ETHNIC PLURALISM IN AN URBAN SETTING:
CONCEPTUAL AND TECHNICAL OVERVIEW OF A
RESEARCH PROJECT

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ABSTRACT

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I

OVERALL FEATURES OF THE STUDY

The Ethnic Pluralism Study deals with ethnicity, its individual significance, and its embodiment in the social, economic, and political organization of a large urban centre, Toronto. The initial idea for such a study emerged somewhat spontaneously. We knew about each other's theoretical interest in ethnicity and of our background of empirical research in this area. The possibility of a study was mentioned occasionally. We all perceived the opportunities offered by the rich ethnic diversity of Toronto and the many theoretical and practical questions that this diversity raises. At some point we agreed to explore the possibility of a joint project.

Given our significantly different theoretical preoccupations in regard to ethnicity, we soon discovered that it was not possible to accommodate them in a single unitary project. Yet we saw distinctive advantages to collaboration: our theoretical interests and research backgrounds complemented each other; we could benefit from each other's skills; we could pool financial and organizational resources for some, if not all, components of a project.

Since research has to be an outgrowth of a researcher's theoretical preoccupations and past research experience, it was decided that we would attempt to launch a joint study which would be organized as four distinct sub-projects. Each researcher would be autonomous in a particular domain of data and analysis. The model adopted, in short, consists of four autonomous projects within a common research framework and contains a commitment to share ideas, criticisms, and responsibilities for the variety of activities that a large project entails.

In addition to the sharing of ideas and the purely practical advantages of this collaborative framework, the model also makes it possible to explore in a loosely coordinated fashion several facets of ethnicity within an urban setting.

Initially, a small development grant was obtained from the Social Science and Humanities Research Council for the purpose of accumulating the necessary data to design the survey and its sample, of undertaking the necessary review of literature, and of developing and pre-testing the interview schedule. This developmental phase included the selection of ethnic groups to be included in the study. It was followed by two data collection phases (described in a subsequent section of this paper): initially respondents from five ethnic groups were
interviewed; while these interviews were carried out, three other groups were added to the sample and interviewed.

An important feature of the study is that it is comparative in nature. It is designed in such a way as to allow systematic comparisons between a number of ethnic groups. Mainly because of considerations of costs but also of manageability, the number of groups selected for analysis is necessarily limited. Still, the study includes a total of nine groups: eight minority groups and the "Majority Canadian group". The minority groups are the following: Chinese, German, Italian, Jewish, Portuguese, Ukrainian, West Indian and "other English". This last group comprises first and second generation persons of English origin. The Majority Canadian group includes third-or-more generation persons of English, Irish and Scottish origin.

The minority groups were selected so that the study would include variations along dimensions required by the objectives of the sub-projects: the size and socio-economic standing of groups and the racial background of their members. These factors constitute or are closely associated with factors important for the analysis of phenomena such as residential patterns and their impact, occupational conditions, capacity for collective action, and identity retention. In addition, it was important that at least some of the groups selected include members of the second, third or older generations since the objectives of some of the sub-projects pertain to inter-generational differences.

The basic idea underlying a comparative design is that phenomenon such as the content and manifestations of ethnic identity, the accessibility of occupational opportunities and the allocation of economic rewards, the spatial distribution of households and the meaning attached to spatial concentration, the capacity of groups to mobilize resources and organized group action — that such phenomena may vary from one group to another and that important lessons can be learned from a systematic analysis of the similarities and differences observed. While the possibilities offered by a comparative design are widely recognized, few studies adopt such a design. Some of the reasons for this are no doubt related to the cost of comparative studies, the time they require, and the operational problems they pose. Another reason may be that they involve a "loss", since the inclusion of several groups permits less in-depth analysis of each. In designing this study, however, it was felt that the "gains" of systematic comparison would significantly outweigh the "losses".
Generation is another important source of variation in ethnic identity behaviour that was systematically taken into account in the study design. Some of the groups include only one generation either because significant immigration to Toronto occurred only recently (West Indians, Portuguese and Chinese) or because of the way the group was defined (Majority Canadian group). For the other groups, the study was designed for systematic comparisons across generations.

The results of the study come mainly from a survey of 2,338 Toronto respondents who were interviewed in 1978 and 1979. On the average, each interview lasted one and a half hours.* Additional information was obtained from published or special tabulations from the 1971 Census. Moreover, existing historical and contemporary documentation on each of the groups included in the study was accumulated and interviews were also carried out with leaders of ethnic organizations.

The sample is restricted to persons aged 18 to 65 years who were in the labour force or students. For reasons described in section III below, the sample is not self-weighted: certain ethnic-generational categories are over-sampled given their relative size in the Toronto population. Because of this, respondents may have different statistical weights in the sample.

The technical aspects of the sample design and selection were carried out by the York University Survey Research Centre on the basis of specifications described above. The York University Centre was also responsible for the field work.

II

THE FOUR SUB-PROJECTS

As indicated above, the collaborative nature of the study made it possible to explore several dimensions of ethnicity and inter-ethnic dimensions within the confines of a single study and, of course, subject to limitations of time, budget and research methods adopted. The study does indeed cover a wide range of phenomena grouped into four major areas: (A) ethnicity and ethnic groups in relation to the socioeconomic opportunity structure; (B) the patterns of ethnic residential segregation and their relationship with individual identities; (C) the socio-political organization of ethnic groups and the relationship to the political system; (D) ethnic identity and the patterns in which it is retained across generations. Within each of these broad areas, several aspects of ethnicity and interethnic relations are examined, as can be seen from the overviews of each sub-project that follow.

