ASSIMILATION PROCESSES AMONG IMMIGRANTS

ASSIMILATION PROCESSES AMONG IMMIGRANTS:

A study of German and Italian immigrants to Hamilton

By
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SCOPE AND CONTENTS:

        This study is concerned with the processes of assimilation
among immigrants and focusses on primary relation, life-style, and
identification. The introduction and chapter one set the context
of the study and review the literature. Chapter two deals with a
number of hypotheses, and chapter three describes the methodology.
In chapter four the data are presented and discussed.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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HAMILTON SAMPLE : 25c incentive compared with $100 prize.

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← FOLLOW UP / SPECTATOR ARTICLE.
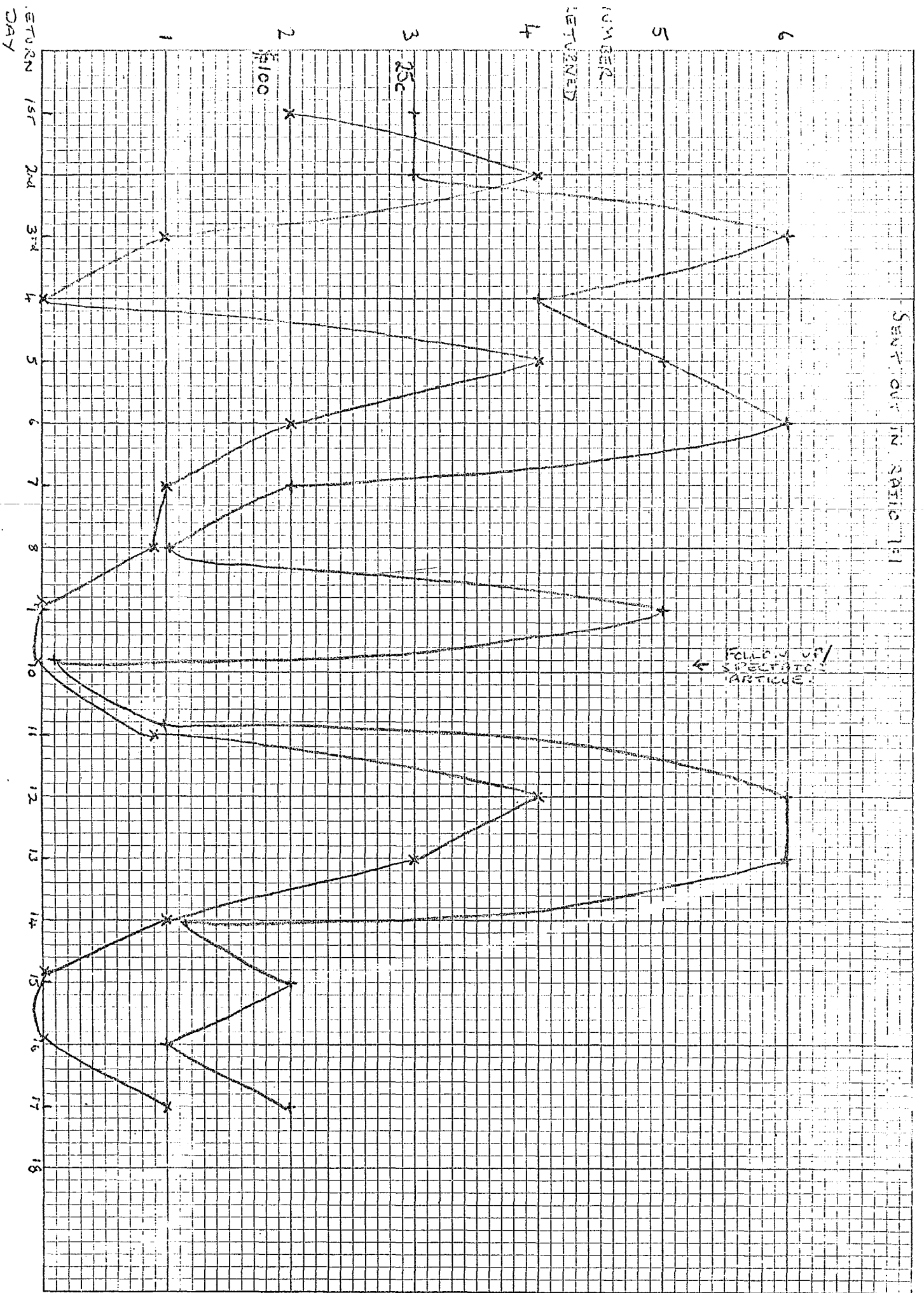
ITALIAN SAMPLE: COMPARISON OF 25¢ INCENTIVE WITH $1.00 PRIZE.
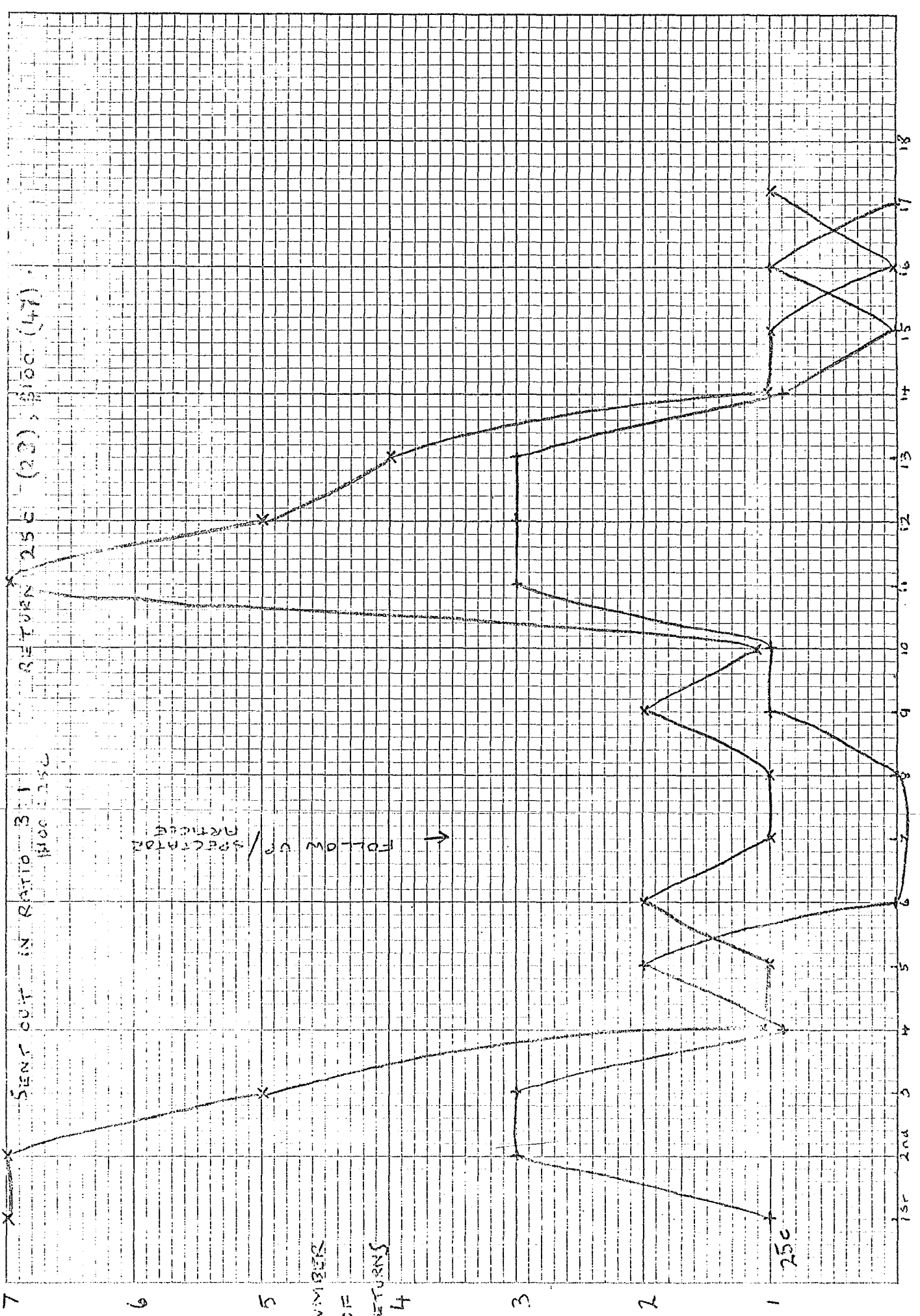
SENT OUT IN RATIO 3:1

RETURN : 25¢ (23), $1.00 (47).

$1.00: 25¢

← FOLLOW UP / SPECTATOR PACKAGE

7

6

5

NUMBER
OF
RETURNS
4

3

2

1   25¢

1st   2nd   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10   11   12   13   14   15   16   17   18

DAY OF RETURN.

GRAPH 3

GERMAN SAMPLE

SHOWN IN GRAPH 55 RETURNS
INCENTIVE $100 PRIZE

NUMBER RETURNS
14 13 12 11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

1st 2nd 3rd 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18

SPECTATOR ARTICLE PUBLISHED

3rd BROUGHT 28 RETURNS DAY

DREW DAY, $100 PRIZE

FOLLOW UP
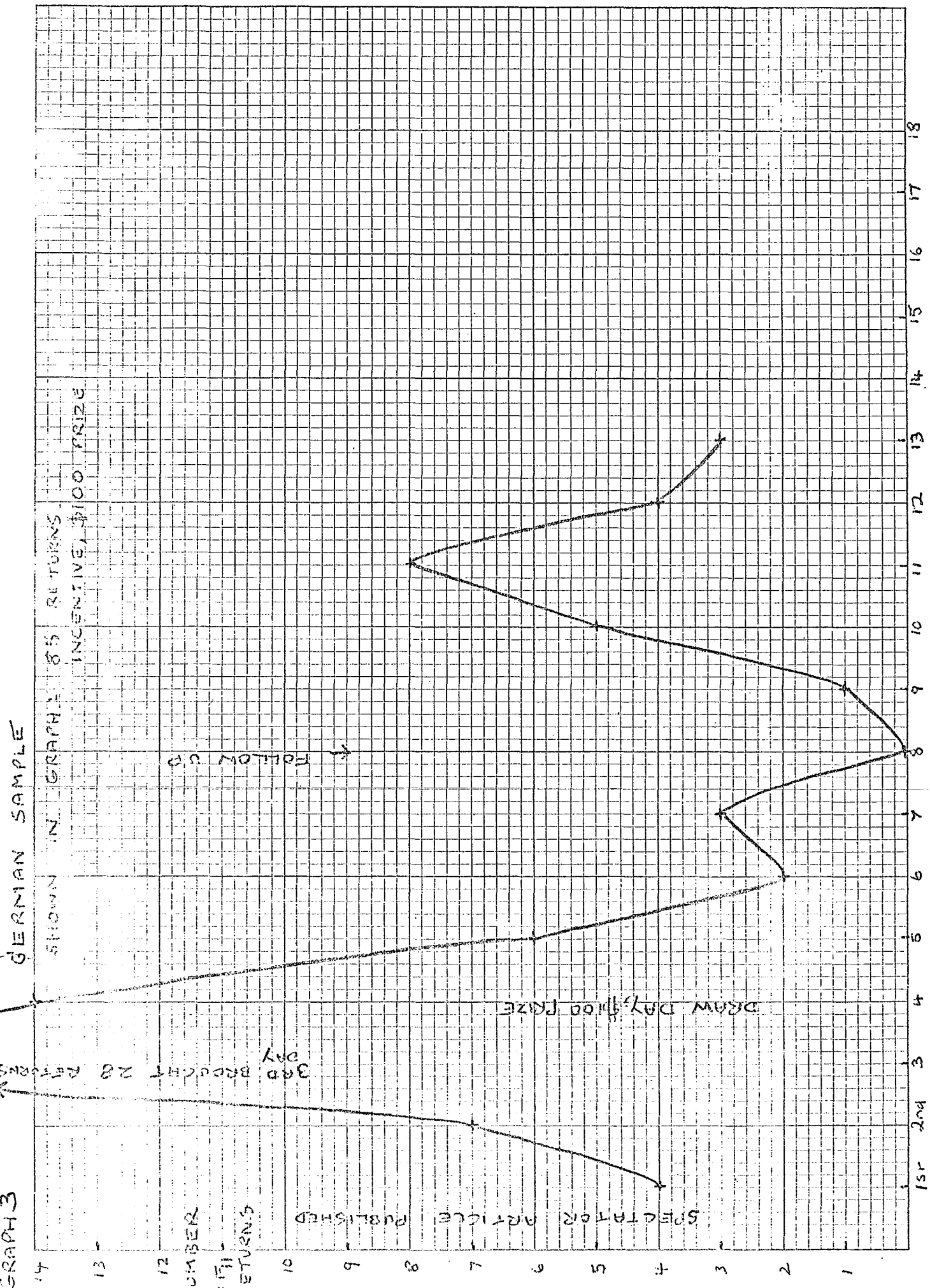
INTRODUCTION

ETHNICITY AND IMMIGRATION IN CANADIAN SOCIETY

Oscar Handlin has written that he once thought he would write a history of immigration to the United States but realised that, in doing this, he would be undertaking to write a complete history of that country.[1] Canadian history, too, is intimately bound up with the history of immigration to Canada and immigration has been a central concern of many Canadian scholars. Only recently John Porter has suggested that there has been an overemphasis on ethnicity in Canadian social thought and that this has led to the neglect of such considerations as the role of social stratification.[2] But there can be no doubt that immigration and ethnic loyalties remain an important dimension in the perspectives of many Canadians.

Two groups that have been perennially concerned with immigration, according to Petersen,[3] are the French Canadians and the Labour Unions. The former are concerned with the way in which immigration affects their social strength in the confederation, the latter with the way in which immigrants affect the employment situation in an economy which demands more and more skilled workers. Among social scientists, the demographers and sociologists show continuing interest in immigration; ethnic loyalty is a subject for much concern among both political scientists and politicians embroiled in the much discussed topic of the apparently elusive "Canadian identity."

Interest in immigrants justifies a study of immigrants insofar as the sociologist feels a need to investigate subjects with some relevance to political problems. But this study must also be set within the sociological frame of reference and have relevance for sociological theories in testing the validity of some limited propositions about the interrelations of sociological variables. My research will examine some of the social processes to be found in the behaviour

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of immigrants in the social context of a new society.

The sociologist is not content with interpreting a particular set of social facts. By couching his analysis in generalised terms, by using sociological concepts such as group formation, group identity, solidarity, participation, social status and reference group,he is able to compare studies and make some general statements about these processes. At a lower level of generality the sociologist can form concepts and theories which apply to specific but recurring phenomena such as assimilation, integration and isolation of ethnic and immigrant groups.

These phenomena are found in situations which we may in general refer to as 'contact' situations. This kind of contact is of increasing importance in a world approaching for the first time a world society.[4] Before we delimit the narrower confines of this study we will attempt to set it in the framework of a broad sociological approach to the problem of intergroup contact. Certain gross variables are to be found in all contact situations. The number of groups involved is a significant factor - ranging from the simple contact of two peoples, nations or races to the more complex involvement of numerous racial, ethnic and religious groups. The problems of the Southern United States are largely those of the white men vis-a-vis the negroes; on the other hand serious discussions of the French and English Canadians often include reference to the important role played by the many other ethnic groups in Canada.[5]

The territorial situation would constitute another variable. There may be multiple groups of different cultural and national backgrounds exploiting virgin land, as in the United States, or immigrants arriving in a society already established in the name of two national groups (present-day Canada). Similarily, power and ideology[6] are central variables in all contact situation; in some cases a dominant group imposes itself on a native group as in the colonial situation, where relations are of the superordinate-subordinate kind, possibly

backed up by an ideology of superiority. Or there may be more or less free contact under an ideology of democracy and pluralism as in North America.[7] The culture of the group involved plays an important part in influencing the consequences of social contact since differing cultural systems may broadly be said to be close together or distant.[8]

These are some of the important variables in setting a framework for comparative understanding of social contact. Clearly too, the attitudes of the groups would be relevant, but these may be seen to some extent as artifacts of the economic situation and the power situation.[9] The relevance of all these variables will vary from context to context. In studies of immigration to North America there has been a concentration on attitudes and cultural values and less emphasis on the economic structure and social power.[10]

In the wider sociological view a study such as the present one might be termed "a study of people who had been geographically and culturally separate, building and sharing a new social order." In a modest study such as this we must be content to make assumptions about some general variables which would be a major point of investigation in other studies. The main assumptions that we are making about Canadian society are that there is a dominantly pluralist ideology, a broadly democratic-egalitarian social order, a minimal amount of prejudicial attitudes and finally a core North American culture emphasising achievement, freedom, individualism and activism.

The Europeans who enter this society have different cultural backgrounds but not so radically different as to make integration impossible. There is some evidence that the relation of immigration to the economic situation is seen largely in terms of reciprocity. The governments of both the United States and Canada are at the same time 'benevolent' and 'self-seeking'. Both countries have depended on a constant influx of immigrants for industrial expansion.[11] The immigrants are seen as contributing to industry, technology and the service trades; in return they obtain a higher standard of living and

political or religious freedom.[12] And while both countries have shown
signs of philanthropy in receiving political refugees and peoples from
lowly developed countries, they are both capable of placing restrictions
on immigration in response to the internal economic situation. Indeed
mass migration to the United States of America has virtually ceased
since that country has gone past the point of rapid industrial expansion
to what is loosely termed the 'plateau' of industrialism. Similarily
Canada, while she receives immigrants from lowly developed southern
Italy, is presently engaged in a policy to attract workers, from Western
Europe, who have industrial skills and are probably already fairly
well situated in their own country.

Within the framework of these assumptions about the nature of
the wider system, this study will focus on the consequences of contact
for two sets of immigrants. We define the immigrant situation as "the
interaction arising from the influx of new members into a social
system". We are positing Canadian society as a constant, an established
social system with a set of recognised institutions.

Two things must be kept in mind at this point. Among the norms
considered as constant are norms relating to behaviour towards immi-
grants; Canadians are used to receiving immigrants. Secondly, recent
immigrants are not 'new', they are not pioneers in any real sense. In
fact, for members of most groups, large numbers of people from their
country of origin have preceded them. For this study this is a crucial
point. For in many cases the preceding immigrants have created separate
structures and institutions of their own in the very process of integra-
ting into Canadian society. These established ethnic groups are part
of the established 'pluralist' social structure. One important factor
in determining the fate of new immigrants is the nature of the insti-
tutions of that ethnic group which are already in existence.[13]
Conversely, for a comparative study of ethnic groups, an important
factor in the survival and the kind of survival of ethnic groups is
the degree to which its numbers are reinforced by new arrivals. *(not so much any longer)*

Further studies have documented the interesting distinctions
which arise between the members of the same ethnic group on the basis
of length of stay and generation.[14] Frank Vallee warns against failing
to notice trends towards differentiation among ethnic groups in our
concern for studying assimilation.[15] We are, of course assuming that
ethnicity is still a highly relevant variable in Canadian social structure
despite the fact that this may become less so in the future.[16]

The theoretical relevance of the present study is in refining
the concepts which have hitherto been used in the studies of immigrants.
These concepts will be redefined in such a way as to relate them
directly to very general sociological concepts. We are attempting to
link these concepts in hypotheses which suggest relationships between
the variables; insofar as the hypotheses are derived from general
theories we are seeking to support the theories by establishing the
relationships between the variables. The questions we are raising
could be stated like this - what determines the behaviour of an immi-
grant when he enters the new society? What are the consequences of
continued association with people from his own country of origin?

There have arisen in the course of studies of ethnic groups
and immigrants certain concepts designed to deal with this special
range of facts. No new writer, however, ever appears to be wholly
satisfied with previous usages of the concepts and the meanings of
different terms often overlap or converge. Thus writers attempting
secondary analysis of the materials have struggled hard to find viable
bases of comparability. It is my contention that these concepts can
be given firmer meanings so that theories interrelating the variables
will be testable, and the studies open to replication.[17] The major
concepts, to be discussed in chapter one, are assimilation, accult-
uration, adaptation, absorption, integration and accomodation. Often
these terms have not referred to clearly identifiable social pro-
cesses but have been vague characterisations of modes of adjustment
of ethnic groups. Thus the formulation of clear if modest propositions

about social contact has been slow in progressing.

