$	95	15	195	25						
t	620	270	1290	1515						
6. \$				20						
t	50	180	300	795						
7. \$		10	35	40						
t	110	50	685	435		5				
8. \$	25	5	115	50						
t	105	35	760	600		10				
9. \$			55	10						
t	95	20	320	190						
10. \$				5						
t	35	5	190	95						
11. \$										
t	35	10	25	90						

+ IC = INDO-CHINESE; ++ IP = INDO-PAKISTANI.

continued...

continued...  
APPENDIX 4.

N. LENNOX AND ADDINGTON:

OCCUP/ INCOME	BRITISH		FRENCH		ITALIAN		IC	IP	CARIBBEAN	
	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	+	++	1981	1971
1. \$	185	60		5						
t	440	250		15						
2. \$	75	70								
t	390	255		5						
3. \$	270	75		5						
t	1015	775	55	25						
4. \$										
t	55	40		5						
5. \$	340	150		15						
t	3805	3050	120	130		10				5
6. \$		15								
t	300	1150		20		5				
7. \$	210	35		10						
t	1985	1720	30	105						5
8. \$	135	60		10						
t	830	750		55						
9. \$	65	15		5						
t	485	325	55	15						
10. \$		15								
t	305	280		5						
11. \$		5								
t	105	140		10						

+ IC = INDO-CHINESE; ++ IP = INDO-PAKISTANI.

continued...

continued...  
APPENDIX 4.

O. HASTINGS:

OCCUP/ INCOME	BRITISH		FRENCH		ITALIAN		IC	IP	CARIBBEAN	
	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	+	++	1981	1971
1. \$	880	245	45	5		5				
t	2085	1015	70	65	30	20				5
2. \$	330	170		10						
t	1105	995	80	55		15				
3. \$	665	255	35	10		10				
t	2895	2715	150	175		40				15
4. \$										
t	230	180		20						
5. \$	1160	560	60	55						
t	13440	13040	835	1255	150	130				5
6. \$	80	40	25	5						
t	1035	2265	80	135		5				
7. \$	340	175		10						
t	5825	5325	520	550	55	115				5
8. \$	290	190	25	25		5				
t	2090	2115	220	270	75	40				
9. \$	435	220	40	15						
t	1610	1480	130	125		20				
10. \$	105	40								
t	1130	1150	60	100		20				
11. \$	40	30								
t	590	840		90						

+ IC = INDO-CHINESE; ++ IP = INDO-PAKISTANI.

continued...

continued...

APPENDIX 4.

P. TIMISKAMING:

OCCUP/ INCOME	BRITISH		FRENCH		ITALIAN		IC	IP	CARIBBEAN	
	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	+	++	1981	1871
1. \$	245	70	100	25						
t	555	265	235	90						
2. \$	85	35	25	20						
t	300	340	145	130						
3. \$	235	70	95	25						
t	745	905	370	430	30					
4. \$		5								
t	80	55		20						
5. \$	160	140	50	30						
t	2660	3270	1005	1660	30					
6. \$	125	25	130	20						
t	810	1175	770	1005						
7. \$	200	35	55	45						
t	905	930	565	665						
8. \$	65	90	40	55						
t	530	780	350	530						
9. \$	110	75	50	25						
t	405	490	290	300						
10. \$		40		20						
t	220	300	125	170						
11. \$										
t	90	210	95	110						

+ IC = INDO-CHINESE; ++ IP = INDO-PAKISTANI.

continued...

continued...  
APPENDIX 4.