*The schedule used for the interviews is available upon request, at cost.
A. Ethnicity and occupational opportunities

This research examines inequalities in the allocation of occupational opportunities and rewards among ethnic groups. The specific objectives are three: (1) to describe such inequalities among men and women in eight ethnic-origin groups in Metropolitan Toronto, (2) to test several related theories of job reward allocation among minority groups, and (3) to apply these theories to account for the allocation of job rewards in Toronto.

Job rewards include status or prestige, income, and items related to job security, and all of these are considered as job rewards which may or may not be allocated equally among ethnic groups. The study also takes account of the impact of job qualifications in the allocation of job rewards. Job qualifications measured for this research include years and type of education, years of work experience, and knowledge of English.

Previous research has shown inequalities of occupational rewards among ethnic groups in Canada in general and in Toronto in particular. There have been repeated attempts to document inequality of occupational status (Porter, 1965; Kalbach, 1970; Tepperman, 1975). Within ethnic-origin groups there is inequality between immigrants and the second and third generations, and between men and women. Moreover, generational trend and sex differences are not necessarily the same in each ethnic-origin group.

Some of the ethnic inequalities can be attributed to the impact of job qualifications, but there are ethnic inequalities even after job qualifications have been taken into account. For example, a 1970 survey in Toronto by Goldlust and Richmond (1973) clearly shows income difference among immigrant men having equivalent social origins, years of education, present occupational status, age, years of residence in Toronto and years of post-secondary education. After taking account of these variables, the data showed that immigrant men of English and Jewish origins earned about $500-800 more per year than those of Western European or Italian origins; $2100-2300 more per year than those of Slavic, Greek and Portuguese origins; and $3800 more per year than Asians or blacks. In this study, measurement will provide details on specific groups, on other job rewards, on women as well as men, and on different generational groups.

To explain the allocation of job rewards, this research explores the structure of inter-group relations. The theories in question are quite well-known, and involve the issues of discrimination, pressure toward Anglo-conformity, and the advantages and disadvantages of isolation in ethnic work settings.
The concept of ethnic group control of jobs is used to provide a framework for the analysis. The theories of discrimination and of pressure toward Anglo-conformity follow from the premise that one dominant ethnic group is in control of job allocation. This dominant group may from its position of control discriminate against minority ethnic groups, or impose pressure toward Anglo-conformity. Predictions based on majority group control will be compared with the observed job allocation, and discrepancies identified.

Isolation of minority ethnic groups in specific work settings may alter the allocation of job rewards if it leads to minority control over significant rewards. The kinds of rewards available to members of a minority group depends not only on their individual attributes (job qualifications and other personal characteristics) but also on the way these attributes are evaluated by occupational "gatekeepers" who control the allocation of rewards. These gatekeepers include employers, but also personnel officer and unions, and even co-workers, subordinates, customers, clients, and occupational colleagues. To identify possible domains of minority group control of jobs, it is necessary to measure the extent to which minority group members occupy significant gatekeeping roles.

Two forms of ethnic job segregation potentially relevant to the ethnic composition of gatekeeping positions are measured: ethnic segregation in occupational categories (is the individual working in an occupation dominated by the majority group, his own group, or some other group?) and ethnic segregation in workroles (does the individual work in a setting in which employers, supervisors, co-workers, etc., tend to be from the majority group, his own group, or some other group?). The research will show whether minority group control over jobs is significant in explaining the overall allocation of job rewards in Toronto.

The research emphasizes that the occupational success of minority ethnic groups may depend not only on individual attributes and efforts, but also on the extent to which the group as a whole can find ways to exercise control over jobs. Strategies used by established minority groups will be reviewed, and implications for the potential success of newly-arrived groups will be considered.

B. Ethnic residential segregation.

A considerable body of literature, rooted in the field of human ecology and urban sociology, has established that the growth of urban communities has been accompanied by increased specialization and differentiation of economic activity, which, in turn, is reflected in the spatial distribution of these activities.
and residential neighborhoods according to the socio-economic and cultural characteristics of their inhabitants (Hawley, 1950; Park, 1952).

During periods of rapid growth, the traditional model of urban growth based on Burgess' concentric zonal hypothesis (1925), and modified by others (Hoyt, 1939; Firey, 1947), relates expansion of the central business district to expansion of middle and upper class residential areas into suburban areas at the expense of deteriorating neighbourhoods in the inner core. Residential mobility becomes a vehicle for social mobility, and the move to better housing and better neighbourhoods commensurate with improved economic status and changing housing needs reflects both upward mobility aspirations and achievement.

In the classical model of urban growth, the areas of transition, between the expanding central business district and the retreating middle and upper class residential areas, provide housing opportunities for the relatively unskilled workers, including native-born internal migrants as well as immigrants from abroad. Ethnic and racial enclaves develop and serve as general reception areas to assist the new arrivals in getting established. Subsequent moves from these initial areas of settlement, either by the original migrants or their children, are possible as the individuals manage to acquire the necessary skills and economic means to improve their position in the economic and social system. It has been generally assumed that those who remain in the original reception areas, remain because they have not acquired the necessary skills to improve their economic status, have experienced racial or ethnic prejudice in the community, or because of their own preferences. In any event, the patterns or residential distribution exhibited by various ethnic and racial groups would tend to reflect the extent of their adaptation to the social and economic system of the community as a whole.