Since we are at present discussing the substantive and theoretical background of this study, it is worth while noting that many of the ideas put out in the literature, though given the name theory, are not truly theory. In Merton's words theory consists of "verifiable statements of relationships between specified variables"; much of what has been termed theory, he continues, "consists of orientations towards data".[18] This criticism is in some measure true of studies of ethnic groups. In an excellent article entitled "Assimilation: Theory and Reality", Milton Gordon discusses the 'theories' current in this literature. He refers to such concepts as the melting pot, anglo-conformity, and pluralism; but these are less theories than 'orientations towards the data.' While useful concepts, they are scarcely productive of proposition, but are rather characterisations of the social situation.[19] As a result, 'tests' of these theories are in fact assessments of the adequacy of these characterisations to fit new facts or to accomodate a new emphasis. For our part we will avoid direct use of these concepts for the central purposes of the study; it could be possible, however, in reflecting on the data, to show how well these conceptualisations, largely derived from American studies, fit the Canadian facts.

The hypotheses found in this study might themselves become the basis of simple propositions about the relationships between variables universally found in the contact situation. The theoretical propositions in this study will focus on the influence of social participation and interaction, primary group association, solidarity and identity as well as the role of such structural factors as social status, occupational structure and the mechanisms of social mobility. Social participation has been the focus of a number of studies. Taft has proposed that the "effect of social interaction becomes of greatest importance in assimilation", a view supported by Richardson in his theoretical statement on assimilation and in his report that "the

frequency of social participation between immigrants and natives is positively associated with assimilation"; Warner and Srole include frequency and kind of participation as major criteria in their scale of subordination and assimilation.[20]

Leaving chapter one for the detailed discussion of the litera-ture it remains in this introduction to set out and give reasons for the actual groups chosen for study. Studies of ethnic groups can focus broadly on two different levels. Where the focus is on immigrants as individuals we attempt to explain the difference in their assimilation 'paths' and acculturation by reference to sociological factors impinging differentially on their life careers; this is to assume certain common features that all immigrants have, and requires us to separate out the variables differentially affecting their assimilation'paths'. Alternatively we can focus on the nature of the groups to which the immigrants belong and attempt to explain the differences among ethnic groups - differences in cohesion, residential concentration, and collective status.

To essay the latter necessitates the gathering of information on numerous groups and comparing the characteristics of each as a whole.[21] The scope of this study is such that we could not include numerous groups; however in choosing Italians and Germans we have chosen two groups whose collective features differ considerably. While the exact nature of these differences remains an empirical question which this study may throw some light on, we would probably be justified in taking certain outstanding differences 'for granted'. Germans are more established, have a more normal occupational structure, have a smaller proportion of immigrants and a greater facility with the English language. The Italians are more recent arrivals, are broadly of lower status, are overrepresented in labouring, semiskilled occupation, are not usually skilled in the use of English, and may generally be regarded as being more culturally distant from North America.[22]

All these factors make comparison of the groups as a whole a possibility and favour their selection. Further, although the Germans

are a much larger group, both groups are present in large number in
Hamilton; in addition, certain data, at least on the Italians, is avail-
able from previous studies carried out by the Sociology Department of
McMaster University. It remains in this introductory chapter, to
sketch very briefly what has above been noted as important - the general
climate of social interest surrounding this topic.

The most obvious question to which this study relates is the
much discussed question of Canadian identity. One need only mention
the lengthy debates surrounding the flag issue, only recently resolved,
to point up the extent to which the nature of Canadian nationalism is
an issue; there is also the recent publication of two widely-read
books largely concerned with Canadian nationalism: Newman's Renegade
in Power: The Diefenbaker Years, and Grant's Lament for a Nation.[23]
The so-called crisis of confederation and the French Canadian question
have received more publicity in the nationalism issue, but it is
interesting to note that the Royal Commission on BiLingualism and Bi-
Culturalism thought fit to extend it's scope to include what has been
described as the third force- the non-English, non-French ethnic
groups.[24]

One interesting point in Grant's view is that in the French-
English debate there has arisen some ground for alliance between the
English-speaking group and the other ethnic groups in that the non-
French ethnic groups distrust the claims of the French for equal status
with the English, and recognition as a people, since this by implication
relegates the remaining ethnic groups to second-class citizens. Thus
we see Diefenbaker, Grant argues, taking up the cause of these ethnic
groups in his own province to bolster his own pro-English traditionalism-
nationalism.[25] So the English and the other ethnic groups both distrust
the French, albeit for different reasons. This runs counter to sugges-
tions that the French might find common ground against the English since
they share, with other ethnic groups, the common experience and position
of a minority group.

Ethnic identity and solidarity must be an important factor in

these related issues of Canadian nationalism. Similarly relevant is an assessment of the role of ethnicity in Canadian social patterns. R. Alford, discussing the overall absence of a class base in Canadian politics, points out that, in large part, this is due to the fact that "the political parties are identified as representatives of regional, religious and ethnic groupings rather than of class." But more important still, he writes, "If however, the conditions sustaining non-class solidarities are disappearing and a national identity is emerging, tendencies towards an increase in class voting should be evident."[26] In short the direction of identifications and the loyalties of ethnic groups are closely tied up with Canada's political future.

Footnotes.

1.   Oscar Handlin, The Uprooted, New York, Grosset's Universal Library,

2.   John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1965.

3.   William Petersen, "The Ideological Background to Canada's Immigration Policy", In B. K. Blishen, F. E. Jones, K. D. Naegele and J. Porter (eds.) Canadian Society, Toronto, MacMillan of Canada, 1964, revised edition.

4.   See Peter Worsley, The Third World, London, Eidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1964, chapter one.

5.   See for example, the terms of reference of the Royal Commission on Bi-Lingualism and Bi-Culturalism, Ottawa, Queens Printer, February, 1965, (Preliminary report).

6.   An ideology, seen in Marxist terms, as legitimating the relationship between groups.

7.   For a very good statement and illustration of the meaning of a pluralistic society see Robert Nisbet, Quest for Community, New York, Oxford University Press, 1953.

8.   Strodtbeck has employed the notion of cultural heritage as a central variable in a study of the comparative social mobility of Italians and Jews in North America; he argues that the success of the Jews can be attributed to the fact that central cultural values of the Jews are close to North American value patterns i.e. make a good fit with North American society. This operates despite the fact that in many cases this could scarcely have been the reason for Jewish immigration to that country. "Family Interaction, Values and Achievement", Talent and Society, David McLelland et al.

9.   See Frank Jones, " Attitudes towards immigrants in a Canadian community", Public Opinion Quarterly, XXIII, (Winter, 1959) pp. 537-46.

Reprinted in Canadian Society, Blishen et al. (eds.) See p. 94 where he mentions perceived economic competition as a possible reason for the distrust of new immigrants. Historically the trade unions in Canada have shown strong opposition to immigration on grounds of unemployment and 'unfair' job competition. See also S.M. Lipset, "Democracy and Working Class Authoritarianism", American Sociological Review, 24, (1959), pp. 482-501. Authoritarian attitudes towards Negroes and immigrants are associated with situations where competition for jobs is seen as threatening.

10.   Cultural anthropologists have been interested in comparative studies but have concentrated traditionally on the culture concept - hence the concepts 'acculturation', 'culture contact', and 'culture shock'.

11.   See William Petersen, "The ideological background to Canada's immigration policy", in Blishen et al. (eds.) Op. Cit., pp. 38-52.

12.   Some Eastern European immigrants would, I suspect, place their 'freedom' as high or higher than any gain in standard of living, in a list of gains from Canada.

13.   This has been empirically demonstrated by Raymond Breton, "The Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities", American Journal of Sociology, 70, (1964).

14.   See L. Warner and L. Srole, The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1945.

15.   F.G. Vallee, M. Schwartz, and F. Darnell, "Ethnic Assimilation and Differentiation", Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, XXIII, (November, 1957), pp. 540-9

16.   See R. Alford, "Canada: Pure non-class politics?", in Blishen et al. (eds.), op.cit., pp. 313-24.

17.   Some good continuing research on ethnic groups in Canada is the work of Raymond Breton.

18.   R.K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, London, Free Press, Collier-MacMillan Ltd., revised and enlarged edition, 1957, p. 5.

19.   These ideas are sometimes inseparable from ideologies. See
M. Gordon, "Assimilation: Theory and Reality", Daedalus, Spring,
1961. For general summaries of conceptualisations of assimilation
processes see Gordons' article cited above, and R. Taft, "The Shared
Frame of Reference Concept Applied to the Assimilation of Immigrants",
Human Relations, 6, 1953, pp. 45-55, R. Helling, The Acculturation of
Immigrants, unpublished doctoral dissertation, Wayne State University,
1961, and M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life, New York, Oxford
University Press, 1964, chapters four, five and six.

20.   cf. R. Taft, op.cit.; A. Richardson, "The Assimilation of
British Immigrants in Australia", Human Relations, 10, 1957, pp. 157-66,
and "Some psycho-social Characteristics of Satisfied and Dissatisfied
Immigrants, Skilled and Manual Workers in Western Australia", Human
Relations, 10, 1957 pp. 235-45; Warner and Srole, op.cit.

21.   For example, in testing Breton's notion of institutional
completeness we would have to compare different degrees of the var-
iable among numerous ethnic groups.

22.   For general support of this comparison see the table on occupa-
tional structure, Appendix four.

23.   P. C. Newman, Renegade in Power: The Diefenbaker Years,
Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1964. G. Grant, Lament for a Nation,
Toronto, D. Van Nostrand, 1965.

24.   Royal Commission on Bi-Lingualism and Bi-Culturalism, at page
21: "The commission terms of reference also suggest that consideration
should be given to 'the contribution made by the other ethnic groups
to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be
taken to safeguard that contribution'". The whole of section 17 of
the report is devoted to the 'other' ethnic groups. The subtitles
of chapter 3 are suggestive of the themes: 'Objections to duality;
multiculturalism; Second-class citizens? The New Canadians, The
Mosaic, The Third Force, Unity-Diversity; Recognition of other lang-
uages?'

25.   G. Grant, op.cit. He may well be right in his suspicions about the depth of such as Diefenbaker's committment to ethnic minority rights when he suggests that these champions rarely envisage more than the scattered preservation of 'interesting' cultural heritages (folk music, dancing, etc.) The Royal Commission itself emphasises cultural enrichment. See footnote 24.

26.   R. Alford, "Canada, Pure non-class Politics?". Blishen et al. op.cit., p. 313-24.

CONCEPTUAL APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF ASSIMILATION

In this chapter we shall define the concepts of this study.
Authors writing in this area have developed several concepts that
have particular application to contact situations. Where sufficient
clarity and agreement is apparent in this literature we shall not
depart from previous usage. At the same time we contend that we can
improve the approach to studies of assimilation by making more explicit
reference, in the concepts and processes we discuss, to questions of
very general sociological interest.

Assimilation

The term assimilation is the one most frequently used[1] to denote
all the processes which lead, in the contact situation, to new groups
and their members becoming like the members of the host society.
Richardson has stated that he would like to see the term assimilation
reserved for what he calls the social-psychological level, "focussing
upon the changes in attitude that occur within the immigrant as he
becomes more like the resident population".[2] In fact, in the cited
article, he continues to use assimilation to refer to the whole
process-changes in attitude, changes in patterns of association, and
finally, becoming like the resident population in terms of such
characteristics such as birth and marriage rates and occupational
status. Stanley Lieberson[3] also uses the term assimilation as an
overall term and follows a procedure of statistically separating out
the effects of different aspects of the process. He uses, as indices
of similarity (with native whites), such variables as occupational
distribution, education, and residential segregation and concentration.
Using an ecological model, he employs residential segregation as his
major variable and shows the correlation between this and other var-
iables which presumably in toto cover the process of assimilation.

We propose to retain assimilation as a general term; by
assimilation we shall mean social and psychological changes associated

/with interaction which follow from the influx of new members into a
social system, which are in the direction of those members becoming
more like the resident population in value-orientations, manners and
positions in the social structure such that the new members show a
loss of distinctiveness individually and as a group.[4]

Milton Gordon, in his book Assimilation in American Life,[5]
has offered some sound suggestions for conceptualising the subpro-
cesses of assimilation, and much of what follows is based on his
analysis. We shall distinguish, as Gordon does, between social
structure and cultural factors and value-orientations in the assimi-
lation process. Gordon speaks of behavioural assimilation when he
is referring to the adoption of cultural behaviour patterns, and of
structural assimilation when he is referring to the entry of the
immigrants into the social groups, cliques, organisations, institu-
tional activities and general civic life of the host society.[6]

SOCIAL STRUCTURE: STRUCTURAL ASSIMILATION

When we speak of social structural aspects of the immigrant
groups we shall be referring to patterns of social participation,
group membership and interpersonal contact. When the social
relations of immigrants are increasing with members of the host
society, they are becoming structurally assimilated. This process
may often be retarded by the existence of a strong social organ-
isation within the ethnic group. Gordon comments that "within the
ethnic group there develops a network of organisations and informal
social relationships which permit and encourage the members of the
group to remain within the confines of the group for all their
primary relationships and most of their secondary relationships through-
out the stages of the life-cycle".[7]

In the above statement Gordon refers to the common sociological
distinction between primary and secondary groups. Primary relations

are those which involve warmth and close friendship, while secondary relations are those relations that are more impersonal in nature and do not involve the same sense of we-feeling.[8] Thus primary structural assimilation refers to the immigrants' acceptance into the friendship groups of the host society; when primary strural assimilation has not occurred the immigrant restricts his close relations to members of his own ethnic group. The concept of secondary structural assimilation directs our attention to the extent to which the immigrants' relations of a less intimate character are with members of the host society.

CULTURE AND ACCULTURATION

We now turn from the concept of social structure to the concept of culture. In speaking of cultural patterns we shall distinguish between, for example, an immigrants' disposition towards his son's education (a value-orientation) and his persistence in the use of the Italian language (a customary way of behaving). Acculturation of values occurs when the value-orientations of the new members change in the direction of conformity with the host society. Acculturation in customary ways of behaving occurs as the distinguishing features of customary behaviour are relinquished in favour of the manners of the host society. The opposite of this process is the retention of ethnic values and distinctive life-styles.[9] Structural assimilation and acculturation are the central concepts of this study and the relationships between these two processes will be the broad framework of our analysis.[10]

IDENTIFICATION

The process of identification is distinct from acculturation and structural assimilation. The concept of identification has been used loosely to refer to the way in which (men) find a legitimised

location in society by affirming their sense of belonging to a recognised group.[11] This concept has links with the concept reference group. Shibutani, in discussing reference group theory, shows that reference group has sometimes meant the group which is a source of perspectives and values,[12] and Turner, discussing Shibutani's paper, proposes that this could be termed the identification group.[13] However, in this study, by identification group we shall mean the group to which a man considers himself to belong. Identification is measured by the response to the question 'Do you prefer to consider yourself a Canadian?'[14] Respondents were encouraged to give open-ended responses and these responses were coded on a seven-point scale ranging from emphasising identification as a Canadian through to emphasising identification as an Italian or a German.

Several writers speak of identification as the last stage of the assimilation process. Richardson argues that the final stage, which he calls identification, occurs when the immigrant "throws" in his lot with the new community and uses 'we' to refer to his new country.[15] Some writers also speak of the group's identity and imply that it is the disappearance of this group identity which marks the completion of the assimilation process. Yinger comments that "extensive acculturation can hardly be denied, but assimilation- the loss of group identy - has become problematic both as fact and value".[16] In place of identification, Taft uses the term monistic assimilation which occurs when "a minority group loses it's identity and becomes totally like the majority".[17]

In this study we are focussing on identification at the level of nationality or ethnicity. This is only one of the identifications men make; the identity evoked will depend on the social situation. We are assuming that the national or ethnic group is still crucial for identifying men at one level.

We have used the concepts of social structure, primary and secondary relations, value-orientations, life-style and reference

group in an attempt to give clear meanings to our concepts. With
the use of these concepts we have distinguished some of the sub-
processes of the general assimilation process. We shall also invest-
igate language learning, social status and social mobility. For a non-
English speaking group, the process of learning English is an import-
ant subprocess of the general changes in values and life-style.
Social status and social mobility ar known to influence strongly
friendship formation and social contact.

In chapter two we shall present several hypotheses and discuss
the relations between the variables outlined in this chapter. But
before closing this chapter we wish to examine two assumptions which
relate to the concepts discussed above. In this study we are assum-
ing that a man feels a need to be associated with a group, to ident-
ify with a group that shares his values and provides him with emotional
support.[18] Such a generalised need is not, of course, a satisfactory
explanation of variation in group membership and identification,
although many sociological studies which have set out to interpret
such phenomena as the rise of religious groups in America or the
persistence of national-ethnic associations, have explained them as
a response to this postulated need for a sense of belonging, and for
meaning in life.[19] These groups are seen as a response to the imper-
sonal character of industrial society.[20] Therefore this type of
explanation is seen as being particularly apt for the United States
of America, the most highly developed industrial society. Yinger
states that "protection against anomie ... requires a strong insti-
tutional attachment to a group whose total life style corresponds to
one's needs and inclinations ... Men want to assert 'there I belong'".[21]
Whatever the merits of postulating a universal need to belong,[22] there
can be no doubt that 'belonging' is an important theme in American
sociological analysis.

The second assumption relates to the concept of culture and
in particular to the concept of national culture. Identifying a

national way of life is a difficult, possibly even a doubtful task.
such difficulties are encountered in the case of a diversified
society like the United States;[23] . they are probably even greater in
the case of Canada. In the questionnaire sent to the random sample
of the Hamilton population we asked questions about attitudes and
life-style. We are assuming that it is possible to make some state-
ments about a general Canadian way of life and that these questions
will give us some indication of modal Canadian patterns.[24]

Footnotes

1.　　Cultural anthropologists, with their emphasis on the concept
of culture, are inclined to use the concept acculturation as the more
general term.

2.　　A. Richardson, "The assimilation of British immigrants in
Australia." Human Relations, Vol. 10, 1957 p. 157.

3.　　Stanley Lieberson, Ethnic Patterns in American Cities, Glencoe,
Ill., The Free Press, 1958.

4.　　R. Taft is another writer who uses the term assimilation to
denote the total process. He distinguishes monistic assimilation (the
disappearance of the ethnic group as a distinct group) from plura-
listic assimilation. Pluralistic assimilation refers to a situation
where "two or more groups form part of the same community and keep
assimilation down to a minimum, but agree to tolerate differences and
converge towards a common frame of reference". "The shared frame of
reference concept applied to assimilation", Human Relations, 10,
1957, pp. 157-66. We must agree that this is a possible consequence
of immigration; but it is confusing to call it assimilation since,
by his own definition, it does not constitute assimilation at all.
What his argument does draw attention to is that in a pluralistic
society a degree of stability and integration can be maintained with-
out the assimilation, in the accepted sense, of the new members. See
Talcott Parsons on the integrative functions of isolation and
insulation; The Social System, The Free Press of Glencoe, 1951, p. 309.

5.　　Milton Gordon, Assimilation in American Life, New York,
Oxford University Press, 1964.

6.　　Milton Gordon, "Social structure and Goals in Group Relations",
in Morroe Berger, Theodore Abel, and Charles Page (eds.), Freedom
and Control in Modern Society, New York, D. Van Nostrand, 1954, p. 151.

7.　　Milton Gordon, Assimilation in American Life, p. 38

8.   See Elsworth Faris, <u>The Nature of Human Nature</u>, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1937, Chap. 4.

9.   We might suggest structural assimilation and structural isolation as polar opposites; similarly acculturation and cultural retention are ends of a continuum. Compare F. Vallee's use of assimilation and differentiation in his article, "Ethnic assimilation and differentiation in Canada", in B. Blishen <u>et al</u>. (eds.), <u>op.cit</u>.

10.   See the introduction to this thesis.

11.   Will Herberg uses the notion throughout his book, <u>Protestant, Catholic, Jew</u>, New York, Doubleday and Co. Inc., 1955.

12.   T. Shibutani, "Reference groups as perspectives", <u>American Journal of Sociology</u>, 60, May 1955.

13.   R. Turner, "Role taking and reference group behaviour", <u>American Journal of Sociology</u>, 62, Jan. 1956, p. 327.

14.   See appendix two and three at the end of this thesis.

15.   Richardson <u>op. cit</u>. p. 158

16.   M. Yinger, "Social forces involved in group identification or withdrawal", <u>Daedalus</u>, Spring, 1961, p. 247. Compare M. Gordon, <u>op. cit</u>., p. 81. "The price of structural assimilation is the disappearance of the ethnic group as a distinctive entity".

17.   R. Taft <u>op. cit</u>., p. 160.

18.   See G. Homans, <u>The Human Group</u>, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1951 at p. 456. "All the evidence of psychiatry shows that membership in a group sustains a man, enables him to maintain his equilibrium under the ordinary shocks of life ... If his group is shattered around him, if he leaves a group in which he was a valued member, and above all if he finds no new group to which he can relate himself, he will develop disorders of thought, feeling and behaviour".