Q. COCHRANE:

OCCUP/ INCOME	BRITISH		FRENCH		ITALIAN		IC	IP	CARIBBEAN	
	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	+	++	1981	1971
1. \$	400	90	415	80	40	15				
t	695	385	790	265	75	35				
2. \$	250	70	125	35						
t	600	515	505	235	40	50				
3. \$	355	150	415	70						
t	1070	1280	1810	1285	55	80				
4. \$										
t	100	100	90	70		5				
5. \$	325	180	400	165		10				
t	3495	3865	3830	5485	425	465				
6. \$	280	90	850	295	55	10				
t	960	1040	2170	2260	175	170				
7. \$	580	270	1360	320	45	15				
t	1380	1420	4035	3150	180	170				
8. \$	310	190	450	210	40	15				
t	780	815	1600	1680	70	90				
9. \$	105	45	240	90						
t	490	420	1010	1125	45	20				
10. \$	140	90	175	55						
t	295	470	670	665		65				
11. \$		5	30	15						
t	140	185	275	395		20				

+ IC = INDO-CHINESE; ++ IP = INDO-PAKISTANI.

continued...

continued...  
APPENDIX 4.

R. ALGOMA:

OCCUP/ INCOME	BRITISH		FRENCH		ITALIAN		IC	IP	CARIBBEAN	
	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	+	++	1981	1971
1. \$	895	225	175	40	120	30				
t	1600	865	335	135	285	90				
2. \$	595	315	90	15	55	25				
t	1390	1050	225	120	190	100				
3. \$	840	315	155	35	105	15				5
t	2490	2610	605	510	380	250				25
4. \$		10				5				
t	275	200	45	15	45	15				
5. \$	1010	530	265	100	165	75				
t	9805	9340	1925	2615	2250	1970				5
6. \$	390	135	625	175	35	10				
t	1210	1205	1135	840	70	125				
7. \$	2365	750	820	230	665	255				
t	5210	3680	1890	1640	1645	1485				
8. \$	810	345	210	145	175	55				
t	2315	1815	715	825	500	610				
9. \$	380	170	150	45	70	10				
t	1285	1335	455	465	140	135				
10. \$	365	185	145	55	115	35				
t	1075	1160	435	510	390	425				
11. \$	45	45		45		10				
t	370	560	85	265	100	375				

+ IC = INDO-CHINESE; ++ IP = INDO-PAKISTANI.

continued...

continued...  
APPENDIX 4.

S. RAINY RIVER:

OCCUP/ INCOME	BRITISH		FRENCH		ITALIAN		IC	IP	CARIBBEAN	
	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	+	++	1981	1971
1. \$	120	70		10		5				
t	270	260		30		10				
2. \$	45	30		15						
t	170	180		20						
3. \$	140	45								
t	400	450	30	75	25	10				
4. \$		10								
t	35	20		5						
5. \$	140	80		10		10				
t	1515	1795	125	290		40				
6. \$	95	25		15						
t	370	620	70	105						
7. \$	265	135	60	30		10				
t	550	655	100	120		20				
8. \$	120	50		10						
t	320	395	40	115		10				
9. \$	35	30		5						
t	225	345	45	90		5				
10. \$		25		10						
t	110	205		50		5				
11. \$		5								
t	75	110		10						

+ IC = INDO-CHINESE; ++ IP = INDO-PAKISTANI.

continued...

continued...  
APPENDIX 4.

T. KENORA:

OCCUP/ INCOME	BRITISH		FRENCH		ITALIAN		IC +	IP ++	CARIBBEAN	
	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981	1981	1981	1971
1. \$	355	115	55	10						
t	760	325	100	30	25	5				
2. \$	185	65		5						5
t	470	285	70	45		10				15
3. \$	265	85	45	5						
t	900	925	140	135		40				
4. \$										
t	60	70		5		5				
5. \$	335	125	30	15						
t	3520	3430	370	720	160	135				
6. \$	175	40	95	25						
t	570	600	250	300	30	40				
7. \$	630	165	130	30						
t	1400	1105	330	275	65	65				
8. \$	220	85	55	10						
t	720	640	210	175	65	55				
9. \$	290	130	60	30						
t	725	610	160	170	35	10				
10. \$	105	60		5						
t	330	385	35	40		10				
11. \$		5		5						
t	140	165	35	40		15				

+ IC = INDO-CHINESE; ++ IP = INDO-PAKISTANI.



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