The general urban growth model implies that the ease or difficulty of assimilation is directly related to the degree of similarity between the culture of the arriving migrants and the socially and economically dominant population. Thus, in English Canada one would hypothesize that the degree of residential segregation would be greater and the extent of assimilation less as one moved away from an examination of the "old immigrant" groups from northern and western Europe, and towards the "new immigrant" groups now coming in increasing numbers from the sub-continents of India, south-east Asia, Africa, and Latin
America. The research on segregation and assimilation in the United States by Lieberson (1963), and in Canada by Darroch and Marston (1969), and Richmond (1972), dealing with numerous national and ethnic groups has provided consistent evidence as to the importance of cultural similarity for the assimilation-desegregation process, and the stability of the relative propensities for residential segregation over time exhibited by the ethnic groups included in these studies.

The major objectives of this sub-project are (1) to establish the present extent and pattern of ethnic residential segregation in the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area by generational status, (2) to determine the relative significance of ethnic origin, vis-à-vis other social and economic characteristics with respect to existing patterns of segregation, and (3) to analyze the relationship between various indicators of segregation and the individual's ethnic identity and ethnic connectedness.

Patterns of residential segregation are determined primarily on the basis of the ethnic origins of the population, but also on the basis of other dimensions of ethnicity (e.g., mother tongue, religion) and of socio-economic status. Segregation patterns are examined within major religious and status groupings for the purpose of assessing their relative significance, vis-à-vis ethnic origin, in accounting for the observed patterns of residential segregation. The analyses are replicated for generational groups as well as for immigrants by period of immigration to provide a basis for assessing the extent of desegregation, or assimilation over time; and the 1971 patterns are compared with those established through similar analyses of the 1961 Census data as well as the more limited 1976 Census data, to assess their relative stability during recent decades.

Ethnic propensities for residential segregation, as well as several indicators of segregation reflecting the ethnic character of neighbourhoods of residence, are treated as independent variables for predicting the individual's sense of ethnic identity and his involvement in ethnic networks and participation in ethnic related activities. While there are many factors which may explain a greater portion of the observed variance in ethnic identity or attachment to the ethnic group, the main concern of this sub-project is the clarification of the significance of the ethnic group's propensity for segregation, and the role of the ethnic character of the neighbourhood in aiding or impeding the individual's own sense of ethnic identity and other aspects of ethnic connectedness. While the validity of the assumed link between the propensity for ethnic residential segregation and ethnic attachment has seldom been examined in the past, neither has much attention been directed
towards determining the significance of the individual's neighbourhood ethnic character. This analysis relies primarily on the ethnic origin data from the 1971 Census and a sample of items from the survey dealing with ethnic identity, neighbourhood characteristics, and participation in ethnic related activities to shed some light on these basic questions.

C. Variations in corporate action among ethnic communities.

Two kinds of statements can be made about a collectivity. One is statistical in nature (e.g. the level of education is high among Jews); that is, it says something about the distribution of characteristics or of behaviours among the members of that collectivity. Much of the research of ethnic groups forms such statements (whether the research uses statistical tools or not), describing and explaining the distribution of characteristics and behaviours such as the preservation of cultural traits, level of income, occupational attainment and so on.

The other kind of statement is systemic; it says something about the behaviour of a group as an organized entity. The collectivity is seen as a system, the parts of which are interrelated in such a way as to generate some output. This kind of statement implies a certain degree of coordination among the members of the collectivity; it implies a certain degree of organization. If we say that that segment has run a campaign in favour of a candidate, we are making a systemic statement; we are referring to a corporate behaviour (Tilly, 1973; Turk, 1973).

Swanson wrote that "every collectivity is in some measure a corporate actor... and its corporate existence is contained (1) in a legitimated procedure through which participants can undertake collective actions and (2) in a legitimated sphere of action to which this procedure may be applied -- a sphere of jurisdiction" (1971: 611).

Several kinds of groupings within an ethnic collectivity can engage in corporate action: organizations, associations, social groups, spontaneous social formations, or the community-at-large. The kinds of actions that such social units can undertake are of three kinds: policies, programs and activities. Policies are statements of intentions, of objectives to be attained. Programs and activities pertain to the implementation of policies, although they may not be related to any explicitly formulated policy.

The actions can be classified in different ways. First, some will be found that are primarily expressive, others primarily instrumental. Second, the activities could be classified in terms of the institutional area in which they are carried out: education, religion, recreation, work, culture, etc. Third, they could be classified in terms of their orientation towards the internal life of the ethnic
community or towards the external, larger community. Finally, a classification in terms of type of target could be used: whether it is an institutional target such as a company or a government agency, specific groups or associations, or the public-at-large.