19.   See for example O. Handlin, <u>op.cit</u>. and W. Herberg, <u>op. cit</u>.. Of course neither writer relies solely on the argument of a need for belonging; Herberg goes some way in answering the further question of why this need for belonging is articulated through religious

affiliation. He argues that religion is highly valued in American life and that religious affiliation has become a central part of, and an expression of identification with, the 'American Way of Life'.

20.   Thus most of the writers who pursue this theme cite, as evidence, the writings of Erich Fromm and David Riesman.

21.   M. Yinger op. cit. p. 251 and p. 255.

22.   P. Worsley discusses this point in his analysis of nationalism, a particular form of group identification. He accepts the postulate of a need to belong but has scant regard for it's explanatory power. "To tell us then, as the ultimate truth, that nationalism satisfies the need to belong in a stable coherent community, if unexceptionable, is scarcely illuminating. This kind of analysis reduces the problem to one of generalised human needs. Why does this kind of nationalism emerge? Why does nationalism become the dominant mode of attachment? To ask these questions is to begin analysis where it should begin rather than bypassing the issue by appealing to behaviouristically conceived human needs." op. cit. p. 79.

23.   For discussions of this problem see W. Herberg, op. cit. and R. Williams, American Society, New York, Knopf Books, 1951.

24.   One complicating factor is the presence of subcultures related to class differentiation within the society. The immigrant who becomes acculturated to a national mode will also reflect the values and life style of his social class position. At the same time, in the minds of laymen and writers the 'core' culture may be implicitly identified with the style of a particular social class. Milton Gordon has suggested that "what is usually referred to as 'general American society' turns out in reality, insofar as community institutions and primary groups are concerned, to be a white Protestant social world infused with the assumptions of this particular ethnic group" op. cit.p.221.

CHAPTER TWO

A THEORY OF ASSIMILATION

In this chapter we shall distinguish between two distinct, though connected, levels of analysis. We can focus on the assimilation 'path' of an individual and direct our theory towards discerning the determinants of acculturation of individual immigrants. Alternatively the focus may be on the group or the total society and theory directed towards an understanding of group persistence, solidarity and the role of the group in the total social structure. The nature of the connection between these two levels of analysis forms an intrinsic element of the sociological approach. The fortunes of an ethnic group are, in part, the aggregated fortunes of its individual members. At the same time, an important determinant of an individual immigrant's adaptation is the set of structural features of the group to which he belongs. This approach has been discussed in chapter one above, and is based on Paul Lazarsfeld's distinction between individual and group characteristics.[1]

ACCULTURATION

Milton Gordon is one of several writers who place acculturation at the beginning of the assimilation process.

> 1)Cultural assimilation, or acculturation, is likely to be the first of the types of assimilation to occur when a minority group arrives on the scene; and
> 2) cultural assimilation, or acculturation, of the minority group may take place even when none of the other types of assimilation occurs simultaneously or later, and this condition of 'acculturation only' may continue indefinitely.[2]

Early acculturation, which often takes the form of taking on the English language along with the assuming of certain North American behaviour patterns, has occurred even while immigrant colonies have

succeeded in sealing off their members from extensive primary contact
with 'core society' Americans.

This minimum of acculturation occurs because some degree of
social contact is inevitable, thus illustrating the sense in which
structural isolation is a limiting case. Gordon only qualifies his
argument in the cases of groups "spatially isolated in rural areas,
and groups subject to very marked discrimination".[3] Contact with
the host society can take the form of general exposure to mass
communications, impersonal and commercial social contact and general
secondary relations with members of the host society. Social contact
of this kind and the accompanying acculturation will always come
before any primary relations are established with the host society.
Following Gordon's argument we expect that i) some acculturation is
inevitable, and ii) initially the degree of acculturation will depend
on the degree of exposure to the media of the host society, and
iii) the process of acculturation will be influenced by the immigrants'
secondary social relations with members of the host society.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP ACCULTURATION

We now return to our distinction between individual and group
levels of analysis by attempting to show how the variable acculturation
can describe a group as well as an individual. In the following para-
graphs we shall develop a model by means of which we hope to indicate
the nature of the relationship between group and individual accult-
uration.

In our model we make two elementary assertions. 1) The value
system and life-style of his ethnic group constitutes important parts
of the social field in which the immigrant acts. In the accult-
uration process both the individual and the groups change; at any
given time the individuals' orientation may or may not be like that
of the group to which he belongs. There are, therefore, in regard

to acculturation, four types of relationship between the individual and his group, two of which (A and C below) are congruent.

GROUP ACCULTURATION

Individual Acculturation	High	Low
High	A	B
Low	D	C

When the aggregate acculturation has begun to reach convergence with the native society, or with some sector of it, such as the working class, then it is possible for a member of that group to reorient his values and life-style without being constrained to relinquish the social system of his ethnic group; strain is not introduced into his primary relations(Type A). On the other hand an immigrant may belong to an immigrant or ethnic group which, as a whole, is very distinct from the host society. If this immigrant acculturates he will feel constrained to renounce his ethnic origin, for he will no longer find his association with the ethnic group rewarding (Type B). A third possibility is that of an individual immigrant who belongs to a distinct ethnic group and is oriented to retaining his ethnic identity, beliefs and life-style; this is another congruent situation (Type C). Finally an individual immigrant may himself be strongly attached to his ethnic identity and ethos, but witnesses members of his own group assuming the cultural patterns of the host society (Type D). Thus he may not be accepted by either group; he may find himself socially isolated or he may associate exclusively with a small subgroup who share his orientations.

These four types do not represent static situations; it should be clear that in a process of change there are important transitional cases. The first members of an immigrant group to adopt North American patterns may crystallise into a subgroup and

thus constitute the beginnings of differentiation within the group.
the marginal man is one who becomes estranged from the life-style of
his ethnic group before he gains acceptance into the social circles
of the host society; when such a pattern persists among a group of
individuals we may refer to the phenomenon as institutionalised
marginality.

Jews in North America provide good examples of two of the
ways in which these processes may work out. It has been suggested
that American Jews who adopt North American values and life-style
may yet retain their Jewish identity since they share this life-style
with most American Jews.[4] On the other hand there are strong Jewish
subgroups in America who have steadfastly held on to the orthodox
Jewish tradition, in some cases almost to the point of constituting
separate cults e.g. the Hasidic Jews. It is sometimes difficult to
determine whether such a subgroup constitutes an aspect of group
differentiation or if it is also a case of institutionalised margin-
ality.

Our model, at the outset, simply comprised two types of indi-
viduals, the acculturated and the unacculturated, within two types of
groups, the acculturated and the unacculturated. The model was
simple, in part because we assumed homogeneous groups. When we
treated the processes of change and spoke of transitional movements
we began to see how the model is rounded out by taking account of
group differentiation. We were speaking primarily of cultural
differentiation, but we may find that this is often accompanied by
class differentiation. Often groups of immigrants are initially at
the same socio-economic level; when some members are upwardly mobile
we see the beginnings of class and cultural differentiation. There
may emerge within the ethnic group, a highly acculturated upper class
which has begun to form ties with members of the host society, but yet
retains its' identification with the ethnic group. This class may
become an elite of group-conscious leaders[5] and a reference group *Cicchi, Zaffiro*
Scarpone.

for lower class members of the ethnic group.[6]

We have attempted to point out some of the ways in which larger groups provide the social context which influences the behaviour of the individual immigrant. These are some of the dimensions of variation in the structure of existing ethnic groups which the new immigrant finds when he arrives in North America. We now try to look further into the theory of structural assimilation and acculturation by examining the subprocesses of assimilation, in particular friendship formation, formal association, social mobility and reference orientation.

In explaining acculturation and identification we shall argue that the influence of primary group interaction is crucial. We consider the decisive factor to be the extent to which the immigrant develops primary relations with members of the host society. In the flow of social life, structural assimilation and acculturation influence each other reciprocally. The life-style and values of an immigrant influence his social contact with others; his primary relations with others; his primary relations exert a strong influence on his values and life-style.

In his discussion of reference group theory and army socialisation, Merton argued that movement into new social groups (of officers) depended on the soldier's values; those soldiers who accepted the perspectives of officers were most likely to become officers themselves.[7] On the other hand, we may characterise the primary group as the effective source of values and life-style and argue that a persons's values are dependent on the nature of the group to which he belongs. Some individuals may have lost sympathy with the values of the group to which they overtly belong and look to some other reference group for their perspectives. And yet as long as they do not actually belong to this second group, their interpretation of this group's perspectives may be inaccurate.

We hope to minimise the problem of which of these two factors should be viewed as being primary by hypothesising that i) Initial

acculturation increases the likelihood of structural assimilation, and ii) structural assimilation leads to a high degree of acculturation, and also confirms and crystallises the changes in values and life-style.

In this way we are stressing the importance of actual primary relations; methodologically we shall regard structural assimilation as an independent variable. The authors which we have cited present various arguments on this point, and Merton was one who in part spoke of group membership resulting from value-orientations. But he also argues that those soldiers who are oriented to groups to which they do not belong tend to over-conform to the standards of these groups. It is not until they develop actual primary relations with these groups that their values and life-style really conform.[8] Peter Blau, in discussing the life-style of the socially mobile[9] states the relationship in a similar fashion. "The mobile individual is not likely to be accepted by the members of a social class in which he did not originate unless he has started to adapt his behaviour to their style of life. Moreover, it is only after he has established social ties with some of his new peers that they and their values can exert a profound influence over his beliefs and practices."[10] We are placing primary relations at the centre of our theory; changes in values and life-style are a necessary consequence of structural assimilation.[11] Gordon similarly argues that "while acculturation does not necessarily lead to structural assimilation, structural assimilation inevitably produces acculturation."[12]

IDENTIFICATION

We have defined identification as the expression of a sense of belonging to a more or less distinct social group. Just as structural assimilation influences acculturation, we expect that this process will influence the direction of an immigrants' identification.

The immigrant who enters into consistent social relations with members of the host society will begin to identify with the host society. Such an identification will be consistent with his new set of social relations. Our argument thus far can be summarised in the hypothesis "Primary structural assimilation will lead to a high degree of acculturation and to identification with the host society."

We have now discussed structural assimilation, acculturation and identification, the broadest concepts of the study. It may be argued that previous studies have done much to point out the general relationships between these variables. Nonetheless, we hope to be able to make a number of limited claims for this thesis. i) The findings of previous studies could not, in many cases, be reliably compared since the meanings of the general assimilation concepts which they used were not uniform. We hope to have clarified the assimi- lation concepts by identifying three major subprocesses within the assimilation process- structural assimilation, acculturation and identification - and defining them by direct reference to recurrent social processes. ii) As is implied above, our efforts at clari- fication rest on the strategy of treating the assimilation process as one case of such general social processes as friendship formation, social participation, changes in cultural patterns, and changes in reference orientations. In this way, the results of assimilation studies should become comparable, not only with other assimilation studies, but also with findings of studies in such areas as social mobility, social class, the relation between social class and cultural patterns, and studies of social identity and reference group orientations. iii) We hope that within this conceptual framework, the relations between subprocesses can be explored theoretically and tested empirically in such a way as to improve the theory.

THE SUBPROCESSES OF ASSIMILATION

In dealing with structural assimilation we are concerned with interpersonal contact at all levels. We are asking 'What are the characteristic ways in which men form ties and loyalties? What do we know about the determinants of social affiliation? Under what conditions do men change their affiliations?' The most important interpersonal relations are primary relations such as those located in the family or the neighbourhood; we will also pay attention to membership in social clubs and voluntary organisations.

Affiliation with groups organised on an ethnic basis is often viewed, by laymen and by sociologists, as an obstacle to acculturation. But we must be careful not to imply that it is the existence of such groups per se which inhibits acculturation.[13] An organisation with an ethnic base will retard acculturation only if this organisation has a strong 'retentive' character. We have already seen that a social group may maintain its collective identity and social organisation but at the same time acculturate as a group. In such situations ethnic organisations may function as socialisers of the less acculturated members of the groups, and thus constitute a positive pressure towards acculturation. Similarly the absence of ethnic based organisations within as ethnic group need not be a sign of acculturation since strong informal ties within an ethnic social system equally function to inhibit acculturation. Zubrynski,[14] has shown that "in some cases the grouping together of compatriots took place at a highly informal level and in an informal setting." These ties, with their sanctions and pressures, can be a force for ethnic conformity, as Whyte has shown.[15] Herbert Gans points out that the Italian-Americans in Boston maintain strong family and peer group ties but are suspicious of formal associations.[16]

Students of voluntary associations have consistently found that the higher the social class, the greater the involvement in

organisations.[17] *Do* However Handlin's data on immigrant organisations showed that these organisations tended to fade as members of the ethnic groups became upwardly mobile. It is possible that research would show that the higher the social class level of the membership of an ethnic organisation, the greater the probability that it will be a positive force for acculturation; whereas lower class ethnic organisations may well have more of the retentive, sheltering functions described by Handlin.[18]   *True*

This brings us back to the general relationship between acculturation, structural assimilation and social class. In this study social class position and the internal class structure of the ethnic group will be seen in terms of occupation. In relation to immigrant assimilation, three aspects of occupations are of primary interest. i) The various types of social contact that result from working at a particular occupation. The social contact that results from occupational position and occupational mobility are among the most important elements of the process of structural assimilation. For occupations vary in the extent to which they provide a context of social contact with members of the host society, and to this extent they influence acculturation and identification. ii) The types of demands and differential opportunities that occupations afford with regard to life-style. iii) The nature of the occupational structure of the whole ethnic group which affects the probability of contact with members of the host society.

If the occupational structure of an ethnic group exactly reflects the occupational structure of the whole society, then that group is well embedded in the host society. When the reverse is true, and the groups' members are concentrated in a particular set of occupational classes, this structural feature will affect the probability of social contact with members of the host society. Regardless of ethnicity, occupational situations themselves vary in the opportunities they afford for contact with others; but this last

Do *(Always work with Italians)*

point is difficult to investigate with the small sample of this study.

There is a further possibility to be explored in the relationship between occupational position and social contact. There are certain occupations which may well be described as service occupations; upper class occupations which may involve a continued association with an ethnic group. In an ethnic group that is mostly undifferentiated occupationally, the first members of that group who reach high status occupations may do so mainly by providing a service to the ethnic group. Thus we may expect to find, even in a group that is relatively undifferentiated occupationally, a certain number of lawyers, real estate agents, funeral directors, politicians, store-owners, and newspaper professionals. These people may operate for the most part, by providing services to members of their own ethnic group. Such occupations are high status but would not inevitably involve greater contact with members of the host society. Furthermore, these men may also be employers of several less skilled workers, and in these cases there may be a tendency, resulting from the technical necessity of language, to choose as employees members of the immigrant or ethnic group. So we may find whole work situations, requiring middle-class and professional skills, dominated by the ethnic group. (Good examples would be the Italian lawyers' office and the office of an Italian-Canadian newspaper.)

SOCIAL CLASS AND ETHNICITY: THE ITALIANS AND THE GERMANS

In this study the measure of social class used is the Blishen scale.[19] Our use of it is discussed in chapter three. For the argument of the present chapter it should suffice to briefly acquaint the reader with some aspects of the scale. Blishen took selected occupations (chosen on the basis of their representativeness and frequency) and assigned each one a rank score based on income and education. He then divided them into seven classes basing his

divisions simply on his own understanding of where meaningful divisions could be made. Thus the classes are not of equal size nor is the range of scores within classes equal. Classes one and two are mainly professional workers; classes three and four include some professionals, clerical occupations, and some highly skilled manual occupations. Class five is by far the largest class and includes most of the skilled industrial occupations and some service occupations. Classes six and seven contain the semi-skilled and unskilled industrial occupations and farming occupations. (Italians)

The pursuit of all the propositions which could be derived from our preceding arguments about social class is beyond the scope of this study. We do have available certain kinds of evidence which allow us to make some suggestions. As can be shown from the available census data, there are some important differences between the Italians and the Germans. Analysis of census data show that the Italians, both as an ethnic group and as an immigrant group, are highly overrepresented in lower class occupations. This being the case we would expect that, among the Italians, high occupational status per se is likely to entail increased social involvement outside the confines of the ethnic group. There remains the exception of mobility into what we have described above as service occupations. The Germans, as an ethnic group and as immigrants, approximate much more closely the occupational structure of the total working population. The most significant overrepresentation of Germans is in Blishen's class five, the skilled industrial workers. [*] A further point is worth noting here. We divided Blishen's large class five into two equal halves and examined the data a second time. We found that sixty seven per cent of all class five Germans were in the upper half of class five; of all class five Italians, sixty-six percent were in the lower half of class five.

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* We used the Blishen scale to make an 'occupational class by ethnicity' analysis of the 1961 census data. This analysis is presented on the following page.

TABLE 1

Occupational Class and Ethnicity in Canada

	TOTAL	BRITISH	GERMAN	ITALIAN	IMMI-GRANTS
In occupations	4,705,518	2,071,417	297,003	137,071	102,672
Excluding non-traceable	76.8 3,611,743	74.9 1,550,481	79.9 237,415	79.5 108,963	80.9 83,147
Class 1	63,045 1.7	34,912 2.2	2,359 1.0	658 0.6	205 0.2
Class 2	480,512 13.3	252,053 16.2	26,018 10.9	8,294 7.6	3,671 4.4
Class 3	218,027 6.0	121,515 7.8	10,772 4.5	2,833 2.6	839 1.0
Class 4	177,371 4.9	92,068 5.9	10,486 4.4	3,070 2.8	1,328 1.6
Class 5	1,371,130 37.9	591,919 38.2	103,858 43.7	28,391 26.1	19,212 23.1
Class 6	565,252 15.7	200,109 12.9	38,313 16.1	29,076 26.7	24,841 29.9
Class 7	736,406 20.4	257,905 16.6	45,609 19.2	36,641 33.6	33,051 39.8

SOURCE.   DBS.   Canadian Census 1961

*   Differences in totals due to corrections of digit errors in first table.

In general, the German ethnic group and the foreign-born
Germans are almost proportionately represented in all occupational
levels. As we would expect, this is more true of the Germans as an
ethnic group than of German immigrants, but the difference is not
great.* Among the Italians, the overrepresentation in the lower
classes is true both of the ethnic group and the immigrants. This
is not surprising since immigrants constitute well over half of all
Italians in Canada. In the Italian ethnic group, over sixty per cent
of the occupied population are in classes six and seven; for the *Hypothesis*
immigrants the figure is just over seventy per cent.

We started by arguing that the higher the occupational status
the greater the acculturation and then attempted to show how, by
various processes, this general relationship can be modified.
Structural assimilation and acculturation are not necessary conse-
quences of high occupational position. A polar case by which we
can illustrate this point is provided by the British immigrants in
Canada. More nearly than the Germans, the British reflect the occup-
ational structure of the total population.** (This is, of course,
partly a function of the fact that, in terms of ethnic origin, they
constitute almost half of the population.) British immigrants do not
uniformly enter the work force at the lower levels, and certainly in
recent years, there has been a significant influx of British immigrants
at the higher occupational levels. Insofar as contact is affected by
the occupational structure, higher occupational status in the British
group would not increase the likelihood of social contact outside the
ethnic group. The factors influencing structural assimilation shoud
be similar at all levels. This situation would make the study of
British identification in it's relation to social class and structural
assimilation,a fascinating case study. Eisenstadt has argued that a

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*   Compare the percentages in Appendix four (German ethnic group)
and Appendix five (German born).
**   See Appendix five.

major factor in determining the identification a person makes is the
relative status of the groups with which he could identify.[20] We
propose to adopt his argument for this study and hypothesis that the
direction of a person's reference orientation depends, in part, on
the potential of available groups for status conferral.

These two factors, the general high status of the group as
perceived by members of the native society, and the groups even dist-
ribution through the occupational structure could favour a retained
identification with the ethnic group. In an ethnic group of generally
low status, the forces of residential segregation, occupational con-
centration and ethnic enclosure of primary relations may operate to
retard the acculturation of the groups' members; but in such a group,
occupational mobility, that is not of the 'internal' type described
above, should produce marked changes in the person's orientations.
If occupational mobility has the effect of cutting him off from social
contact with members of his own ethnic group, then he may begin to
perceive his (low status) ethnic group as a negative reference group.