The literature on inter-ethnic relations deals with the corporate behaviour of ethnic collectivities, although few systematic comparative studies appear to exist on this question. One of the studies that comes the closest to such an objective is Glazer and Moynihan's Beyond the Melting Pot (1963). This study is comparative. One of its preoccupations is the question of how it is that some ethnic collectivities are better able to organize for collective goals than others. The study provides considerable insights on this phenomenon. Community corporate behaviour is also dealt with in the literature on the policy outputs of urban communities (Clark, 1973). Several studies of protest and other organized action among American Blacks are enlightening, if not directly transferable to the Canadian social context.

The present sub-project is concerned with corporate action in ethnic collectivities, and with variations among them. The concern is with group behaviour, not with distribution of characteristics. The concern is with the behaviour which is not attributable to any particular individual (e.g. a demonstration, a cultural program, the construction of a building), or, if it is so attributable, the individual is acting as an agent of the group.

A task of the research is to describe the variations in the extent and type of corporate action among ethnic collectivities. These constitute the dependent variables. Another task is to account for the variations observed through an analysis at two levels. First, at the group level the analysis focuses on key features of the social organization of the ethnic community as factors accounting for variations in corporate action. The features of the social organization are those that relate to the leadership of the community, to its interorganizational system, and to its social networks. Second, at the individual level, the analysis bears on the members' attitudes toward corporate action.

The analysis can yield four kinds of statements. First, statements about the patterns of corporate action occurring in each ethnic collectivity. Second, statements about the relationship of features of ethnic community organization with particular patterns of corporate behaviour. Third, statements about the variations in individual propensity for group action both within and between ethnic collectivities. And, finally, statements about individual characteristics related to this propensity.
D. Ethnic Identity Retention.

The phenomenon of ethnicity consists of at least one of or a combination of six components: (a) distinct overt and covert cultural behavior patterns, (b) personal ties, such as the family, community and friendship networks, (c) institutional organizations, such as schools, Saturday classes, churches, enterprises, media etc., (d) associational organizations such as clubs, "societies", youth organizations (e) functions, sponsored by ethnic organizations, such as picnics, concerts, teas, rallies, etc., and (f) identity, as a social psychological phenomenon.

Retention of ethnicity from one generation to another does not necessarily mean retention of all those six components to the same degree. On the contrary, studies show that there are variations among ethnic groups as to the aspects of ethnicity retained longest and that ethnicity in the second, third and consecutive generations is often retained without necessarily retaining a great number of, or even without any, cultural patterns or organizational activities (Driedger, 1975, 1976; Dashefsky and Shapiro, 1974; Dashefsky, 1976; Kallen, 1977; Isajiw, 1975, 1977). Thus a member of the third generation may subjectively identify with his/her ethnic group without having any knowledge of the ethnic language or without following ethnic customs, or taking part in ethnic organizations. These considerations indicate at least three methodological parameters for studying ethnic retention.

First, retention of ethnicity should be studied by focussing primarily on retention of ethnic identity and analyzing the other components of ethnicity as related to it. Secondly, ethnic identity should be defined as a social psychological, rather than a simply social or cultural phenomenon, or rather than an omnibus combination of all these. In this context, ethnic identity can broadly be defined in the Lewinian sense as one aspect of the way in which individuals perceive their location within and their relationship to the social system at large, and in which they perceive others to locate and relate to them within that system (Lewin, 1948). The individual's perception or awareness of oneself and his awareness of others' perceptions as related to one's ethnic ancestry are at the base of ethnic identity (Isajiw, 1974).

Furthermore, ethnic identity can be said to have at least three dimensions: cognitive, moral and cathectic. That is, one may locate oneself in society, and define his relationship to it in at least three ways: by means of images and supporting ideas in regard to oneself, one's group and society, by means of feelings of obligations toward one's group as against society at large and vice versa, and
by means of feelings of affection and attachment to the group as against other groups or society at large.

Thirdly, ethnic identity can be said to have a variety of contents or forms: not all persons who locate themselves in the group of their ancestors do so in the same way. One may perceive oneself as inferior or superior in relation to others. One may have feelings of defensiveness vis-à-vis other groups or one may have ethnocentric feelings in relation to them. One may identify with an ethnic group by feeling an obligation to attend as many functions sponsored by ethnic organizations as possible, or one may feel no such obligations at all, yet identify with the group in terms of other obligations, or none at all. One may identify with an ethnic group by feeling an obligation to know the language or other parts of ethnic heritage, or one may identify with the group by feeling an obligation to personally gain as many achievements in society at large as possible. Furthermore, ethnic identity can be described, as Lyman and Douglass do, as an uncommunicable essence of ethnic solidarity. These authors state that, "beyond the biological, cultural and social traits that characterize the exterior quality of ethnic differences, there is also a certain sense of ineffableness with which members define the boundaries of their own ethnic group. This silent but shared understanding constitutes the symbolic estate 'inherited' by the in-group. It can neither be communicated to nor adopted by the outsider". (1973: 346).

Thus there is reason to believe that although some of the third ethnic generation might have gone through a partial process of socialization in some aspects of their ancestral culture, the main link that binds them to the ancestral group is not the sharing of its culture. Rather it is a feeling of identity with them. It is also possible that even those third generation members who have not gone through the process of ethnic socialization at all, still either retain or develop feelings of identity with their ancestral group at various stages of their life. The latter become what has been more recently termed "ethnic rediscoverers". Thus ethnic identity of the third immigrant generation should not be seen as the same phenomenon as the ethnic identity of the first generation or the second generation (Nahirny and Fishman, 1965). Ethnic identity of persons of low socio-economic status may not be the same form of identity as that of the middle of higher status. Similarly, there may be various intensities of each form of identity.

The objective of this project is to study the retention of ethnic identity by the consecutive generations in relation to the retention of the other aspects
of ethnicity and in relation to selected features of the structure and processes in the society at large. Specifically, the project will attempt to answer the following questions:

(1) What is the degree of retention of each of the six aspects of ethnicity by each generation in different ethnic groups?

(2) What are the variations of ethnicity retention resulting from different socio-economic statuses? Do people of higher socio-economic status retain their ethnicity, in any of its aspects, less than do the people of lower socio-economic status?

(3) To what extent can ethnicity retention be explained by ethnic socialization?

(4) Can one test empirically what on theoretical grounds can be distinguished as three dimensions of ethnic identity, i.e., cognitive, cathetic and moral? Can one measure the degree of intensity of ethnic identity in terms of each of its components?

(5) What are the various forms of ethnic identity? Can such forms be empirically derived on the basis of combinations of types of components and varying degrees of intensities of feeling? Thus, for example, can we say that inferiority stereotypes as cognitive components are related to low feelings of obligation toward the ethnic group as a distinct form of ethnic identity?

(6) What is the relationship between the various forms of ethnic identity and the other components of ethnicity? (a) Is there any relationship between the various forms of ethnic identity and participation in ethnic organizations? Is there any correlation between forms of ethnic identity and personal ties with members of the ethnic group and with persons outside of the ethnic group? (b) What is the relationship between ethnic identity as a social psychological phenomenon and ethnic cultural patterns? What forms of ethnic identity require retention of many cultural patterns; for what forms are only a few cultural patterns sufficient? Is there a minimum number of cultural patterns that have to be retained if any form of ethnic identity is to persist?

(7) Are some forms of ethnic identity more characteristic of some generations than of others, or are they evenly distributed among all generations? What intensities of ethnic identity can be distinguished among ethnic generations?
(8) What is the relationship between the forms and intensities of ethnic identity and identity with total society? Are feelings of not being part of the society at large related to a higher intensity of ethnic identity and vice versa, are feelings of being part of the total society related to lower intensity of ethnic identity?

(9) Are some forms and some degrees of intensity of ethnic identity prevalent more among persons of higher socio-economic status levels, and others more among persons of lower status levels? Do persons who are highly mobile from generation to generation, or persons who are highly mobile in their careers, retain ethnic identity less than do those who are not mobile?

(10) Do events taking place in society which involve ethnic and racial groups have an effect on ethnic identity? Is awareness of political activity among other groups related to a higher intensity of any form of ethnic identity?

In short, the objectives of the sub-project are to study which aspects of ethnicity in general and which forms and intensities of ethnic identity in particular are retained from generation to generation, and to test what effect ethnic socialization, social mobility, inter-ethnic relations in society and feelings of alienation have on this retention.

III
ASPECTS OF THE SURVEY RESEARCH DESIGN

The survey research was designed to meet the minimum requirements of each of the four sub-projects. These minimum requirements are not the same in each case, of course, but they do overlap to a considerable extent. The overlap in survey research requirements is one of the important economic advantages of this collaborative research.

Three aspects of the survey research design are described here. First, the selection of ethnic groups for inclusion in this study is described to show the reasons why some groups were included and others not included. Second, the design of the sample for the survey is described and the weighting scheme used in the presentation of data in this report is explained. Third, some information about the design of the questionnaires used in the survey, the interview procedures, and the results of interviewing is presented.
A. Selection of Ethnic Groups.

Each sub-project requires a sample which adequately represents the dominant majority Canadian (or Anglo-Saxon) group plus a number of minority ethnic origin groups. Each project seeks to make descriptive statements about these groups, and to conduct various types of multi-variate analysis within groups. The sample will therefore not be a random sample of the Toronto population. Instead, it includes only specific ethnic origin groups, so that it is possible to select reasonably large sub-samples within each of the selected groups. Each sub-project also requires representation by various generational groups within each ethnic origin group. Each project is concerned with the experiences and behaviour not only of immigrants, but also of the children and grandchildren of immigrants, and seeks to compare these experiences with those of immigrants. Therefore the sample should include groups which have a long history of immigration.

Kalbach's research on residential segregation required the selection of minority groups which vary by degree of segregation. Within in each group, the sample includes persons living inside areas of ethnic residential concentration, and also those living outside such areas. Reitz's project on the occupational position of minority group members required a sample of men and women in the labour force varying with respect to key independent variables: ethnic status in the eyes of Anglo-Saxons, degree of Anglo-conformity, and degree of occupational segregation. Isajiw's project on ethnic identity retention required the selection of groups varying by degree of commitment to ethnic solidarity. Breton's research on collective action within ethnic groups required the selection of ethnic groups varying by degree of mobilization for collective action.