Returning to the case of the high status group, there are
other factors which favour acculturation. In the case of English
speaking groups, the immigrants tend to be more educated, they face
no language barriers and will often be closer to Canadians in value-
orientations at the outset. But in any high status ethnic group,
ethnic identity is probably rarely perceived as a liability; as in
the case of the British, such an identity may be an 'advantage' in
terms of prestige and acceptance.

As regards the prestige and acceptance of the group qua group,
the Germans would seem to more closely approximate the polar British
type. They were among the earliest settlers in North America and
have been very influential in the development of many Ontario commun-
ities.[21] They are predominantly third generation in Canada, or
earlier. Only one fifth of all people of German origin in Canada
were born in Germany. Finally as we have noted, the occupational

structure of the German ethnic group closely resembles that of the total population. By contrast the Italian immigration is, for the most part, a very recent one, and there do not appear to be any long established Italian communities. A large majority of all people of Italian ethnic origin now living in Canada were in fact born in Italy. In the 1961 census, 450,351 respondents claimed Italian ethnic origin; of these some 258,071 stated that they had been born in Italy.*

On the basis of these characterisations of the two ethnic groups we can suggest certain hypotheses. Because of the occupational concentration of the Italians, we would expect then to be more structurally isolated than the Germans. Because of the relative prestige of the two groups we would expect that more Germans than Italians will identify with their own ethnic group. Finally we would expect that those Italians who are upwardly mobile (outside of their own ethnic group) will, more so than the Germans, experience this as pressure to structural assimilation and identification with the host society. In the case of 'internal' upward mobility, the high occupational status will not lead to structural assimilation, nor to identification with the host society. A characteristic example of pressure to retain ethnic identity is the successful 'ethnic' politician who remains dependent on the ethnic vote.[22]

We have now examined some of the major subprocesses of structural assimilation: social contact in the work situation, occupational mobility and the role of primary relations. The process of acculturation can similarly be examined in terms of distinct subprocesses. We propose to distinguish value-orientations, language use and language learning, and life-style. Life-style includes such things as shopping habits, food preferences and leisure habits. For the non-English

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* There is some error here of couse; not all those born in Italy claim Italian ethnic origin. However, these cases constitute insignificant proportions.

speaking groups language is probably the single most important factor; inability to understand English largely precludes friendship formation with members of the host society and reduces the impact of mass communications. However, this inability does not totally preclude exposure to acculturative media since foreign language newspapers, magazines and radio and television programmes, may in part act as socialising agents. We were also informed, and the data of this study confirmed what we had been told, that many Italians spend a lot of time watching television even though they do not understand what they hear.

Nonetheless, ability to speak or read English must remain a powerful factor in acculturation. Lack of this ability must preclude Italians from many jobs and greatly reduce their opportunities with regard to many others. Again this would not be true of jobs within the ethnic community where ability to speak Italian may be a necessity.[23] While the Italians remain structurally isolated, the possibility of learning English by daily contact is minimised. In the case of the Germans, previous impressions were confirmed by this study's findings that many of them are skilled in speaking and reading English.

That's why many remain as labourers

Failure to learn English means that the immigrant is operating with a different set of linguistic concepts from members of the host society. This goes beyond the simple matter of necessary communication and directs our attention to the way in which a language is associated with a set of attitudes and perspectives. Such differences in cultural orientations became evident in the translation of the questionnaire. The English word 'education' is certainly broader in meaning than 'instruction', but is not so broad as to include the whole process of socialisation and maturing. The translator of the Italian questionnaire pointed out that the Italian word educazione would imply the ideas of learning how to behave and learning manners at least as much as it conveyed the notion of 'book learning'. At the same time the Italian word istruzione was too narrow in it's connotations for our purposes. This illustrates a whole Italian style is implied in the word

educazione; thus learning English is not simply an advance in communication, but is part of the process of acquiring a new life-style and weltanschauung.[24]

Some immigrants may not find it necessary to know much English at all beyond simple requests and responses. Berger, writing in the Toronto Globe and Mail,[25] noted that Portuguese immigrants, residing in certain sections of Toronto, learned Italian before, if not instead of, learning English; the Italian language enabled them to make use of community facilities. Our argument suggests the hypothesis that immigrants who know a minimum amount of English are the most likely to be unacculturated and to be confined to members of their own ethnic group in their social relations. We would expect to find the upwardly mobile and most acculturated immigrants among those who take positive steps (such as taking lessons) to learn the English language.

SUMMARY

This chapter has examined the subprocesses of structural assimilation and acculturation, and their relations with identification. We have attempted to clarify and improve the theory of the general relations between these processes. We have also distinguished between characteristics of groups as wholes and characteristics of individuals, and have attempted to devise a framework which will capture the nature of the relationship between these two types of variables.

In general we characterised the Germans qua group i) as being more established and having greater prestige than the Italian group; ii) as having a small proportion of immigrants in the ethnic group as a whole, compared with the Italians among whom the foreign born are a significant majority and iii) as having a differentiated, evenly distributed occupational structure compared with the Italians who are overrepresented in the lower classes. Such group factors were seen as setting the social context within which sociological variables operate upon individual immigrants.

For the most part acculturation and identification were seen as dependent variables and primary relations (primary structural assimilation) were seen as the most important independent variables. In the light of these arguments we hypothesised that:

1. The greater the exposure to the media of the host society the greater the initial acculturation.

2. Structural assimilation will lead to high acculturation.

3. Primary structural assimilation will lead to identification with the host society.

4. The Italians will be more structurally isolated than the Germans.

5. More Germans than Italians will identify with their own ethnic group.

6. The Italians will experience external upward mobility as a pressure to structural assimilation and identification; this more so than the Germans because of the relative occupational structures of the two groups.

7. Minimal language learning will lead to retention of social relations within the ethnic group and low acculturation.

8. The learning of English by formal lessons will lead to social mobility and increase the possibility of structural assimilation.

Footnotes

1.   P.F.Lazarsfeld and M. Rosenberg, (eds.) The Language of Social Research, (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1955).

2.   M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life, New York, Oxford University Press, 1964, p.77.

3.   Gordon, op cit. p.77

4.   Erich Rosenthal, "Acculturation without Assimilation?" Journal of Sociology, 1960, 66: 275-288.

5.   S.N. Eisenstadt, "The place of elites and primary groups in the absorption of new immigrants into Israel", American Journal of Sociology, 1951, Vol. 57m pp.222-31.

6.   S.N. Eisenstadt, op. cit. p. 225

7.   R.K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, revised and enlarged edition, The Free Press of Glencoe, 1957, p. 263.

8.   R.K. Merton, op. cit, p. 250-260, where he discusses green troops, replacements, and veterans.

9.   Peter Blau, "Occupational mobility and interpersonal relations", A.S.R. 1956, Vol. 21.

10.   Blau, op.cit.

11.   We have placed more emphasis on values than on life-style; but Blau also talks about values and is essentially talking about the same phenomenon.

12.   Gordon, op. cit. p. 81.

13.   As Raymond Breton tends to suggest; Institutional complete-ness of ethnic communities and the personal relations of immigrants". A.J.S. 70, p. 193-205, 1964.

14.   J. Zubrynski, Settlers of the Latrobe Valley, Sydney, Australian National Press, 1964.

15.   W.F.Whyte, Street Corner Society, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1943.

16.   Herbert Gans, The Urban Villagers, The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962.

17.   Mirra Komarovsky, "The voluntary associations of Urban dwellers", American Sociological Review, 1946.

18.   Oscar Handlin, The Uprooted, New York, Crosset's Universal Library, 1951.

19.   Bernard Blishen, "The construction and use of an occupational class scale", in Bernard Blishen et. al. (eds.) op. cit.

20.   S.N. Eisenstadt, "Reference group behavior and social integration", A.S.R., 19, p. 175-85, 1954.

21.   Lloyd Schaus, "German settlers in Ontario", The American-German Review, October-November, 1953.

22.   See N. Glazer and P. Monihyan, Beyond the Melting Pot, Cambridge, Massachusetts, M.I.T. press, 1967.

23.   I have seen newspaper advertiesments for jobs, such as barbers, where knowledge of Italian is specified as a job requirement.

24.   See also Herbert Gans, op.cit., p. 74 where he discusses the retention of the Italian word 'compares' among English speaking Italians, 'possible because there is no English word which accurately describes the relationship.'

25.   The Toronto Globe and Mail, Thursday, Sept. 10th., 1964.

CHAPTER 3

Obtaining the DATA

This chapter will describe the methods used in obtaining the
samples and gathering the data. We shall describe the sampling
procedure, the mailing and return of the questionnaires, the struc-
ture of the questionnaire, and the relations between specific central
questions in the questionnaire and the variables used in analysis.
We shall add some notes on special problems of coding and interpreting
the data.

Three samples were obtained, one of the Hamilton population in
general, one of German immigrants, and one of Italian immigrants.
The purpose of the random sample of the Hamilton population was to
provide information about general characteristics of the Canadian
population which could be used for comparative analysis with the
material on the immigrant groups.

The Hamilton sample was taken from the 1964 Vernon's Directory *
and was a random selection of names and addresses from the Directory,
using page and column numbers and a certain number of names down the
column. The only names which were rejected were the names of women.
Thus we expected and got proportionate representation of ethnic groups
and immigrants in this sample, with more than five-sixths being native
born Canadians. We hoped to be able to make statements about charac-
teristics of the general Hamilton population and also to show which
factors showed variation, for example, by social class.

The next task was to obtain two sets of immigrants' names.
Since no official records of immigrants were available, recourse was
had to a somewhat involved procedure utilising the analysis of first
names and surnames as they appeared in the Directory. The same method
of random selection, using page and column numbers, was used; but in

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* Vernon's Ninety-first Annual City of Hamilton (Ontario)
Directories Ltd. 1964.

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the case of these samples, the name was only selected where we were
reasonably sure that the name was Italian or German. In the case of
the Italians, the writer himself, on the basis of his own knowledge
of Italian names, selected large numbers of Italian names from the
Directory. These were then referred for verification or rejection as
genuinely Italian, to Mrs. Lillian Giavedoni, the head research assist-
ant of the McMaster Sociology department, and herself of Italian origin.
The German names were selected, following the same random procedures,
by two students who were German immigrants. Both these students had
lived in Germany until their early teens and could be relied on for an
accurate knowledge of German names.

We wished to restrict the German and Italian respondents to
immigrants who had arrived in Canada (and Hamilton) between 1950
and 1960. The original list was taken from the latest Directory which
gave us the optimum chance that our respondents would still be currently
living in Hamilton. In order to reduce the possibility that our respon-
dents would have arrived after 1960, each of our names was checked
against the 1960 Directory,and those names were eliminated which did
not appear in that issue of the Directory.

The remaining names were checked against the 1950 Directory
and those names which did appear at this time were eliminated. Clearly,
this method is not flawless; there remains the possibility of persons
who had come to Canada before 1950, but had not immediately come to
Hamilton. There is also the possibility that some persons who did not
appear in the 1950 Directory were simply not of age to appear at this
time. This latter problem could be overcome in some cases where I was
fairly sure, from the evidence in the Directory, that the family was
in Hamilton prior to 1950, and I eliminated these names also.

This double checking against the Directories substantially
reduced my original list of names to somewhat more than the desired
number of 300 Italians and 300 Germans. In the case of all three

samples, I began with several more names than the required number so that it was later possible to make immediate replacements for questionnaires which were returned marked 'not known at this address'.

We used two types of incentive for the return of the questionnaires. In the first case, the respondents were offered the chance to win, by luck, a hundred dollars. The respondents were invited to write their name and address on a postcard enclosed with the questionnaire, and to return the postcard and completed questionnaire separately to the department. The winner was to be the person whose card was drawn on a specific date. In the second case, a 25¢ was included in the envelope and explained as "a token of appreciation" for the respondent's co-operation. The letters, accompanying the questionnaires, explained and presented these incentives to the respondents.

We now turn to an analysis of the return rates. A pretest sample was used in order to help us detect such problems as ambiguity in question wording. The general figures for the questionnaire returns are shown below.

TABLE 1

Sample	Mailed	Returned	PerCent
Pretest	100	45	45
Hamilton Random	200	85	42
Italian	300	75	25
German	300	90	30

The highest returns are from the Pretest sample (45%), and the Hamilton sample (42%). These mailings probably had high returns because of the low proportions of immigrants and non-Anglo-Saxons; this would mean a higher educational level and the relative abscence of language difficulties. A high educational level is particularly

likely in the pretest sample since only those names were selected which were thought to be Anglo-Saxon, whereas the Canadian sample was simply random. This may explain the higher figure for the pretest returns, which occurred even though there was no monetary incentive involved in the pretest returns.

The figures for the two ethnic groups are low-Italians 25%, and Germans 30%. Members of immigrant groups appear to change address oftener, and it is likely that a number of the questionnaires sent out to these groups never reached their destination. We have also reasons for believing that there is a suspicious attitude towards questionnaires among Italians, and probably also among Germans.

Explanation of the Graphs showing Return Rates.

The base lines of the graphs represent the sequence of possible days after mailing on which questionnaires could be returned; e.g. "First" indicates the first day on which a questionnaire could possibly arrive back in my mail box. Sundays were excluded from the sequence.

The important dates marked on the graphs are the date of the Hamilton Spectator newspaper article which publicised the $100 prize incentive, and the follow-up dates. Note that for the Hamilton and Italian samples, these two dates coincide. The mailing of the Hamilton random sample preceded the Italian sample by two days. The German sample was mailed such that the first returns arrived on the day of the appearance of the Hamilton Spectator article. In graph 5, the comparisons of the two incentives are in terms of actual questionnaires returned, since these were marked for identification. In graph 4, the comparison is in terms of cards returned. This involves no significant inaccuracy. In all samples, discrepancies between cards and questionnaires returned, was either one or zero. The additional fact that post cards and questionnaires arrived in equal numbers on

particular days gives us further confidence in concluding that the technique of asking respondents to return a postcard signifying that they have returned a completed questionnaire is a safe and reliable one.

General conclusions from the Returns.

TABLE 2

Random Incentive	Hamilton Sample $100	25¢	Italian Sample $100	25¢	German Sample $100	25¢	Pretest no incentive
% returned	30	49	20	33	30	-	45
N mailed	100	100	225	75	300	-	100

It appears that returns from a random sample of a population of ethnic composition, such as Hamilton's, are higher than from immigrant groups. This was the case despite the fact that for both immigrant groups the questionnaires were in their own language. The overall return rate of the Germans was higher than the Italians. The German respondents were all offered the $100 incentive. We have reason to believe that the high German rate is in part associated with the (fortunate) timing of the mailing of the German questionnaires, coinciding so closely, as it did, with the Hamilton Spectator article (i.e. the $100 incentive was more 'real' and close in time). The German immigrant group also have a higher educational level than the Italians.

In the Hamilton sample, and the Italian sample, we can compare the effectiveness of the 25¢ and the $100 incentives. The 25¢ incentive appears to have been the more effective. In the Hamilton sample, this incentive drew 19% more returns; in the Italian sample it drew 13% more returns. Below we present four graphs which illustrate the impact of the Hamilton Spectator article and the follow-up letters, and also the difference between the two incentives. The following comments can be made on the basis of the graphs. Returns are relatively high

from the date of mailing and this continues for about four or five days and declines steadily till about the eighth or ninth day by which time returns are very low. A postcard follow up was mailed to the Italian and Hamilton samples on the 10th day, and to the German sample on the eighth. These follow-up cards had positive effects in all cases, producing in the Hamilton and Italian samples rises to points as high as the initial returns. (Graph 1,2) This last statement disregards, however, the difficulty of separating, for the Hamilton and Italian samples, the effect of the newspaper article from the follow-up since these two events coincided.

The German sample allows us to separate these two stimuli since in the German case they did not coincide. Here the follow-up produced a significantly high increase in returns which lasted for 3 or 4 days despite the fact that the $100 incentive had terminated. (Graph 3) The remarkable rise at the beginning of the German returns seems to us to be due to the combination of three factors, but we cannot know from our data the relative force of each. The three factors were:

i) the usual initial response in the first three or four days,

ii) the appearance of the newspaper article only two days after the the questionnaires had been received,

iii) the nearness of the draw date making $100 prize incentive more realistic and urgent.

The Concepts and the Questions.

We can now turn to a more detailed account of the content of the questionnaires, the relationship of the questions to the variables and the coding procedures. The questionnaires intended for the immigrants were first written in English and then translated into German and Italian. The questions used were the same as those used in the Hamilton sample questionnaire with some additional questions pertaining to language learning, ethnic life-style and the respondent's country of origin.

Certain procedures were followed in an attempt to ensure the comparability of the three different language versions. The first translations into Italian and German were each done by a single expert in those languages. These translations were, in both cases, given to second persons fluent in these languages. These second readers related to me what they understood to be the meaning of the questions, and I was able to assess how close the perceived meaning was to the intended meaning. The meaning of the German questions was tested on two German born students; the meaning of the Italian questions was checked by Miss Olga DiFrancesco, who is of Italian origin, and very knowledgeable and fluent in the Italian language, and related cultural matters germane to the translation of the intended meaning. Miss DiFrancesco tested the most difficult questions on Italian immigrants with whom she was acquainted. It is probably true that there is more uniformity among the German immigrants as regards language due in part to the higher educational level and greater familiarity with literary German forms of expression. On the other hand, the problems of dialect and variation in Italian forms were clearly insurmountable. A compromise was reached by using simple but correct Italian for the most part of the questionnaire, using colloquial forms only where we could be sure that they were widely used.

All three questionnaires appear in full in the appendix. As we discuss questions and variables, we shall refer to the actual questions with the following denotations. The questionnaires are in two sections with the questions numbering from one at the beginning of the second section.

H = Hamilton sample, G = German sample, It = Italian sample.
I = Section one, II = Section two.

Example: It II 12 = Italian questionnaire, Section two, question twelve.

The questionnaire fell broadly into two parts. The first part dealt almost exclusively with matters of fact such as education, occupation, and leisure habits. The second part was devoted to questions

related to value orientations and opinions. With the exception of a
few open-ended questions with which the questionnaire concluded,
questions were to be answered yes or no, or in terms of a number of
categories (usually five) which the respondent could check to indicate
his response. Many useful pointers to the adequacy of the range of
these categories were provided by the pretest sample. Examples are
the time periods used in GI, 7,8. It I 8, 10. and HI 7,8.

We can now discuss how the questions relate to the central
variables. Many of these are straightforward and only a few merit
special discussion. Among the more straightforward were age, education,
period of entry, and birthplace.

Structural Assimilation: The structural assimilation questions were
those pertaining to friendships, family involvement, organisational
involvement, and work relationships. The major question pertaining
to primary structural assimilation was "Of your five closest friends,
how many of them are of your own nationality?" (GI 22, ItI 25). The
respondents were also asked how many of their five closest friends
worked with the respondent and lived in the same neighbourhood.

In order to get at secondary structural assimilation, two types
of questions were asked. In the first type, we asked about the organ-
isations to which the respondent belonged and the proportions of
people of his own ethnic group in these organisations.(GI 6, ItI 6).
In the second type, the respondent was encouraged to consider "all
your friends in general" in different spheres of social contact. Thus
respondents were asked "How many of all your friends in the Hamilton
area are of your nationality?" (GI 24, ItI 27).

Acculturation: The variable acculturation was conceptualised as having
two aspects. First, changes in life-style in the direction of conformity
with the host society; second, changes in value-orientations in the
direction of conformity with the host society. The strategy in general
was to focus questions on habits and custome which were expected to
yield significant differences between the Canadian population and the
immigrant population. Thus questions were asked about the use of

supermarkets as opposed to the use of Italian groceterias; the amount and kind of television watching, moviegoing, and driving (GI 7-19, ItI 7-22). There were also questions about the respondents' interest in sports, and magasine, and newspaper reading. The responses to questions about car ownership, weekend driving habits, frequency and style of vacations, and shopping, show interesting life-style differences between the Italians and others. (See Chapter 4 above)

There were nineteen items in which the respondent was asked to indicate his response on a scale from strongly agree to strongly disagree. All these statements indicated a particular value-orientation. These questions were also asked of the Hamilton sample in an effort to furnish empirical data on modal Canadian attitudes. (HII 1-19, GII 1-19, ItII 1-19).

There was a general question on organisational membership in which the respondents were asked to name each organisation to which they belonged, to state how often they attended meetings and functions, and also to state how many of the members were of their own nationality. (HI 6, GI 6, ItI 6) This last part of the question served as another indicator of social participation within the respondent's own ethnic group and the host society. Church was suggested as an organisation in the framing of the question so that the responses also provided some indicator of religious affiliation. It is clear that this type of questions obtains a different kind of response from the simple "what is your religious affiliation?" Asked in the context or organisational membership and attendance, there seems to have been a lower propensity to mention religious affiliation.