Given these constraints the sample was designed to include the majority Canadian group plus eight minority groups. The majority Canadian group was defined as including persons of English, Irish or Scottish background whose families had been in Canada for three generations or more. Our analysis of census and other data indicated that in Metro Toronto, four minority ethnic groups satisfy the requirements of each sub-project with respect to characteristics and variation: Italians, Germans, Jews and Ukrainians. These groups have representation in each of three generations, and vary by degree of segregation, occupational position, identity retention, and collective action. A fifth group consisting of immigrants and second generation persons of English origin was added to permit analysis of generational change within a dominant ethnic group. In addition, it was decided that the survey should represent the experiences of relatively newly arrived
visible minorities in Toronto. Once again however, it was felt that the selection of any one such group might be misleading. The inclusion both of West Indians and Chinese was designed to represent the variation in the occupational and social position of visible minority groups in Toronto. The Portuguese group was included to represent groups of European origin which are composed largely of immigrants. This permits a comparison between groups to show the effects of visible minority status as opposed to recent immigrant status.

Thus, in addition to the majority Canadian group, the sample includes eight minority groups: the "other" (i.e. first and second generation) English, Germans, Ukrainians, Italians, Jews, Portuguese, Chinese and West Indian.

B. Sample Design

Sample universe. The sample is designed to represent various ethnic origin groups within the Metropolitan Toronto area. The study area is not exactly the same as Metropolitan Toronto, however. It includes all of metropolitan Toronto, but in addition includes parts of Mississauga and Richmond Hill. These suburban areas were included because they contain significant numbers of minority ethnic group members as a result of migrations within the Toronto area. A map showing the boundaries of the study area is shown in Figure 1.

The sample universe was also defined to include only persons who are in the labour force and between the ages of 18 and 65. This delimitation was imposed because the sub-project on the occupational opportunity required a sample only of members of the labour force, and none of the other sub-projects required inclusion of persons outside the labour force. For reasons relating to the sub-project on ethnic identity retention, it was decided to include students in the sample.

Numbers of Interviews. The sample was designed so that reliable descriptive statements could be made about each ethnic-origin group, and about generational categories within ethnic-origin groups. To meet this objective, a desired number of interviews within each ethnic-origin and generation category was specified, as in Table 1. These numbers were determined on the basis of statistical estimates and represent a compromise between statistical objectives and the realities of population distribution in the Toronto study area.

The considerable extent to which these objectives were met can be seen by comparing Table 1 with Table 2, which shows the actual number of interviews completed for each ethnic-origin and generational category. In only one case
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Origin</th>
<th>Immigrants</th>
<th>Second Generation</th>
<th>Third Generation</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>75</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scottish</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>75</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukrainian</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Indian</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>625</td>
<td>2300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* English-other: 250

** Majority Canadian: 225
did the results fall below objectives by as many as 5 cases: that of Ukrainian immigrants (150 interviews desired; 145 interviews completed). In many cases, the results exceeded objectives, for example in the case of Portuguese (150 interviews desired; 164 interviews completed).

Two-phase sampling. A sample having the ethnic-origin and generation distribution just described could not be a simple random sample. Because of the actual sizes of the various ethnic and generational groups in the Toronto study area, a simple random sample would have produced a sample with large numbers of cases in some cells, and very small numbers in others. So a procedure was needed which would over-sample in cases of small populations.

At the same time, a representative sample was needed so that reliable descriptive statements could be made about each group in Toronto. Thus, a sample was drawn in which some groups were over-sampled while others were under-sampled. In the data analysis, the over- and under-sampling is corrected by means of weighting.

The required sampling design with weighting was a two-phase sample design. Phase I involved selection of a very large number of respondents who were then screened for eligibility on the basis of ethnic origin, generation, labour force status and age. From this screened sample, a subsample could then be selected in which the numbers of persons in each ethnic-origin and generation categories could be as required for the main interviews in Phase I.

The Phase I screening sample was designed as follows. Census data from 1971 showed that a simple random sample to 61,250 would be needed to achieve the desired sample size distribution by ethnic origin and generation. However, further analysis of the 1971 census data showed that by means of census tract (C.T.) stratification, the necessary sample could be reduced to 26,600, and by means of disproportionate selection of C.T.'s within strata, the necessary sample could be reduced further to 17,100. So in the procedure adopted, seven sample strata were constructed at the C.T. level, an English stratum, a German stratum, a Jewish strata, two Ukrainian strata and two Italian strata. Within these strata, C.T.'s were selected whereas in the English strata only 12 C.T.'s were selected. In all, 172 C.T.'s were selected. Within each C.T., two enumeration areas (E.A.'s) were selected, for a total of 394 E.A.'s. Within each E.A., 50 addresses were listed, for a total of 17,200 addresses. From these addresses, 17,947 households were listed for the screening interviews which covered all persons in each household.
### TABLE 2
SAMPLE RESULTS: NUMBERS OF COMPLETED INTERVIEWS
BY ETHNIC ORIGIN AND GENERATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Origin</th>
<th>Immigrants</th>
<th>Second Generation</th>
<th>Third Generation</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>111*</td>
<td>78**</td>
<td>343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scottish</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukrainian</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Indian</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>1208</td>
<td>490</td>
<td>640</td>
<td>2338</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* English-other: 265

** Majority Canadian: 232
The Phase I field screening of 17,947 households was conducted in the fall of 1977 with the following results. The response rate was 85 per cent, so a total of 14,884 households were screened. Of these, 9,881 contained eligible respondents in the sense that they fell within the target population. Finally, 17,577 individuals within the households proved to be eligible for inclusion in the sample. These individuals were distributed over ethnic-origin and generation categories as shown in Table 3. Subsequently, the first and second generation Irish and Scottish, the Greeks, and the second and third generation Portuguese, Chinese and West Indians were eliminated from the sample. So the respondents who completed the Phase I screening are 15,305 in number.