In the German and Italian questionnaires, there were questions about three aspects of language; language learning, language use, and self evaluation in speaking and reading English. (GI 41-46, ItI 41-46). In language use we were inquiring into the extent of use of the native tongue both inside and outside the home context. In language learning, we were interested in whether the respondent had ever taken formal

English lessons, and if so, where they had been taken (in the home country or in Canada) and also how soon after arrival lesson in Canada were taken.

Identification: This concept has been defined in a previous chapter. It is difficult to operationalise this idea, especially when the instrument is a mailed questionnaire. The question devised to give some indication of this dimension read "All things considered, do you prefer to think of yourself as a Canadian?" (GII 24, ItII 24), this was followed by the statement, "Please answer as well as possible in your own words".

The question contains an assumption which has been mentioned earlier, and this question is only valid insofar as the assumption is justified. We are assuming that all respondents make some identification at the ethnic or national level and that for the immigrant the important dimension is a 'choice' between ethnic and Canadian identity. The question may be criticised for containing the word Canadian, thus possibly suggesting a bias in that direction, and although this seems to have occurred to some degree, (see chapter 4 above), the form of the question does not seem to have deterred significant numbers of respondents from emphasising their ethnicity. To code the open-ended responses, seven categories were used. These categories reflect the above-stated assumption. They ranged, Emphatically Canadian (2), Canadian (3), Qualified Canadian (4), Neutral (5), Qualified Ethnic (6), Ethnic (7), Emphatically Ethnic (8). The numbers in brackets are the scores given to these categories.

Occupation and Social Class

Respondent's occupation was used to code the samples into seven social classes by applying the Blishen scale. The question asking for occupation was, "What is your present occupation? Please give the full name of your occupation. (For example, 'post-office clerk rather than simply clerk', 'motor mechanic' rather than simply 'mechanic'.) (HI 5, GI 5, ItI 5). This phrasing of the question was successful in

that in a large number of cases sufficiently detailed information
was elicited for us to be able to classify with some confidence. Not
surprisingly, however, the coding of occupations did pose some
problems, and because of these, the class divisions only were used,
and not the discreet scores which Blishen assigns in his scale.

The Blishen scale*was chosen for several reasons. It is the
best presently available which is based on Canadian data. Some of
the census material referred to in this thesis is based on use of the
Blishen scale. The Blishen scale is based on occupational and
educational data from the 1951 Canadian census.

> "The average income and average
> number of years of education were
> ... determined and the standard
> scores were then combined and each
> occupation ranked according to this
> combined score. The resulting list
> of 343 occupations was divided into
> seven classes. The class divisions
> were somewhat arbitrary, and the
> sizes of the class intervals in
> terms of the range of the combined
> standard scores were unequal ...
> The investigator's awareness of
> the relative prestige ranking of
> occupations was a major factor in
> the classification."

Certain problems which were faced in coding reflect limitations
in the Blishen scale. There is no account taken in his scale of self-
employed persons, small businessmen, and independent contractors.
Furthermore, the Blishen list is far from complete, and although many
of the occupations named by respondents were clearly very similar to
ones in the list, there were several cases where it would have been
unwise to assume comparability without further investigation.

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* Bernard Blishen "The Construction and Use of an Occupational
Class Scale", in <u>Canadian Society</u>, Bernard Blishen et. al. (eds.) p.450.

To overcome these difficulties, we used Reiss's socio-economic index of occupations*, the prime advantage of this scale being it's completeness. Those occupations named by respondents but not listed by Blishen were located in Reiss's list. (Sometimes a very similar occupation was used.) The Reiss score for this occupation was recorded and then as many examples as possible were found of occupations with the same score on the Reiss scale. These occupations with identical scores to the previous 'problem case' were then located in the Blishen scale which gave the investigator a more than intuitive basis for making a judgment about the occupation. In all cases where judgments were made on this basis, the investigator kept a record in order to ensure reproducing the same judgment throughout. The same procedure was followed for small businessmen and independent contractors who were listed in the Reiss scale under the head of 'managers, officials, proprietors, self-employed'. It was noted that in Reiss's scale the score for these same occupational categories as 'salaried' was higher than their score as self-employed.

University students were placed somewhat arbitrarily in Class 3. They score highly on one of Blishen's criteria, education. Also, most of them, after graduating, will find themselves in occupations ranked in the first two classes; making an adjustment for their present status they were placed in class three. Students constituted a very small percentage of the respondents.

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*   Occupations and Social Status, by A.J. Reiss, Jr., The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., New Yowrk, 1961

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS, ANALYSES AND CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter we shall present and discuss the findings of the study. We shall begin by describing the collective characteristics of the three groups and shall attempt to assess the influence of such group factors as class structure and group acculturation.

Collective characteristics were discussed in chapter 2 and we suggested that these form the social context within which sociological variables influence the behaviour of individuals. The Hamilton sample was intended to provide some indications of modal patterns of attitudes and behaviour in the society at large, with which the immigrants could be compared. In presenting the collective characteristics of the Germans and Italians, as derived from the samples in this study, it must be remembered that the samples were of immigrants only. In previous chapters we were, on occasion, speaking of the German and Italian ethnic groups in Canada. The assumption has been that the whole ethnic group in the new country constitutes, for the immigrants, a significant reference group and element of the social context.

Social Class Structure

Table 1 below shows the distribution of the Hamilton, German, and Italian samples through the seven social classes in the Blishen scale. German immigrants are overrepresented in the skilled manual worker class (class five). Compared with the Italians, they more closely approximate the distribution of Canadians as derived from the Hamilton sample. The Italians are heavily concentrated in the three lowest classes.

TABLE 1

The Blishen scale of occupational classes; The German,
Canadian, and Italian samples.

Class	Canadians	Germans	Italians
one	4%	1%	0%
two	18%	12%	4%
three	19%	9%	4%
four	13%	10%	8%
five	31%	41%	30%
six	5%	20%	39%
seven	0%	3%	12%
	100%	100%	100%
N =	(81)	(87)	(73)

Our argument was that the class structure of a particular
ethnic group and immigrant group would influence the process of
structural assimilation. On the assumption that social contact and
compatibility in friendship formation are strongly influenced by
social class, we argued that the degree of concentration in particular
social classes would determine the availability, for immigrants, of
friends who were both of the same social class and ethnic origin. This
argument has relevance for hypotheses four and six as stated at the
end of chapter two.

Before examining the influence of social class on this process
we should first present the evidence and compare the degree of
structural assimilation in the German and Italian groups.

TABLE 2

The percentages of the German and the Italian respondents who had none, or one, two, or three, four, or five, of their five closest friends from their own ethnic group.

Number of five closest friends from own ethnic group.	Germans	Italians
0-1	24%	11%
2-3	39%	40%
4-5	37%	50%
	100%	100%
N =	(88)	(73)

From table two we see that one half of all Italians have most of their primary relations within their ethnic group; by contrast, almost one quarter of all Germans are structurally assimilated, responding that none or only one of their five closest friends are from their own ethnic group. In the general, the evidence suggests that the Germans are more structurally assimilated than the Italians.

We have already suggested, in chapter two, that the class structure of the group would affect the process of structural assimilation. Thus, if a whole immigrant group is concentrated in a single social class, we argued there would be a far greater availability of friends of the same ethnic group and class situation than if the same group were dispersed throughout the classes. On the other hand, where the ethnic group is more evenly distributed throughout the class structure, the availability of ethnic friends is theoretically the same at all class levels; by contrast, upward mobility, in a group

Its now happening

(Urban Villagers)

concentrated in the lower classes, could be expected to cut an immi-
grant off from his ethnic community.

This argument could be stated as follows: The availability,
for an individual immigrant, of ethnic friends, is partly dependent
on his social class position (and mobility), in its relation to the
overall class distribution of the ethnic group to which he belongs.
We would expect there to be less difference in structural assimilation
between the upper and lower classes of the Italian group. The above
arguments reiterate the notion of availability in the sense in which
it was presented in chapter three. The evidence relating structural
assimilation and social class is presented below.

TABLE 3

The number of five closest friends from own ethnic
group, by social class and ethnic group.

Social Class

Five Closest Friends	1-5		6-7	
	Germans	Italians	Germans	Italians
0-2	43%	30%	19%	24%
3-5	57%	70%	81%	76%
N =	(67)	(34)	(21)	(38)

It is clear from table three that social class is an important
factor in structural assimilation. It is also clear that the avail-
ability hypothesis as stated cannot really be said to gain any direct
support. The evidence which shows that there is a greater difference
between upper and lower class Germans than between upper and lower
class Italians, is contrary to our hypothesis. We predicted that there
would be the least structural assimilation where the class concentrations

were the greatest, and also that the reverse would be true. But the difference in structural assimilation of lower class Italians and lower class Germans is only 5% (the Germans being less structurally assimilated), despite the fact that the Italians are much, much more heavily concentrated in the lower classes. And, despite this lower class concentration, the difference between upper and lower class Italians is only 6%. The fact that only 19% of lower class Germans are structurally assimilated, compared with 43% of upper class Germans, lends some support to the hypothesis since the greatest concentration of Germans is in class five.

Availability appears to exert some limited influence but not to the exclusion of other equally important factors. Furthermore, we do not consider that the availability hypothesis can be retained in the form in which we have presented it. In our discussion we compared proportions of an immigrant group within each social class, relative to that whole immigrant group. We neglected to consider how great a proportion of each class of the population as a whole each class segment of the immigrant group would be. Thus in relation to the class distribution of Germans, class five of the German immigrants represents to some degree a concentration. They also constitute an overrepresentation relative to the population distribution in that class, but we must remember that in the population class five is a very large class. Therefore this class concentration relative to the German group need not operate against structural assimilation since it only constitutes a section of a very large class of the population. We have used this German example but, of course, this modification of the availability argument applies equally to both ethnic groups.

A number of factors do emerge fairly clearly. The propensity for retaining ethnic friends is greatest in the lower classes in both ethnic groups. This largely explains why the Italians overall have a larger proportion who are not structurally assimilated since the Italians are overrepresented in these lower classes. The fact that

structural assimilation in the upper classes is greater among the Germans may be partially explained by the difference in the composition of class five between the two groups. Appendix four above shows that the great majority of Italians in class five are in the lower half of that class, thus suggesting that these Italians may be more closely identified with the two lowest classes. The reverse is true of the Germans. There is no evidence to support the commonsense notion that Italians per se have a greater propensity to choose friends from their own group.

Social Status and Reference Orientation

In chapter two we presented the argument that the German group, as a reference group, has higher status than the Italian group and thus has a greater potential for status conferral. This argument supports the statement of hypothesis number five at the end of chapter two. Whilst other factors may encourage an opposite tendency, this greater potential for status conferral should produce a greater tendency for ethnic identification among the Germans than among the Italians. Overall the German group did show a greater tendency to identify with their ethnic group than did the Italians. The percentages are shown in Table four below. This evidence tends to confirm the hypothesis that one determinant of reference orientation is the potential of available groups for status conferral.

TABLE 4

	Canadian (2,3)	Identification Qualified Canadian (4)	Neutral (5)	Ethnic (6-8)*	N
Germans	46%	20%	15%	19%	(89)
Italians	60%	17%	9%	14%	(68)

* The numbers in parentheses refer to the rankings assigned, from 2 (Emphatically Canadian) to 8 (Emphatically Ethnic), to respondents' statements of identification.

Group Acculturation

We now turn to some of our measures of the variable accult-
uration with particular interest in characterising the general life-
styles and values of the two immigrant groups. We shall use the
evidence from the Hamilton sample in order to compare Italian and
German immigrant patterns with the modal patterns of the society at
large.

Some of the differences between the Italians and Germans are
probably due to factors operating before the immigrant's arrival in
Canada. Many Italian immigrants have come from peasant backgrounds,
whereas the Germans come from a more industrialised society and have
in most cases worked in urban industrial occupations. Education is
probably one of the most important factors operating before arrival
and nearly all our respondents indicated that they had received all
their education in their country of origin. As we would expect, the
Germans have a higher educational level than the Italians but not as
high as the Canadian population in the Hamilton sample. (See table
Five below.)

TABLE 5

EDUCATION

	N	Mean (years of education)
Canadians	82	10.7
Germans	88	10.2
Italians	73	6.9

The German mean lies between the Canadians and Italians, but
is clearly closer to the Canadians. We shall see that on most measures
of differences in life-style and values, the German profile is usually
similar to the Canadian, and the Italian profile is usually quite
distinct from both. Table two above showed us that while the Germans

as a group are more structurally assimilated than the Italians, only 24% of all Germans are in the most structurally assimilated category. A high degree of acculturation seems to have taken place whilst a high percentage of the group still retain most of their relations within the ethnic group. This may be taken as lending some support to the argument that acculturation may occur without structural assimilation.

In the case of "moral liberalism" (see Table six), the German and Canadian scores are close together and the Italian score is clearly set apart. A similar situation is found with the variable "achievement orientation". (See Table seven). The case of "values supporting the family" is the only one where the Germans, though intermediate to the Canadians and the Italians, are closer to the Italians in expressing values supporting the family. (See Table eight.)

TABLE 6

MEAN SCORES ON MEASURES OF MORAL LIBERALISM *

	N	Mean
Canadians	78	4.6
Germans	89	4.4
Italians	69	6.1

Bartletts test, 0.58

$F_{(2,233)} = 15.12$

* This measure was based on responses to questions HII 8,9 GII 8,9 and ItII 8,9. An 'agree' response on question 8 was taken to indicate a morally liberal attitude; and a 'disagree' response on question 9 was taken to indicate a morally liberal position. Responses were then scored as follows. For question 8: strongly agree=3, agree =2, neutral =0, disagree =-2, strongly disagree = -2; for question 9: strongly disagree =3 ,etc. The scores for the two questions were then added and coded from one to nine in the following way:

```
Code 1 = a score of five or six
Code 2 = a score of four
Code 3 = a score of three
Code 4 = a score of two
Code 5 = a score of one zero and minus one
Code 6 = a score of minus two
Code 7 = a score of minus three
Code 8 = a score of minus four
Code 9 = a score of minus five and six
```

The computed means shown above are calculated on the basis of these code scores. Thus it should be clear that a <u>low</u> score indicates acceptance of morally liberal values.

TABLE 7

ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION *

	N	Mean
Canadians	81	2.4
Germans	90	2.3
Italians	71	4.5

Bartletts test, 5.88

$F (2,239) = 33.3$

* A low score indicates high achievement orientation.

* This measure is based on responses to questions HII 1,2,3, GII 1,2,3 and ItII 1,2,3. The system of scoring and computing is analogous to that explained for the measure of moral liberalism in Table six.

TABLE 8

VALUES SUPPORTING THE FAMILY *

	N	Mean
Canadians	82	5.1
Germans	88	6.8
Italians	69	7.4

Bartletts test, 6.14

$F (2,236) = 28.3$

* A high score indicates strong support of family values.

* This measure is based on responses to questions HII 4,5 GII 4,5 and ItII 4,5. Again the system of scoring and computing means is analogous to that explained for the variable moral liberalism in Table six.

The taking of summer vacations is probably strongly influenced by social class. But it is certainly a significant aspect of life-style and in this respect again the Germans and the Canadians are similar. 13% of the Canadians and 11% of the Germans report that they do not take summer vacations outside of Hamilton, compared with 45% of Italians who report that they do not. Shopping habits were also taken as an aspect of life-style, and the data on this behaviour follows a similar pattern. 71% of the Canadians and 61% of the Germans do most of their shopping at supermarkets compared with 34% of the Italians. *(Because some have no means of transport.)*

Overall, the evidence suggests that the Germans as a group are culturally similar to the Canadians; at the same time, the patterns of primary relations and identification in both the Germans and the Italians confirm that both remain socially recognisable and distinct groups. In the first part of this chapter, we have attempted to show the relevance of the most important collective characteristics of the groups as they shape the structural framework within which the processes of assimilation affect their individual members.

Discussion of the Hypotheses

In our discussion in chapter three, we noted some arguments which strictly required two time periods of the same samples. A panel study would cast some light on such questions as whether acculturation precedes and causes structural assimilation or whether the reverse is true. This kind of question can scarcely be answered by the data in this study. The substitute for two time periods in our research was the sampling of immigrants who had arrived over a ten year period; we were then able to divide the samples into early and late arrival groups. If we are justified in assuming 'similarity

on arrival' between the early and late groups, then differences between the two groups should provide some pointers to the way in which assimilation processes occur over time.

We shall first present some data to examine the degree to which an assumption of similarity on arrival is justified. The German immigration was concentrated in the mid-fifties, whereas the Italians began arriving earlier; however, it was still possible to make a good dichotomy between those who arrived in 1954 and before, and those who arrived in 1955 and after. Except for five cases, all immigrants arrived between 1949 and 1960. (See Table nine.)

Nearly all respondents stated that they received all their education in their country of origin. By contrast, a respondent's social class is subject to change both when and after he arrives and settles in Canada. We would also suggest that education is an important factor in life-style and life-chances; we propose that to compare the years of education of the immigrants from the two periods would be a significant way of testing the homogeneity, on arrival, of the early and late groups.

TABLE 9

PERIOD OF ARRIVAL IN CANADA

	1955 and later	1954 and earlier	N	Born in Canada and no response
Germans	42	47	(89)	1
Italians	28	42	(70)	3

* N.B. Except for five cases, all respondents arrived between 1949, and 1960.

TABLE 10

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PERIOD OF ARRIVAL AND EDUCATION

Italians

Education (years)

Period of Arrival	below 6	6 - 10	11 plus	N
1955 +	43%	39%	18%	(28)
- 1954	44%	44%	12%	(42)

Germans

Period of Arrival	below 8	8 - 10	11 plus	N
1955 +	2%	50%	48%	(42)
- 1954	19%	34%	47%	(47)

From Table ten, we can see that the largest difference is in the German group. In particular, seventeen per cent more of early arriving immigrants were in the lowest educational category compared with the late arriving. But the difference in the highest educational category is only one per cent in the German group. In the Italian case, there are no differences between the two arrival groups which are larger than six per cent.

Differences in the regional place of origin of immigrants from the two time periods are more striking among the Italians. From Table eleven we see that Northern Italians constitute the majority of recent immigrants whereas a majority of earlier immigrants were from ⚹ Central Italy. In the case of the Germans, the West Germans tend to be early arrivals.

If we consider these differences to be significant, it follows that in considering differences on other variables between the two arrival groups, we should always take into account these differences

in education and region of origin. Since our samples are too small to allow this, we shall only be able to point out in the relevant analyses, that the possibility remains that certain differences may be partly due to these differences in education and region of origin.

TABLE 11

PERIOD OF ENTRY, REGION OF ORIGIN AND ETHNIC GROUP

Region of origin	Germans		Region of origin	Italians	
	1955 +	1954 -		1955 +	1954 -
West Germany	46%	60%	North	54%	22%
Austria	10%	4%	Central	21%	51%
East Germany	29%	9%	South	25%	27%
Other European	15%	28%			
	(41)	(47)		(28)	(41)

Initial acculturation and exposure to North American media

We suggested in hypothesis one, at the end of chapter two, that exposure to the media of North American society would be an early influence on the acculturation of the new immigrant. When we compared the degree of exposure to North American media, in the early and late arrival groups, we found that for the most part there was no relationship between period of arrival and exposure to media. There was no relationship between period of entry and visiting movies of ethnic magazines. In the Italian group there was no significant relationship between period of entry and reading North American magazines; this is partly due to the fact that very few Italians read magazines and thus there are scarcely any cases in one cell of the table. more so now though.

Education

Table ten showed us the extent of the differences in education between the two arrival groups. In both ethnic groups we found a significant relationship between education and the reading of North American magazines; the higher the education the greater the exposure to North American magazines. There is a significant correlation between North American magazine reading and period of entry in the German group. (See Table 12) Those Germans who have been in Canada longer read much more of magazines with North American content.

TABLE 12

Germans

Period of entry

Magazine reading	1955 +	1954 -
none	52%	30%
some	48%	70%
	(42)	(47)

We may recall at this point two previous findings. We noted above, a significant relationship between education and North American magazine reading in both groups; also Table ten showed us that the percentage of Germans in the lowest education category was higher (by 17%) in the early arrival group. Despite this, Table ten shows us that, compared with the late arrival group, 22% more of the early arrival group report some exposure to North American magazines.

North American media and acculturation

In many cases there was simply no relationship between exposure to media and acculturation variables. However, the reading of North

American magazines was found to be positively associated with some
acculturation variables. We found, for example, that those who
reported some North American magazine reading, also reported less
shopping at ethnic-style stores. We also found that those who
reported more North American magazine reading scored higher on
achievement orientation. The correlation co-efficient between North
American magazine reading and achievement orientation was .22 for
the Germans, and .37 for the Italians.

Hypothesis one stated that initial acculturation will be a
result of exposure to North American media. To test this hypothesis,
we examined the relationship between achievement orientation and
magazine reading among those immigrants who had arrived in Canada
most recently (1955 and later). Table 13 below, shows that among
late arrival Germans, 14% more of those with some magazine reading
score higher on achievement orientation; among late arrival Italians,
21% more of those with some magazine reading scored higher on
achievement orientation.

We may conclude from the evidence in this section that:
i)   The educational level of immigrants influences their exposure
to North American media.
ii)   There is only piece of evidence (Table 12) which shows a
relationship between length of stay and exposure to media;
iii)   There is some evidence relating exposure to media and accult-
uration in general, and among recent immigrants in particular.

TABLE 13

Period of Entry, Achievement Orientation, Reading North American
Magazines and Ethnic Groups

Germans   Period of Entry - 1955 and later

                           Reading North American Magazines

Achievement*
Orientation   None   Some

High   79%   93%

Low   21%   7%

                                    (14)   (28)

Italians   Period of Entry - 1955 and later

                           Reading North American Magazines

Achievement
Orientation   None   Some

High   23%   44%

Low   77%   56%

                                    (17)   (9)

* The variable achievement orientation is based on responses to questions
GII 1, 2, 3 and ItII 1, 2, 3. The score range from one to nine, the
higher the score, the lower the achievement orientation. In the above
tables, high includes one to three, low includes four to nine.

Period of Entry, Social Class and Mobility

We shall now try to discern how occupational mobility occurs
over time by examining class and mobility differences between the two
arrival groups. Some of our observations in this section will be
important for later analyses when we introduce social class as a
control variable. The size of the sample only permits a dichotomisation
of class and the best division is classes one to five, and classes six
and seven which we shall refer to as upper and lower classes. In the
first tables, we shall present the data for classes one to four, and
class five separately. The reason for this is a special feature of

the Italian class five. In looking at "occupation in country of origin" among the Italians, we find that a number of respondents state their occupation as 'contadino' which can only be translated 'farmer'. Thus their old country occupation was classified as class five. But most of these immigrants, having been peasant farmers, would enter the industrial Canadian job market as unskilled labourers. This fact merits special consideration in examining social class and mobility among the Italians.

Table 14 shows us the differences in occupation in old country between the two arrival groups. Two factors become apparent. Firstly, The German immigrants have higher class origins than the Italian immigrants. Secondly, in both groups, the early arrival immigrants tend to have higher class origins than the late arriving immigrants. If we examine Table 15, we see that among those Italians who arrived early, there was a higher percentage of respondents from farm occupations in Italy (40% in the early group compared with 26% in the late group). This difference alone could largely account for the class origin difference shown in Table 14 between the early and late arrival Italians, since, as we noted, farm occupation in Italy would be classified as class five. Thus we are probably correct in concluding that the early arrival Italians did not enter the Canadian job market with any advantage over the late arrival group. In the case of the Germans however, almost all respondents had industrial-type occupations in their country of origin and thus we can only conclude that the early arrival Germans had slightly higher class origins than late arrival Germans. 6% more of the late arrivals had occupations in the lowest classes in their country of origin.

The evidence presented in Table 16 suggests that in both the German and Italian groups, more of the early arrival immigrants are at present in occupations of a higher social class than their reported old country occupation. Among the Germans, 16% more of the early group show mobility above their old country occupation; for the

Italians, the difference is 21%. Again we must note the higher percentage of peasant farmers among the early arrival Italians. Since many of these probably now have unskilled industrial occupations, this would partly account for the higher rate of downward mobility in the early arrival group. Finally although we may assume that many immigrants are pressed to take any available job when they first settle in Canada, the evidence in Table 17 would suggest that occupational class in the old country has a favourable effect on the immigrant's occupational opportunity when he first arrives.

TABLE 14

Respondents occupational class in country of origin, by period of entry

Germans	Class	Period of Entry	
Job in old country		1954 -	1955 +
	1-4	39%	20%
	5	36%	49%
	6-7	25%	31%
		(39)	(41)

Italians	Class	Period of Entry	
Job in old country		1954-	1955 +
	1-4	14%	4%
	5	55%	50%
	6-7	31%	46%
		(36)	(26)

TABLE 15

Period of Entry, Farm and non-farm occupations in Italy and Canada

Italians	1954 -	1955 +
Farm Italy, Farm Canada	-	4%
Farm Italy, Farm Canada initially	12%	-
Farm Italy, Non-Farm Canada	28%	22%
Non-Farm, Non-Farm Canada	57%	74%
Non-Farm Italy, Farm Canada first	3%	-
	(35)	(27)

TABLE 16

Period of Entry, Social Class and Mobility

Germans Old country job and present job	Period of Entry, present job	
	1954-	1955 +
higher	37%	21%
same	45%	64%
lower	18%	15%
	(40)	(42)

Italians Old country job and present job	Period of Entry, present job	
	1954-	1955 +
higher	33%	12%
same	28%	72%
lower	39%	16%
	(36)	(25)

TABLE 17

Job in old country related to first first job in Canada

Germans	Social Class of Job in Old Country		
First job in Canada. Class.	1-4	5	6-7
1-4	32%	3%	-
5	27%	40%	12%
6-7	41%	57%	88%
	(22)	(35)	(25)

Italians	Social Class of Job in Old Country		
First job in Canada. Class.	1-4	5	6-7
1-4	50%	31%	15%
5	-	24%	4%
6-7	50%	73%	81%
	(6)	(33)	(26)

Our conclusion that the occupational advantage of the early arrivals was only slight, is supported by the evidence in Table 18. Since the data and arguments which follow refer solely to occupations in Canada, we present occupational class as a dichotomy (1-5, 6-7). The differences in occupational class of the immigrant's first job in Canada between the two arrival groups are 1% in the Italian sample, and 3% in the German sample. In Table 17, we examine present class position in the two arrival groups. Among the Germans it is clear that a higher percentage of the early arrivals are now in higher class positions. Comparing with Table 18, we could infer that a greater percentage of those Germans who have been here longer have been upwardly mobile.

Among the Italians, 13% more of those who have been here longer, are now in the lower classes. A larger sample would have permitted us to examine the extent to which this is due to the higher proportion of peasant farmer immigrants in the early arrival group. It is worth noting that in the early arrival group, 61% of the upper class were actually in classes 1-4; only 6% of the late arrival groups' upper class were in classes 1-4.

TABLE 18

Period of Entry and First Occupation in Canada

Classes	Germans		Italians	
	1954-	1955+	1954-	1955+
1-5	40%	37%	23%	24%
6-7	60%	63%	77%	76%
	(45)	(41)	(40)	(25)

TABLE 19

Period of Entry and Present Occupational Class

Percentage distribution of respondents by Period of Entry and present class position.

Classes	Germans		Italians	
	1954-	1955+	1954-	1955+
1-5	81%	69%	43%	56%
6-7	19%	31%	57%	44%
	(45)	(42)	(42)	(27)

We also used an independent measure of occupational mobility within Canada. The respondent's class position of his first job in Canada was compared with his present class position; those whose present job was of a higher social class than their first job in Canada were designated as upwardly mobile. Among both Italians and Germans, the early arrivals show greater mobility. (see Table 20)

TABLE 20

Percentage distribution of respondents by Period of Entry and Mobility in Canada

Comparison of present job and first job in Canada.

Social Class of Present Job	Germans		Italians	
	1954-	1955+	1954-	1955+
Higher	77%	50%	48%	32%
Same	31%	50%	48%	68%
Lower	2%	-	4%	-
	(45)	(40)	(40)	(25)

These data do not tell us anything directly about acculturation and assimilation. We can only infer from this evidence that processes of mobility 'take time', and that those who have been here longer are the more likely to have created and taken opportunities for social mobility. It is worth noticing the differences in rates of mobility between the Italians and the Germans. Three quarters of the German immigrants who arrived in the early period report upward mobility, compared with just less than half of the equivalent group of Italians.

Firm conclusions about the sequence of the processes cannot be drawn from our data. The period of entry variable will be discussed again as we turn to discuss the data on acculturation and assimilation. In the data which we present next, there is evidence of a significant

general relationship between structural assimilation and acculturation.

Structural Assimilation and Acculturation in values and life-style

In this section, we shall be primarily concerned with hypo-
thesis three stated at the end of chapter two. We hypothesised that
structural assimilation at the secondary and primary level would lead
to acculturation. In chapter two, we distinguished between primary
and secondary structural assimilation; the former refers to situations
where an immigrant has most of his primary relations outside of his
ethnic group, the latter where the immigrant has developed secondary
relations outside his ethnic group. Primary structural assimilation
was measured by responses to the question, 'How many of your five
closest friends are from your own ethnic group?' In most of the tables
presented below, responses 'none', 'one', and 'two', (0-2) are desig-
nated as structurally assimilated, and responses 'three','four', and
'five', are designated as structurally unassimilated. To measure
secondary structural assimilation, a distinction was made between
'closest friends', and 'friends in general'. Degree of involvement in
North American organisations was also used as a measure of secondary
structural assimilation.

In measuring acculturation, we distinguished between life-style
and value orientations. Scores were devised to measure such attitudes
as achievement orientation and attitudes toward the family. Responses
to questions about shopping habits, interest in sport, vacations,
and driving habits were taken as indicators of various aspects of
life-style.

The great majority of our analyses indicated support for the
hypothesis of a general relationship between structural assimilation
and acculturation. There were numerous cases where there was no
association; in particular, analysis of primary relations and value
orientations showed no association,or a weak association. Because
of its importance, we shall present the evidence on these two variables.

The data which are presented, are selected with the aim of demon-
strating the results of the most important tests of the hypothesis.
We shall also try to indicate when further analysis would have been
useful , and what kind of further analysis would have been beneficial
if we had had a large enough sample. Inevitably then, for the above
reasons, and for reasons of space, some analyses which showed signi-
ficant relationships are omitted.

We shall begin by presenting material on structural assimi-
lation and acculturation by period of entry; we shall attempt to
make clear where period of entry can contribute to hypotheses about
time sequences. Table 21 illustrates that primary structural assimi-
lation is not simply a function of length of stay; in the Italian
sample the difference in percentage of immigrants who are struct-
urally assimilated is only 13%, and in the German group the difference
is 3%.

TABLE 21

Five Closest Friends, Period of Entry, Ethnic Groups

Italians	1954-	1955+
Friends		
0-2	31%	18%
3-5	69%	82%
	100% (42)	100% (28)

Germans	1954-	1955+
Friends		
0-2	40%	37%
3-5	60%	63%
	100% (47)	100% (40)

In Tables 22, and 23, we present the material which represents the overall relationship between achievement orientation and primary structural assimilation for all immigrants. Compared with the unassimilated, 6% more of the assimilated immigrants score highly on achievement orientation. This is a small difference but in the predicted direction. Before we pursue this part of the analysis further, two factors must be noted. First, the variation in achievement orientation scores among the Germans was very slight. Further, in Table weven, we saw that the Germans are very close to the Hamilton sample in their mean achievement orientation score. It is probable that this situation is due to the educational and cultural background of the German immigrant. To compare the Germans with the Italians on this point, we should recall Table 5 which showed the mean years of education in the Hamilton, German, and Italian samples to be 10.7, 10.2, and 6.9, respectively. Secondly, we should note that there is some evidence of an association between education and achievement orientation. In Table 22 below, the F value for the German group is not significant reflecting in part the low amount of variation in the German scores.

TABLE 22

Education and Achievement Orientation

Germans		Italians	
Mean Achievement Score		Mean Achievement Score	
Education Years			
0-8	2.67	5.00	
9-11	2.33	3.25	
12+	1.87	2.63	

$F(2,84) = 1.48$ $\qquad$ $F(2,68) = 6.33 \quad p<.01$

Percentage of respondents who are acculturated by primary struc-
tural assimilation and ethnic group and period of Entry

TABLE 23

All Immigrants

Value-orientation *	Primary structural assimilation (five closest friends)	
	High	Low
High achievement orientation	70%	64%
Low achievement orientation	30%	36%
	(53)	(106)

*
Achievement orientation scores were based on agree and disagree
responses to questions 1,2, and 3, in section II of the questionnaires.
Scores ranged from one to nine, one indicating the highest degree of
achievement orientation. In all table, High = 1-3, low = 4-9.

Keeping these two factors in mind, we can return to the data
on acculturation and structural assimilation. In attempting to assess
the nature of this relationship we shall look at the differences
between the ethnic groups since, in the sphere of value orientations
in particular, the differences appear to be important; we shall
examine the effect of structural assimilation and period of entry;
and finally we shall look at the differences, by period of entry, in
region of origin of the Germans. We strongly caution that no reliable
conclusions can be drawn from this since the size of our sample does
not justify examining the relations between four variables simul-
taneously. Rather, we are attempting to illustrate how further
analysis would be pursued if the sample size permitted.

In Table 24, we see the differences between the early and
late arrivals. Among the unassimilated, there is no difference in
achievement orientation between the early and late group. In the

early group there is no difference in achievement orientation between the structurally assimilated and the unassimilated. In the late arrival group, the differences are in the expected direction; of the assimilated immigrants, 24% more than the unassimilated, score highly on achievement orientation. Without being able to pursue this, we can only suggest that this may be due to differences in region of origin between the early and late groups.

TABLE 24

Acculturation, structural assimilation and period of entry

All immigrants	Structural assimilation - five closest friends			
	1954-		1955+	
Value-orientation	0-2	3-5	0-2	3-5
High achievement orientation	60%	61%	85%	61%
Low achievement orientation	40%	39%	15%	39%
	(33)	(57)	(20)	(49)

In Table 25, we examine the differences between the ethnic groups. In the German group, the difference in achievement orientation between the assimilated is 7%, contrary to the predicted direction. In the Italian group, the difference is 15%, and in the predicted direction. Thus, the evidence in the Italian group confirms our hypothesis as it was originally stated. And the Italians are different from the Germans in an important respect. Given their cultural and educational background, it is most likely that the values that they hold on arrival in Canada are quite appreciably distinct from North American values. It is almost certain that there is a greater cultural distance between Italians and Canadians, than between Germans and Canadians, at least in values such as achievement

orientation. Thus we might tentatively suggest that in the Italian group there occurs a real process of acculturation in value-orient- ations which is influenced, as predicted, by the process of primary structural assimilation.

By contrast, it is quite possible that the high German scores on achievement orientation do not reflect a real process of accult- uration since. Given the cultural and educational background of the German immigrants, it is quite likely that they share such values with Canadians at the time of their arrival in Canada. Furthermore, we argued in chapter two that where a group as a whole is acculturated, the acculturation of an individual immigrant does not constitute a pressure on that immigrant to move away from his ethnic group in his primary relations. But while we spoke of acculturation in this argument, we would now want to speak of the congruence of German values and Canadian values which may not be the result of a process of acculturation but rather of prior cultural background. If this is the case, then the process of structural assimilation must become less important in determining conformity to the values of the host society. Thus we suggest the following hypothesis in addition to the general hypothesis under discussion in this section (hypothesis 2, chapter 2). "The greater the similarity between the values of the host society and the values of the immigrant group, the less differences in values will appear between the assimilated and unassimilated members of that immigrant group".

In Table 26, we examine the differences between the two arrival groups in the two ethnic groups. The evidence for both early and late arrival Italians supports the hypothesis that structural assimilation and acculturation of values are associated. No real change over time is apparent; 52% of the early group score highly on achievement orient- ation compared with 51% of the late group.

The differences in the German groups are difficult to explain by either hypothesis. In the early group 18% more of the unassimilated immigrants score highly on achievement orientation; in the late group there is a 9% difference in the opposite direction. It is also apparent that there is a higher percentage of respondents scoring highly on achievement orientation in the late arrival group as a whole. Once again, we can only make very tentative suggestions on the basis of what we know about the differences between the early and late arrival Germans. Firstly, we know that there was a higher percentage of low-educated immigrants in the early German group. This may partly explain why late arrival immigrants score more highly on achievement orientation. We also know that the proportion of West Germans was much higher in the early group.

TABLE 25

Acculturation by structural assimilation and ethnic groups

Value-orientation	Italians		Germans	
	0-2	3-5	0-2	3-5
High ach. orientation	63%	48%	73%	80%
Low ach. orientation	37%	52%	27%	20%
	(19)	(52)	(34)	(54)

TABLE 26

Acculturation by structural assimilation, period of entry and ethnic groups

Italians	1954-		1955+	
Acculturation	Five closest Friends		Five closest Friends	
	0-2	3-5	0-2	3-5
High Ach. Orient-ation	64%	46%	60%	50%
Low Ach. Orient-ation	36%	53%	40%	50%
	(14)	(28)	(5)	(24)

Germans	1954-		1955+	
Acculturation	Five closest Friends		Five closest Friends	
	0-2	3-5	0-2	3-5
High Ach. Orient-ation	58%	76%	93%	84%
Low Ach. Orient-ation	42%	24%	7%	16%
	(19)	(29)	(15)	(25)

We present Table 27 only to illustrate how further analysis might proceed with a larger sample. If the West Germans constitute the most homogeneous group within the German group, then the small differences in achievement orientation by structural assimilation (9% in the early group and 10% in the late group) compared with the other Germans (30% in the early group) and 31% in the late group) could support the hypothesis about conformity stated in this chapter. It is clear that the thirty per cent difference in the early group of other Germans accounts for a great deal of the puzzling 18% difference in the early group shown in Table 26, but no feasible 'explanation' of this is available. Further, we must reassert our

earlier caution that in this process of analysis the numbers involved
have become almost ludicrously small and much of the argument in this
section must be taken as suggestions of possible explanations and as
illustrations of how the general hypotheses of this thesis could be
subjected to much more detailed scrutiny with a larger sample of
respondents.

TABLE 27

Germans

Achievement orientation by period of entry, structural assimilation
and region of origin

	1954-				1955+			
	West Germany		Others		West Germany		Others	
	0-2	3-5	0-2	3-5	0-2	3-5	0-2	3-5
High Achievement	73%	82%	43%	73%	100%	90%	100%	69%
Low Achievement	27%	18%	57%	27%	-	10%	-	31%
	(11)	(17)	(7)	(11)	(6)	(10)	(7)	(13)

Primary Structural Assimilation and Acculturation, life-style

In the next set of Tables (28-30), we present the relation-
ship between primary relations and life-style. One measure of life-
style was the amount of shopping which the respondent did at stores
catering to the tastes of his own ethnic group. Those who reported
little or none of their food shopping at ethnic style stores were
designated as the most acculturated. Table 28 includes the data for
all immigrants showing acculturation by primary structural assimi-
lation. The evidence tends to support the hypothesis of an association
between structural assimilation and acculturation. 59% of the most
structurally assimilated do little or none of their shopping at ethnic
style stores. 69% of the least structurally assimilated do half,

almost all, or all of their shopping at ethnic style stores.

TABLE 28

Percentage of respondents who are acculturated by primary structural assimilation

All immigrants N = 161

Primary structural assimilation. Five closest friends

Shopping at ethnic style stores	0-2	3-5
little, none	59%	31%
half, almost	41%	69%
all, all	(53)	(108)

If we examine Table 29, we see that the association between life-style acculturation and primary structural assimilation is as expected among the early and late arrival groups. Among the unassimilated respondents (3-5 groups) 14% more of the early arrival respondents do little ethnic shopping (38% compared with 24%). This suggests a change in life-style over time not accompanied by structural assimilation since among those who do little ethnic shopping 52% of the early arrivals have 3-5 ethnic friends compared with 48% of the late arrivals.

TABLE 29

Percentage of respondents who are acculturated by primary structural assimilation and period of entry

All immigrants N = 157	1954-		1955+	
	Five closest friends		Five closest friends	
Shopping at ethnic style stores	0-2	3-5	0-2	3-5
little, none	59%	38%	60%	24%
half, almost all, all	41%	62%	40%	75%
	(32)	(55)	(20)	(46)

We can make two reasonably safe conclusions. Firstly, there is a consistent relationship between life-style acculturation and primary structural assimilation. Secondly, some acculturation occurs without assimilation since among the unassimilated those who have been in Canada longer show more acculturation. This pattern gains further confirmation from Table 30 when the immigrants are divided into the two ethnic groups. The association between structural assimilation and acculturation is consistent throughout, and in both ethnic groups the unassimilated of the early arrivals show more acculturation than the unassimilated of the late arrivals. Finally, higher percentages of the Germans are in the acculturated categories.