The design of the Phase II sample was as follows. Within each of the ethnic origin and generation cells, respondents were sub-sampled to meet the desired numbers of interviews. In only one case, third generation Italians, did the number of eligible respondents fall below the target: only 75 respondents were identified. In that case, a supplementary sample was created by a snowball procedure, but since this snowball sample is not a probability sample, no weights could be calculated and these respondents are not included in weighted data analysis. In effect, all members of the snowball sample are assigned a weight of zero.

Phase II sample was actually designed in two parts. The English, Irish, Scottish, Germans, Ukrainians, Italians and Jews were sampled first, for interviewing in the spring of 1978. For this sample, 2,802 respondents were selected. Of these, 148 had moved, and 76 turned out to be ineligible. Of the base sample of 2,578, 1,840 interviews were completed for a response rate of 71.3 per cent.

The second part of the Phase II sample included the Portuguese, Chinese and West Indians who were selected for interviewing in the spring and summer of 1979. For this sample, 930 respondents were selected. Of these, 184 had moved and 18 turned out to be ineligible. The larger percentage having moved (19.8 per cent compared to 5.3 per cent for the interviews conducted a year earlier) reflects the greater elapsed time since the screening. Of the base sample of 728, 470 interviews were completed for a response rate of 64.6 per cent. Note that in these three additional groups, the sample tends to under-represent individuals likely to be geographically mobile.

The distribution of completed interviews by ethnic-origin and generation was presented above, as Table 2.

Sample weights are calculated by determining the probability of sample selection at each stage, and then inverting this probability in order to determine the
TABLE 3

TARGET POPULATION: NUMBER OF SCREENING INTERVIEWS

BY ETHNIC ORIGIN AND GENERATION (PHASE I)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Origin</th>
<th>Immigrants</th>
<th>Second Generation</th>
<th>Third Generation</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>925</td>
<td>1210**</td>
<td>2164**</td>
<td>4299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>432</td>
<td>1118</td>
<td>1890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scottish</td>
<td>494</td>
<td>535</td>
<td>1036</td>
<td>2065</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>519</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukrainian</td>
<td>448</td>
<td>454</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>1078</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>3121</td>
<td>647</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>3872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>409</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>1062</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1085</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Indian</td>
<td>709</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>746</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>8585</td>
<td>3959</td>
<td>5033</td>
<td>17577</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* English-other: 2135

** Majority Canadian: 4418
number of persons represented by each respondent. The probability of sample selection is the product of the probability of inclusion of any particular census tract, the probability of selection of a particular household, the response rate in the screening phase (which is calculated separately for each census tract), the phase two sampling ratios, and the response rate in the phase two interviewing (which is calculated separately for each ethnic origin/generation cell). The weighted sample N's by ethnic-origin and generation is shown in Table 4. Note that the total N is 2,310, which is smaller than the number of interviews (2,338) because of the exclusion of 28 third-generation Italians selected by snowball technique.

Because the sample is weighted, standard statistical procedures for testing the reliability of findings are not applicable. A procedure called "random subsample replication" has been described in detail by Bernard M. Finifter (1972), in an article in the Sociological Methodology, 1972. Standard errors for the Ethnic Pluralism survey have been calculated by Patel (1978).

C. Questionnaire Design and Interviews.

The questionnaire used in the main (Phase II) interviews was designed in such a way as to incorporate the research requirements of each of the four sub-projects, and so as to average approximately 1 1/2 hours in length. There was considerable overlap among the various sub-projects in variables of importance to the research. For this reason, there was also overlap in the questionnaire items required for the study. The questionnaire consisted of a set of common questionnaire items, and four sets of items needed for the purposes of each of the four sub-projects. The development of items for each of the sub-projects was undertaken through the use of preliminary interviewing carried out by the four researchers independently.

Identification of respondent ethnicity. The ethnic origin of the respondents to the survey was determined using a question identical to that used in the Canadian Census. The question is, "to what ethnic or cultural group did you or your ancestors (on the male side) belong on coming to North America?" This question has the advantage that the respondent is able to place himself or herself into an appropriate category. For example, although the category "Jewish" often is not considered to be an ethnic category but rather a religious category, respondents to the survey were not classified as Jewish unless they reported themselves that they belonged to this group.

The use of the census question has the distinct disadvantage that it refers only to the male side of the family, and not to the female side of the family. It would
TABLE 4
SAMPLE RESULTS: WEIGHTED N's, BY ETHNIC ORIGIN AND GENERATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Origin</th>
<th>Immigrants</th>
<th>Second Generation</th>
<th>Third Generation</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>230*</td>
<td>364**</td>
<td>779</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scottish</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukrainian</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Indian</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>969</td>
<td>434</td>
<td>907</td>
<td>2310</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* English-other: 415
** Majority Canadian: 787
be desirable of course to interview respondents about whatever ethnic origin they consider to be most relevant or most meaningful to them. However, this could not be done in the present case because the sample was designed using Canadian census data, and sample representativeness could not be guaranteed unless the respondents were treated as though they were members of the ethnic origin group defined in the same way as it is defined in the Canadian Census.

The use of the census question represents a potential liability for this research. However, it appears not to be a very serious liability. The questionnaire asked respondents about their ethnic or cultural ancestry on the female side, and also asked the respondent to indicate the relative importance of the two ethnic origins. The results of this questioning are shown in Table 5. In most ethnic groups, the vast majority of respondents reported that the ethnic origin on the female side was the same as it is on the male side. For example, in the case of Chinese, Italians, Jews, Portuguese, and West Indians, over 90 per cent of the sample reported ethnic origin on the female side to be the same as that on the male side. In the case of the majority Canadian group, this was true of 71.7 per cent of respondents. Moreover, in cases where the female ethnic origin was different from the male, most respondents reported that the ethnic origin on the male side was more important to them than the ethnic origin on the female side. For example, among Germans, in 70 per cent of the cases the ethnic origin on the female side was also German. Among the 30 per cent whose mother's ethnic origin was not German, 11.5 per cent reported that the German origin was more important, and 8 per cent reported that the German origin was at least equally important. In only 6.9 per cent of the cases was the female ethnic origin, that is the non-German origin, more important than the German origin. So in this case we can conclude that interviewing the respondents about their German origin results in a serious distortion of the truth in only 7 per cent of the cases. Among the various minority groups interviewed for the survey, the German case is the most problematic. In all the other cases only 1, 2 or 3 per cent of the respondents reported that their ethnic origin on the female side was not the same as the ethnic origin on the male side and was also more important than the male ethnic origin. In the majority Canadian group, 8 per cent reported that the female ethnic origin was not British and was in fact more important than the British origin on the male side.

The pre-test. Prior to the phase two interviewing, the questionnaire draft was extensively pre-tested in the field, in each of the ethnic groups included in the study. The pre-test resulted in some questions being dropped, and others being
## TABLE 5

PERCENTAGE HAVING EACH TYPE OF ETHNIC-ORIGIN ON THE FEMALE SIDE, BY ETHNIC-ORIGIN ON THE MALE SIDE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male Ethnic Origin</th>
<th>Same as Male</th>
<th>Male more important</th>
<th>Male and Female equal</th>
<th>Female more important</th>
<th>No answer</th>
<th>(N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Majority Canadian</td>
<td>71.7*</td>
<td>15.1**</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>(787;232)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English-other</td>
<td>83.0</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>(415;265)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>99.6</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>(57;153)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>70.4</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>(178;321)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>92.8</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>(431;351)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish</td>
<td>96.6</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>(168;348)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>99.8</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>(67;164)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukrainian</td>
<td>87.5</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>(89;354)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Indian</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>(118;150)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(2310;2338)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
significantly modified. In the interviews, several of the questions made reference to the respondents' perceptions of the Anglo-Saxon, or dominant majority ethnic group in Toronto. The interviews showed that there is no standard terminology for describing this group that prevails in all of the ethnic origin groups in Toronto. Many respondents did not understand the term "Anglo-Saxon" and while some respondents preferred to describe this dominant group as "Canadian", this is not a satisfactory term for all respondents. To deal with this problem, a standard definition of what we called the "majority Canadian group" was used for the interviewing. This standard definition was available to be read to the respondents in cases of confusion. It read as follows, "the majority Canadian group consists of Canadians of English or French background, or whose families have been in Canada for several generations". It can be seen that this definition itself is somewhat ambiguous, for it provides for the possibility that persons in Canada for several generations will be considered as part of the majority Canadian group even if their ethnic origin is not English or French. This is not the same as the definition we have used in our research to describe the majority Canadian group, since we only include persons of English, Irish or Scottish origin whose families have been in Canada at least three generations as part of the "majority Canadian group".

Translations. In only two groups, the Portuguese and Chinese, were problems of language encountered in interviewing significant enough that translation of the interview schedule seemed necessary. In the case of the Portuguese and the Chinese, translation of the questionnaire was provided by professional translators. Multilingual interviewers were used in these cases, and were in fact used wherever possible throughout the interviewing in all groups. In the case of the Chinese, there are so many different dialects and styles of speaking that even a standard translation has its liabilities. In the field, Chinese interviewers were given latitude in adapting questions as appropriate in the specific interview situation.

Field experience. In selecting interviewers for use in the study, care was taken to ensure that wherever possible interviewers would be of the same ethnic origin as the interviewees. In the case of West Indians, this was not possible because of the difficulty of recruiting West Indian interviewers. In this case, at least 40 per cent of the interviews were conducted by West Indian interviewers. It is possible to compare the results obtained as they vary by ethnic origin of interviewer, but this analysis has not yet been conducted. It is worth noting that in the case of the Chinese, Portuguese and West Indian respondents, the
interviewers classified the racial origin of the respondent. For the Chinese, all respondents were classified as being Asian in racial origin. For the Portuguese, 85.2 per cent were classified as "white" and 14.8 per cent were classified as Asian. In the case of West Indians, 91.1 per cent were classified as being black, 8.6 per cent were classified as being "white" and 0.3 per cent were classified as being Asian. The presence of white West Indians in the sample was not intended, and should be taken into account in interpreting the results of the survey.
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