TABLE 30

Percentage of respondents who are acculturated by structural assimilation, period of entry and ethnic group

1954-

Ethnic style shopping	Germans five closest friends		Italians five closest friends	
	0-2	3-5	0-2	3-5
little, none	68%	46%	46%	18%
half, almost all, all	32%	54%	54%	82%
	(19)	(28)	(13)	(27)

1955+

Ethnic style Shopping	Germans five closest friends		Italians five closest friends	
	0-2	3-5	0-2	3-5
little, none	66%	32%	40%	14%
half, almost all, all	34%	68%	60%	86%
	(15)	(25)	(5)	(21)

In Table 31, we use supermarket shopping as an index of acculturation designation those who do all or almost all of their shopping at supermarkets as the most acculturated in life-style. In the German group, 77% of the most structurally assimilated respondents did most of their shopping at supermarkets compared with 50% of the unassimilated group. Fewer of the Italians report doing most shopping at supermarkets, but the difference between the assimilated (58%) and the unassimilated (28%) is more striking than the German difference. The same kind of relationship appears among the Italians when interest in old country sport is used an index of acculturation (Table 32). In the German group there is no association.

TABLE 31

Life-style acculturation (supermarket shopping) by primary structural assimilation and ethnic groups

	Germans		Italians	
Supermarket shopping	five closest friends		five closest friends	
	0-2	3-5	0-2	3-5
none, half	23%	50%	42%	72%
almost all, all	77%	50%	58%	28%
	(34)	(54)	(19)	(51)

TABLE 32

Interest in old country sport by ethnic group and primary structural assimilation

	Germans		Italians	
Interest in old country sport	five closest friends		five closest friends	
	0-2	3-5	0-2	3-5
No	42%	40%	58%	33%
Yes	58%	60%	42%	66%
	(31)	(54)	(19)	(54)

In our statement of hypotheses at the end of chapter two, we suggested that there would also be an association between acculturation and patterns of relations at the secondary level (hypothesis 2). In chapter three, we discussed the questionnaire and pointed out that primary group was operationally defined as 'five closest friends'. This was intended to represent the kind of intimacy associated with the notion of primary group. We then encouraged the respondent to think of his 'friends in general' in the Hamilton area; as to whether respondents included their closest friends in the 'friends in general' category , we cannot be sure although it is likely that most respondents did. Thus, responses to questions will in part be influenced by their responses to the primary group questions, and 'friends in general' will not be a pure measure of secondary relations since it may include intimate friends (i.e. five closest friends) as well as non-intimate friends. With this caution in mind, we shall use 'friends in general' as one measure of secondary structural assimilation. We shall also use measures of organisational involvement (See question 6 in all three questionnaires, section 1).

We suggested in chapter three that secondary structural assimilation would precede primary structural assimilation; we also suggested that secondary structural assimilation would lead to greater primary structural assimilation; and finally we argued that secondary structural assimilation would lead to some degree of acculturation.

When we hypothesise that secondary structural assimilation precedes and leads to primary structural assimilation, we could also suggest that there are three major stages of the structural assimilation process. First stage: Absence of structural assimilation where there is no secondary or primary structural assimilation. Second stage: Secondary structural assimilation has occurred but not primary structural assimilation. Third stage: Both secondary and primary structural assimilation have occurred. If this is in fact the case , we would expect very few cases of immigrants who are

structurally assimilated at the primary level but not at the secondary level. Since we expect that secondary structural assimilation leads to primary structural assimilation, we would also expect fewer respondents to be high on secondary structural assimilation among those who are low on primary structural assimilation.

Table 33 presents the evidence on secondary structural assimilation. If we compare this with Table 2, we see that greater percentages of respondents are in the high structural assimilation category in Table 33 (secondary structural assimilation) than in Table 2 (primary structural assimilation). Similarly, fewer respondents are in the lowest structural assimilation category. Among the Germans, 18% more are high on secondary structural assimilation than are high on primary structural assimilation; 12% fewer are low on secondary structural assimilation. The equivalent differences for the Italians are 22% and 4%. This evidence tends to confirm the argument that secondary structural assimilation tends to precede primary structural assimilation.

In Table 34, we examine the relationship between secondary structural assimilation and primary structural assimilation. Secondary structural assimilation is shown as the independent variable in an attempt to test the hypothesis that secondary structural assimilation leads to primary structural assimilation. The evidence tends to confirm this hypothesis. Of those who are high on secondary structural assimilation in the german group, 71% are also high on primary structural assimilation, of those who are low on secondary structural assimilation, 8% are high on primary structural assimilation. The equivalent percentages in the Italian group are 35% and 16%. The Italian figures reflect the fact that compared with the Germans, smaller percentages of Italians are high on primary structural assimilation (see Table 2). The fact that 65% of the Italians who are high on secondary structural assimilation are low on primary structural assimilation, could suggest that rather more Italians

are at the second general stage of structural assimilation where secondary structural assimilation has occurred but has not yet led to primary structural assimilation.

TABLE 33

Secondary structural assimilation

How many of all your friends in the Hamilton area are of your own nationality?

	Germans	Italians
none, few	42%	33%
half	33%	21%
almost all, all	25%	46%
	(84)	(70)

TABLE 34

Primary structural assimilation by secondary structural assimilation

Germans	none, few	half	almost all, all
five closest friends			
0-2	71%	29%	8%
3-5	29%	71%	92%
	(35)	(28)	(26)

Italians	none, few	half	almost all, all
five closest friends			
0-2	35%	26%	16%
3-5	65%	74%	84%
	(23)	(15)	(32)

In Table 35, we examine the relationship between primary structural assimilation with primary group categories across the top of the table. We have already suggested that, if secondary structural assimilation precedes and leads to primary structural assimilation, this implies that very few of the respondents who are high on primary structural assimilation will be low on secondary structural assimilation. Evidence for both groups tends to confirm this argument, but more convincingly in the case of the Germans. Only 6% of the Germans who are high on primary structural assimilation are low on secondary structural assimilation; the equivalent figure for the Italians is 30%. Table 36 throws some light on this same issue and here we are using involvement in organisations as a measure of secondary structural assimilation. The Italian figures reflect *true* the fact that Italians overall are low on organisational involvement. The differences in secondary structural assimilation between the high and low primary structural assimilation groups are 20% and 19% for the Germans and Italians respectively.

Analysis of secondary structural assimilation, responses to question: 'How many of all your friends in general are of your own nationality?'

TABLE 35

The relation between secondary structural assimilation and primary structural assimilation

Secondary structural assimilation	Germans Primary structural assimilation		Italians Primary structural assimilation	
	High (0-2)	Low (3-5)	High (0-2)	Low (3-5)
High (none, few)	71%	18%	47%	28%
Medium (half)	23%	37%	23%	21%
Low (all, almost all)	6%	45%	30%	51%
	(35)	(54)	(17)	(53)

TABLE 36

Primary structural assimilation and involvement in North American
Organisations

Secondary structural assimilation	Germans Primary structural assimilation		Italians Primary structural assimilation	
Involvement in North American organisations	High(0-2)	Low(3-5)	High(0-2)	Low(3-5)
High (6+)	62%	42%	50%	31%
Low (0-5)	38%	58%	50%	69%
	(34)	(52)	(18)	(54)

Our general conclusion from the above data is that there is
evidence to support the argument that secondary structural assimi-
lation precedes and leads to primary structural assimilation. We
now turn to the hypothesis that secondary structural assimilation
leads to some degree of acculturation. In Table 37, we see that
those respondents who are high on secondary structural assimilation
are less likely to shop at stores which cater to their own ethnic
group. For the Germans the difference between the high and low on
secondary structural assimilation is 20%; for the Italians it is only
5%. We may compare this with Table 30 which shows the relationship
between primary structural assimilation and ethnic food shopping as
an acculturation in life-style variable. If we look at the highest
primary structural assimilation group among the late Germans (which
gives the least possibility of acculturation over time), we find
that 66% do little or no shopping at ethnic style stores compared
with 66% of those who are high on secondary structural assimilation.
This suggests no difference between primary and secondary structural
assimilation in their impact on acculturation. However, the equiv-
alent comparison in the case of the Italians produces a difference
of 15%, suggesting that primary structural assimilation has a greater

impact on acculturation than secondary structural assimilation. This evidence is of course inconclusive. With a larger sample, it would be possible to pursue the above mentioned notion of three major stages of structural assimilation and examine the differential influence of these degrees of structural assimilation on the acculturation process.

TABLE 37

Secondary structural assimilation and acculturation

Proportion of all friends in own ethnic group

ethnic food shopping	Germans		Italians	
	none, few	half, almost all, all	none, few	half, almost all, all
little, none	66%	45%	25%	20%
half, all	34%	55%	75%	80%
	(35)	(55)	(20)	(45)

Germans Identification	none, few	Half, almost all	Italians none, few	half, almost all
Canadian (2-4)	85%	56%	86%	75%
Ethnic (5-8)	15%	44%	14%	25%
	(33)	(55)	(21)	(44)

TABLE 38

North American organisational involvement and shopping at ethnic style stores

Organisations	Shopping at Italian stores				
	little	about half	mostly	N	
Low	16%	45%	39%	(49)	100%
High	45%	30%	25%	(20)	100%

Tau_c -0.24 $p \leq .01$

TABLE 39

Organisational involvement and driving

Organisations	low	high
Driving		
rarely	65%	35%
often	35%	65%
	100%	100%
	(51)	(20)

Chi square   5.15

Tau$_c$ 0.24, $p \le .01$

Before leaving the topic of secondary structural assimilation
we shall present some more general evidence about the relation between
these variables using organisational involvement as a measure of sec-
ondary structural assimilation. For both Italians and Germans, there
was evidence of a relationship between achievement orientation and
organisational involvement in organisations in which most or all of
the members were not of their own ethnic group. In the Italians case,
the correlation was much stronger and statistically significant.
For the German group (N,90) the correlation coefficient was -.13;
for the Italians it was -.34 (N =71, p $\le$ .01). The correlations
are negative since in the coding a low numerical score on the achieve-
ment variable indicated high achievement orientation.

Among the Italians there was a significant relationship
between organisational involvement and shopping at ethnic style
stores. Table 38 shows that the greater the involvement in Canadian
organisations, the less the shopping at ethnic style stores.

All respondents were asked how often they took weekend drives
for pleasure and it was found that the Germans again were more
acculturated in that they showed a similar pattern to the Canadians;
the large majority took weekend drives. On the other hand, more than

half of the Italians drove rarely or not at all. Among the Germans, there was no difference between expected and observed frequencies, but among the Italians there was a statistically significant relationship between organisational involvement and driving. (Table 39).

Summary

The weight of the evidence suggests a consistent set of relations between the structure of social relations and acculturation. In all the tests there was only one rather doubtful contrary piece of evidence. There were several cases of no association. In the case of several variables, the Germans were as a whole group, acculturated, and so there was very little variation on these acculturation variables.

The evidence of this thesis suggests that it is worthwhile pursuing the notions that secondary structural assimilation precedes and leads to primary structural assimilation and that the influence of primary structural assimilation on acculturation is greater than the influence of secondary structural assimilation.

We turn now to a brief examination of the influence of language on certain assimilation processes. In chapter two, we made a distinction between minimal language learning and positive application to learning English. However, in the following tables, we shall be using two questions as measures of language learning. We asked respondents whether or not they had taken lessons to learn English, and we also asked how many months or years they had engaged in taking lessons in English. These two measures proved to be the most useful for analysing the impact of language on other assimilation variables. In some of the tables below, we divided respondents into those who have taken lessons in English at some time, and those who have never taken lessons. In other tables, we divided respondents into those who have had 2 years

or more of English lessons and those who have none to 2 years of taking English lessons.

In hypotheses seven and eight, at the end of chapter two, we suggested that the least learning of English would be associated with the retention of social relations within the ethnic group and low acculturation. We also predicted that the learning of English by formal lessons would be associated with social mobility and structural assimilation.

TABLE 40

Percentage of respondents who are high on achievement orientation by whether or not the respondent has taken language lessons and ethnic group

Language lessons	Germans		Italians	
Achievement orientation	yes	no	yes	no
High	83%	70%	30%	28%
Low	17%	30%	70%	72%
	(54)	(34)	(40)	(32)

TABLE 41

Percentage of respondents who reported promotion, by language learning and ethnic group

	Germans		Italians	
Language learning	0-2 years	2 years +	0-2 years	2 years +
Promotion				
Yes	45%	59%	22%	55%
No	55%	41%	78%	45%
	(36)	(49)	(46)	(20)

We used social class difference between present job and first job in Canada as a measure of occupational mobility and related this to language learning. In both ethnic groups, Italians and Germans, there was no relationship between the extent of language learning and social mobility. We also related language learning with a number of acculturation variables such as shopping habits and found one case of a slight relationship in the expected direction, but in most of the cases there was no relationship. In the case of the Germans, there was a 7% difference between those who had taken language lessons and those who had not, on the variable achievement orientation. Among the Italians, the difference was only 2%. (Table 40)

Respondents were asked if they had had a promotion 'in their present job' and this reported promotion was an alternative measure of mobility. An examination of Table 41 suggests a slight relationship between language learning and reported promotion. Among the Germans, 14% more of those with greater language learning reported promotion. Among the Italians, the difference was 33%. (Table 41)

In this section, we are trying to assess the importance of language learning particularly with respect to the way in which this variable relates to other central variables of the study. We can only make suggestions as to how important language may be as a control variable. From this point of view, the evidence in Table 42 is of some interest since it shows some relationship between language learning and primary group relations, one of the most important variables in the analytical framework of this thesis. 12% more of the Germans who have had more years of learning English are high on primary structural assimilation. Among the Italians, the difference is 18%. This evidence tends to support the hypothesis that language learning encourages primary structural assimilation.

Finally in Table 43, we present the evidence relating language learning with present social class position of the respondent. Those immigrants with 2 years or more language learning show a higher

percentage of respondents in the higher social classes. Among the
Germans, the percentage difference is 27%; among the Italians, it
is 10%. These are large enough differences to suggest that language
may be an important further variable in the analysis of, for example,
the relationships between identification, social class and primary
group relations.

In many cases the relationships between language learning and
other variables of the study are not very convincing; where relation-
ships do appear, they tend to support the hypotheses of relationships
between language learning and primary group relations, language
learning, and acculturation and language learning and social mobility.

TABLE 42

Percentage of respondents who are structurally assimilated by numbers
of years of learning English and ethnic group

Number of five closest friends from own ethnic group	Number of years learning the English language			
	Germans		Italians	
	0-2 years	2 yrs. or more	0-2 years,	2 yrs. or more
0-3	55%	67%	41%	59%
4-5	45%	33%	59%	41%
	(36)	(49)	(45)	(20)

TABLE 43

Respondents social class by language learning and ethnic group

Language learning	Germans		Italians	
Class	0-2 yrs.	2yrs.+	0-2 yrs.	2 yrs.+
1-5	61%	88%	42%	52%
6-7	39%	12%	58%	48%
	(36)	(51)	(45)	(24)

Identification

Identification has been defined in this study as a man's sense of belonging to a group. We hypothesised that the identification of immigrants would be strongly influenced by the structure of the primary group. To translate this hypothesis into operational terms, we argue that where the majority of an immigrant's five closest friends are from his own ethnic group, he is more likely to express a sense of belonging to that group.

The evidence which we shall present tends to confirm this hypothesis for both ethnic groups, but the evidence for the Germans is much clearer. In Table four, we saw that the German sample produced a clearer dichotomy between those who identified as Canadians, and those who identified as Germans. 46% of all Germans asserted their identity as Canadians, compared with 60% of the Italians.

The responses to the questions 'Do you prefer to consider yourself a Canadian?' were coded into seven categories and numbered as follow: emphatically Canadian = 2, Canadian =3, qualified Canadian = 4, neutral = 5, qualified ethnic =6, ethnic =7, emphatically ethnic =8. In presenting the percentage tables, we have divided respondents into two groups, 2-3, and 4-8, in all tables except Table 44 where respondents are divided 2-4, 5-8. Primary structural assimilation is measured by the number of a respondent's five closest friends who are of his own ethnic group. The more assimilated group are those who have 0-3 of their five closest friends from their own ethnic group; the least assimilated are those who have 4-5 of their five closest friends from their own ethnic group.

TABLE 44

Percentage of respondents who identify as Canadian by primary structural assimilation and ethnic group

Germans

Identification	Primary structural assimilation. Number of five closest friends from own ethnic group	
	0-3	4-5
Canadian (2-4)	75%	51%
German (5-8)	25%	49%
	(54)	(33)

Italians

Identification	Five closest friends from own ethnic group	
	0-3	4-5
Canadian (2-4)	88%	68%
Italian (5-8)	12%	32%
	(34)	(34)

In Table 44, we see that in both of the ethnic groups, more of the structurally assimilated respondents identify as Canadians. In the German group the difference is 24%, in the Italian group the difference is 20%.

To analyse further the relationship between primary group structure and identification, we need to examine some of the factors which are systematically related to primary group structure. In Table 3, we saw that the propensity to restrict primary relations within the ethnic group was greater in the lowest social classes. In the German group there was a percentage difference of 24%, and in the Italian group a difference of 6%. The type of occupation, income, residence, and life-style associated with a higher class position appears to lead to increasing social contact outside the ethnic group.

In Table 45, we present identification as measured by mean

scores; the reader should refer to the previous page where we stated which numbers were associated with the categories of identification. The lower the score, the stronger the Canadian identification and the higher the score, the stronger the ethnic identification. It becomes apparent that the relationship between class and identification is not a simple one. So far we have seen that higher class respondents tend to be more structurally assimilated and that more structurally assimilated respondents are more likely to identify as Canadians. From Table 45, we see that it is not true, as we might expect from the above relations, that upper class respondents are more likely to identify as Canadians. In the German sample, there is little difference in identification patterns by social class and in the Italian group it appears to be the lower class respondents who are more likely to identify as Canadians.

TABLE 45

Germans	social class	mean identification*	N
	1-4	3.8	(29)
	5	4.0	(37)
	6-7	4.1	(20)
	Total	3.9	(86)
Italians	social class	mean identification	N
	1-4	4.2	(12)
	5	3.9	(21)
	6-7	3.2	(34)
	Total	3.7	(67)

$F, (2,64) = 2.02$, p - .05

* The lower the score the stronger the Canadian identification; the scores range from 2(emphatic Canadian) to 8 (emphatic Ethnic).

It is possible that Italians in higher class occupations feel a greater security than those in lower class occupations and thus become more likely to assert their ethnic identity. This is necessarily a post factum explanation; the finding that upper class Italians are more likely to identify as Italians runs counter to our argument in chapter two.

In Table 46, we see that not only are lower class Italians more likely to identify as Canadians, but also that the longer a lower class immigrant has been in Canada the more likely he is to assert Canadian identity; we could argue that, given the low potential of the Italian group for status conferral, Canadian identity is increasingly perceived as the most rewarding identity, especially among lower class Italians. Among the Germans, the reverse is true. It appears from Table 46 that the longer an immigrant has been in Canada, the more likely he is to assert his German identity. This is most notable among lower class Germans, where primary structural assimilation has occurred least.

TABLE 46

Percentage of respondents who identify as Canadians by social class, period of entry and ethnic group

Germans		1954-		1955+	
Social class					
Identification	1-5	6-7	1-5	6-7
Canadian (2-3)	43%	25%	59%	42%
German (4-8)	57%	75%	41%	58%
	(37)	(8)	(29)	(12)
Italians		1954-		1955+	
Social class					
Identification	1-5	6-7	1-5	6-7
Canadian (2-3)	65%	76%	47%	45%
Italian (4-8)	35%	24%	53%	55%
	(17)	(21)	(15)	(11)

√Thus the notion of security may partly explain the pattern of ident-
ification among upper class Italians, and the notion of differential
potential for status conferral may partly explain the different patterns
of ethnic identification between the Italians and the Germans.
χ However, in both groups primary structural assimilation was seen to
be associated with Canadian identification, and yet upper class Italians
show a greater propensity to identify as Italians despite the fact that,
as a whole, upper class Italians are more structurally assimilated
than lower class Italians. This makes it imperative to examine patterns
of identification by primary structural assimilation and social class.
In Table 47, we see that, in both ethnic groups, within each social
class, the relationship between identification and primary structural
assimilation remains consistent; that is, within each social class,
the greater the primary structural assimilation the greater the like-
lihood of Canadian identification. Among upper class Italians, the
difference is 20%, among lower class Italians the difference is 33%;
among upper and lower class Germans, the differences are 21% and 25%
respectively. ✓The fact that, as a whole class, upper class Italians
are more likely to identify as Italians than lower class Italians,
can be partly explained by noting that the largest percentage of
respondents identifying as Italians is among upper class Italians who
are low on primary structural assimilation (57%). Similarly, among
upper class Italians who are high on primary structural assimilation,
37% identify as Italians compared with 14% among lower class Italians.

The argument that ethnic identification may be partly a
function of security stemming from a higher social class position, does
not appear to apply to the German group which we have argued has a
higher status qua group than the Italian group. Thus among the Germans
the highest percentage of respondents identifying as Germans is found
among lower class Germans who are low on primary structural assimi-
lation (75%). It is also apparent that class differences in identifation
are smaller among the Germans than among the Italians. The difference

in identification between upper and lower class Germans who are low
on primary structural assimilation is 10%; the equivalent Italian
difference is also 10%. But the difference in identification between
upper and lower class Germans who are high on primary structural
assimilation is only 6%; the equivalent difference among the Italians
is 23%. We can only make the tentative suggestion that security of
class position as a factor in identification does not influence ident-
ification in a social group which has a higher social status qua group.

The above suggestions must be extremely tentative since we are
examining the simultaneous influence of three variables within small
samples. As guides to further research, we can only conclude that
there is a consistent relationship between primary group structure and
identification, and that this relationship is further influenced by
the potential of the ethnic group for status conferral, by social
class position and by length of stay.

TABLE 47

Percentage of respondents who identify as Canadians by social class,
primary structural assimilation and ethnic group

Italians	Social class	1-5		6-7	
Five closest friends		0-3	4-5	0-3	4-5
Identification					
(2-3) Canadian		63%	43%	86%	53%
(4-8) Italian		37%	57%	14%	47%
		(19)	(14)	(15)	(19)

Germans	Social class	1-5		6-7	
Five closest friends		0-3	4-5	0-3	4-5
Identification					
(2-3) Canadian		56%	35%	50%	25%
(4-8) German		44%	65%	50%	75%
		(45)	(20)	(6)	(12)

Summary: Some claims, cautions and comments

One of our claims in chapter one was that we could improve the reproducability of assimilation studies by defining assimilation concepts by reference to very general sociological concepts such as reference group, primary group relations, social mobility, and value-orientations. We also attempted to make systematic distinctions between subprocesses within the overall assimilation process. The general sociological concepts mentioned above have been used as the conceptual framework of this study and it seems likely that our findings could be compared with general findings in the fields of social stratification, social mobility, and related phenomena such as life-style patterns and social identity. Our evidence too, suggests that structural assimilation and acculturation are distinct though related processes and we may conclude that the distinction between changes in the structure of social relations and changes in values and life-styles is a useful one. The evidence which we have gathered also suggests that it is worthwhile to investigate the differential influence of primary and secondary social relations.

The major caution to be exercised in drawing any conclusions from the study is the size of our samples. When 'no response' categories are accounted for, we have usually been operating with samples of 85, 80, and 70, for the Germans, Hamilton sample, and Italians respectively. This means that analysis utilising more than two variables has been extremely tentative.

We should also make explicit the difference between two types of argument used in this thesis. On the one hand, we have been making statements about immigrants in general and testing general propositions about the processes of assimilation. On the other hand, we have sometimes sought to explain differences between the German and Italian immigrants. Most often we have sought to answer the second kind of problem by reference to broad differences in the collective

characteristics of the two groups. Where future studies attempt this latter type of analysis, more detailed data than is available in this thesis will be needed in order to make reliable statements about the general characteristics of particular ethnic groups.

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APPENDIX 1

Questionnaire

1. Place of birth. Please write in the nearest city or town, and the country.

    _____   _____
          nearest city   country
          or town

2. If you were born outside Canada, when did you enter Canada? _____ year.

3. How old are you? _____ years.

4. How many years of education have you had? _____ years.

    Where did you receive your education? _____ country or
                                                               countries.

5. What is your present occupation? (Please give the full name of your occupation,

    for example, 'post-office clerk' rather than simply 'clerk'; 'motor-mechanic'

    rather than 'mechanic'.)

6. What churches, lodges, unions, clubs, or other organizations do you belong to?

    How often do you go to the meetings?   ) Please indicate your
) answer in the chart below.
    How many of the members are of your nationality?)

ORGANIZATION	HOW OFTEN DO YOU GO?				HOW MANY MEMBERS ARE OF YOUR NATIONALITY?				
NAME	NEVER	NOT OFTEN	OFTEN	VERY OFTEN	ALL	MOST	ABOUT HALF	FEW	NONE

7. How many times have you been to the movies in the past three months?

    None _____: Once _____: Twice _____: Three or four times _____:

    More than four times _____:

8. How often do you watch T.V. programmes?

    Every night _____: Nearly every night _____: About one evening a week _____:

    Never _____:

9. Which magazines do you read?   How much of these do you read?

MAGAZINE NAME	HOW MUCH DO YOU READ?			
	MORE THAN HALF	ABOUT HALF	SOME PARTS	JUST GLANCE AT

Which newspapers do you read?   Which parts do you read?

NEWSPAPER NAME	THE PARTS THAT YOU READ								
	LOCAL NEWS	SPORTS NEWS	CANADIAN POLITICS	INTER-NATIONAL FOREIGN	WOMENS SECTION	COMICS	EDITORIAL AND LETTERS PAGE	BUSINESS	

10. How interested are you in national political issues in Canada? .

Very interested _____: Interested _____: Somewhat interested _____:

Slightly interested _____: Not at all interested _____:

11. What sports do you take an interest in?   _____

_____

12. Some people drive their cars a lot for pleasure, especially on weekends.

Do you often take drives out of Hamilton?

Never ____: Not often ____: Often ____: Very often ____:

Please check here if you do not own a car. _____.

13. Do you usually take a summer vacation away from Hamilton?   Yes ____: No ____:

How do you usually spend it?   Camping ____: Your own cottage ____:

Other (please describe briefly)

_____

_____

14. How often do you and your wife eat out at restaurants?

More than once a week _____: About once a week _____:

About once a month _____: Less than once a month _____:

15. How much of your shopping do you do in large supermarkets?

All _____: Nearly all _____: About half _____: Less than half _____: None _____:

These questions are about your friendships. Non-relatives that we know
and like we usually refer to as our _friends_; some of these people we know
very well and see often we may think of as our _close friends_.
Questions 16, 17, 18 and 19 are about your _five closest friends_; questions
20, 21 and 22 are about your _friends in general_.

16. Of your _five closest friends_ how many of them work at the place where you
work?

All five _____: four _____: three _____: two _____: one _____: none _____:

17. Of your five closest friends how many of them live in your neighbourhood?

All five _____: four _____: three _____: two _____: one _____: none _____:

18. Of your five closest friends how many of them are Canadian born?

All five _____: four _____: three _____: two _____: one _____: none _____:

19. What are the occupations of your five closest friends? Again please give
the full name of the occupation. 1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

5. _____

20. About how many of _all your friends_ at work are Canadian born?

All _____: Nearly all _____: About half _____: Less than half _____: None _____:

21. About how many of all the friends that you have in the neighbourhood are
Canadian born?

All _____: Nearly all _____: About half _____: Less than half _____: None _____:

22. Of <u>all</u> the friends that you have in the Hamilton area, about how many are

Canadian born?

All _____ : Nearly all _____ : About half _____ : Less than half _____ : None _____ :

23. In some neighbourhoods most of the people know one another and visit each

other's houses a lot. In other neighbourhoods people keep pretty much to

themselves even though they are not unfriendly.

What is your neighbourhood like? Visit a lot _____ : Keep to themselves _____

24. How many of your relatives do you visit once a month or oftener?

All _____ : Nearly all _____ : About half _____ : Less than half _____ : None _____ :

25. Of the relatives that you feel really close to, how many are Canadian born?

All _____ : Nearly all _____ : About half _____ : Less than half _____ : None _____ :

26. How many of your relatives do you phone or write regularly?

All _____ : Nearly all _____ : About half _____ : Less than half _____ :

Very few _____ : None _____ :

27. What was your first job on leaving college or high school?

_____ (Name the first job you took
for six months or more)

Have you had a move up in your <u>present</u> job such as a change in grade (e.g. operative

to foreman, clerk to chief clerk, agent to district manager) or promotion?

Yes _____ : No _____ :

28. Have you moved home at all in the last ten years?

Please indicate your move(s). Simply name the nearest cross streets.
(Please include present location)

PLACE (Nearest cross streets e.g. King and Dundurn)	MOVED IN YEAR	MOVED OUT YEAR
PRESENT		/////////

29. Where would you most like to live in the Hamilton area? _____

30. Is your family typical of the neighbourhood where you live?

Yes _____: No _____:

31. Do you have any children going to school? Yes _____: No _____:

If yes, please list the age of each of your children and the name of

the school.

AGE OF CHILD	SCHOOL

This last section is rather different in that we are here asking about your opinions on a variety of topics. Each statement below represent an opinion on some subject. You may agree or even strongly agree with some of them; with others you may disagree or even strongly disagree. We hope you won't be annoyed by the statements; we had to include all kinds of opinions in order to get a good cross-section of peoples' views. Please indicate how you yourself feel about each statement by drawing a line under one of the phrases, strongly agree, agree, undecided, disagree, strongly disagree.

For example, if you disagree with a statement you answer as follows:—

Strongly agree, agree, undecided, disagree, strongly disagree.

1. Personal planning only leads to unhappiness, because plans hardly ever work out anyhow.

    strongly agree   agree   undecided   disagree   strongly disagree

2. When a man is born the success he is going to have is already decided so

    he might as well accept it and not fight against it.

    strongly agree   agree   undecided   disagree   strongly disagree

3. Nowadays with world conditions the way they are, the sensible person lives for

    today and lets tomorrow take care of itself.

    strongly agree   agree   undecided   disagree   strongly disagree

4. A man should put his parents, family, and relatives before everything else.

    strongly agree   agree   undecided   disagree   strongly disagree

5. Children should overlook the trouble which aged parents might cause in the home.

    strongly agree   agree   undecided   disagree   strongly disagree

6. While a man should be grateful to his parents and relatives he should not allow

    this to get in the way of his success.

    strongly agree   agree   undecided   disagree   strongly disagree

7. When the time comes for a boy to take a job, he should stay near his parents even

    if it means giving up the chance of a good job.

    strongly agree   agree   undecided   disagree   strongly disagree

8. It is good to see parents giving their children more freedom than they used to give them.

   strongly agree   agree   undecided   disagree   strongly disagree

9. Girls ought to be chaperoned on dates and similar occasions.

   strongly agree   agree   undecided   disagree   strongly disagree

10. There is nothing wrong with drinking if a person doesn't drink too much.

    strongly agree   agree   undecided   disagree   strongly disagree

11. Medicare would not help people very much; the private schemes are enough as they are now.

    strongly agree   agree   undecided   disagree   strongly disagree

12. It is wrong to regulate business very closely, the less government regulation of business the better.

    strongly agree   agree   undecided   disagree   strongly disagree

13. The church should speak out on public problems and social problems.

    strongly agree   agree   undecided   disagree   strongly disagree

14. When a man has decisions to make in his everyday life, he should ask himself what God would want him to do.

    strongly agree   agree   undecided   disagree   strongly disagree

15. The church should be very careful not to get involved in politics.

    strongly agree   agree   undecided   disagree   strongly disagree

16. Patriotism is both a necessary and a good thing; everyone should be patriotic.

    strongly agree   agree   undecided   disagree   strongly disagree

17. Most people couldn't really be happy unless they were working at some job.

    strongly agree   agree   undecided   disagree   strongly disagree

18. People would be a lot happier if they didn't have to work and could take life easy.

    strongly agree   agree   undecided   disagree   strongly disagree

19. The most important part of education is to teach young people to think for themselves.

    strongly agree   agree   undecided   disagree   strongly disagree

20. If you are Canadian born or think of yourself now as a Canadian, what is it that makes you feel most proud of being a Canadian?

_____

_____

_____

21. When people discuss national groups in Canada (such as the Italians, Germans, Ukrainians, British, French, Hungarians etc.) you often hear many differing opinions about culture in Canada. Some say we should all preserve our different customs, others say we should aim for a single Canadian culture. In general which of these two opinions do you favour?

Aim for single Canadian culture _____:

Preserve the national cultural differences _____:

22. Which of these two do you think <u>is actually happening</u> in Canada? Again, please answer as well as you can <u>in your own words</u>.

_____

_____

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP.

APPENDIX 2

Sehr geehrter Herr!

Eine wissenschaftliche Forschungsgruppe der McMaster Universität hat es sich zur Aufgabe gestellt, ein genaues Bild des gesellschaftlichen Lebens Hamiltons zu erhalten. Sie könnten dieser Statistik helfen, indem Sie den beiliegenden Fragebogen ausfüllen. Wir hoffen, dass die Fragen einfach zu beantworten sind. In den meisten Fällen ist die Antwort nur mit einem Kreuz zu vermerken.

Unser besonderes Interesse liegt in den vielen verschiedenen Bräuchen der zahlreichen Volksgruppen in Hamilton. Wie Sie sehen werden, handeln einige Fragen vom gesellschaftlichen Leben, Freizeitgestaltung, Arbeitsverhältnis, u.s.w.

Wir sind uns darüber im Klaren, dass es viele verschiedene Meinungen und Schicksale unter der Bevölkerung Hamiltons gibt. Vielleicht haben Sie das Gefühl, nicht ein typischer Vertreter Ihrer Volksgruppe zu sein; aber Ihr Name ist unter vielen anderen ausgewählt worden, damit ein möglichst vollständiges Bild über das gesellschaftliche Leben Hamiltons entsteht. Deshalb ist Ihre persönliche Antwort für uns so wichtig.

Den ausgefüllten Fragebogen schicken Sie doch bitte im beigefügten, frankierten Umschlag an uns zurück. Bitte geben Sie Ihren Namen nicht an. Keine der beteiligten Personen soll in diesem Bericht namentlich genannt werden.

Auf der folgenden Seite finden Sie die Einzelheiten eines Wettbewerbs über eine Studienbeihilfe in der Höhe von $100.00, an dem Sie teilnehmen können wenn Sie den Fragebogen ausgefüllt zurückschicken.

Wir wären Ihnen dankbar, den Fragebogen baldmöglichst zu beantworten; Sie würden uns damit einen grossen Dienst erweisen.

Mit vielem Dank im Voraus verbleiben wir

Hochachtungsvoll,

C. S. Fenton

C. S. Fenton

CSF:hk
Encl.

Wettbewerb über eine Studienbeihilfe in der Höhe von $100

Als Teilnehmer in dieser Forschungsarbeit haben Sie die Gelegenheit, eine Studienbeihilfe zu gewinnen. Die Beihilfe soll entweder Ihnen zugunsten sein, oder aber eines Verwandten oder Freundes, der Aufnahme in eine kanadische Universität erworben hat. (Falls der Gewinner das Geld auf seine Ausbildung nicht anwenden will, so darf er es beliebig verwenden.) Jeder, der einen Fragebogen zurückgeschickt hat, hat die gleiche Möglichkeit, diese Studienbeihilfe zu gewinnen.

Bitte lessen Sie sorgfältig die folgenden Anweisungen!

Mit dem Fragebogen finden Sie eine frankierte Postkarte. Nachdem Sie den Fragebogen zurückgeschickt haben, schreiben Sie Ihren Namen und Anschrift auf die Postkarte und schicken Sie sie an uns zurück!

Am 21. August, um 1.0 Uhr nachmittags im Tower Room, University Hall, McMaster University, werden all die bis diesen Zeitpunkt erhaltenen Postkarten gesammelt; von diesen wird die gewinnende Karte gezogen.

Der Name des Gewinners wird im <u>Hamilton Spectator</u> am 23. August, zu finden. Wenn der Gewinner abwesend ist, so wird er per Post benachrichtigt.

F R A G E B O G E N

1. Geburtsort (nächster grösserer Ort) _____

   Geburtsland _____

2. Jahr der Einwanderung nach Kanada _____

3. Wie alt sind Sie? _____ Jahre   Volksschule ____

4. Wieviel Jahre Schulbildung haben Sie genossen?   Oberschule ____

   In welchem Land / oder welchen Ländern gingen Sie zur Schule?

   _____   _____   _____

5. Jetzige Tätigkeit _____

   Bitte geben Sie eine möglichst vollständige Auskunft, z.B.:
   "Automechaniker" statt "Mechaniker", "Postangestellter" statt "Ange-
   stellter"

   Unter vielen der folgenden Fragen werden Sie die Ausdrücke: "Herkunfts-
   land", Nationalität", "Volksgruppe", finden. In der Beantwortung dieser
   Fragen, sind die Ausdrücke so anzuwenden, dass sie sich auf Ihr Geburts-
   land beziehen.

6. Welcher Kirche, Loge, Gewerkschaft, Klub oder anderer Organisation
   gehören Sie an? Wie oft besuchen Sie deren Versammlungen? Wieviele
   der Mitglieder gehören zu Ihrer Volksgruppe? Bitte benutzen Sie
   untenstehende Tabelle für Ihre Antworten.

NAME DES VEREINS	WIE OFT BESUCHT				WIEVIELE MITGLIEDER GEHÖREN ZU IHRER VOLKSGRUPPE			
	Nie	Nicht Oft	Oft	Sehr Oft	Alle	Die Meisten	Einige	Keine

Die nächsten Fragen berühren Ihre allgemeinen Interessen, Ihre Unterhaltung und Ihre Freizeitgestaltung.

7. Wieviel Mal waren Sie in den letzten 3 Monaten im Kino?

Keinmal ____; einmal ____; zweimal ____; 3-4 mal ____; mehr als

viermal ____.

8. Wie oft sehen Sie sich Fernsehsendungen an?

jeden Abend ____; fast jeden Abend ____; einmal die Woche ____;

überhaupt nicht ____.

9. Was für Zeitschriften lesen Sie? Wieviel vom Inhalt lesen Sie?

ZEITSCHRIFT (JOURNAL)	WIEVIEL DAVON LESEN SIE?			
Name	über die Hälfte	die Hälfte	einige Abschnitte	durch blättern

Welche Zeitungen lesen Sie? Welche Teile davon?

ZEITUNG NAME	DIE TEILE, DIE SIE LESEN							
	Lokalnachrichten	Sport	kanadische Politik	Weltpolitik	Wirtschaft	Für die Frau	Bilderreihen	Leitartikel und Leserbriefe

10. Wie weit interessiert Sie die Politik Ihres Herkunfslandes?

Sehr ____; mittelmässig ____; einigermassen ____; kaum ____; über-
haupt nicht ____.

11. Wie weit interessiert Sie die Innenpolitik Kanadas?

Sehr ____; mittelmässig ____; einigermassen ____; kaum ____; über-
haupt nicht ____.

12. An welchen Sportarten haben Sie Interesse? _____

_____

_____

13. Lesen Sie über den Sport in Ihrem Herkunftsland? Wieviel?

SPORTART	BEINAH ALLES	EINIGES	EIN WENIG

14. Manche Leute fahren ihr Auto zum Vergnügen, besonders am Wochenende.
Unternehmen Sie oft Ausfahrten ausserhalb Hamiltons?

niemals ____; selten ____; häufig ____; sehr oft ____.

Bitte machen Sie hier ein Kreuz, wenn Sie keinen Wagen besitzen. ____

15. Verbringen Sie gewöhnlich Ihren Sommerurlaub ausserhalb Hamiltons?

Ja ____; Nein ____.

Wie verbringen Sie Ihren Urlaub?

Im Zelt ____; Im eigenen oder gemieteten Sommerhaus ____; Anders

(Kurze Beschreibung): _____

_____

16. Wie oft essen Sie und Ihre Frau im Restaurant?

   Öfter als einmal die Woche ____; ungefähr einmal die Woche ____;

   einmal im Monat ____; weniger als einmal im Monat ____.

17. Wie oft essen Sie in Lokalen, die Ihnen einheimische (deutsche) Gerichte bieten?

   Öfter als einmal die Woche ____; einmal die Woche ____; weniger als

   einmal die Woche ____; nie ____.

18. Wie oft kaufen Sie in Läden ein, von denen Sie annehmen, dass Sie Waren aus Ihrer Heimat führen?

   Immer ____; fast immer ____; halb und halb ____; weniger als die

   Hälfte ____; nie ____.

19. Wieviele Ihrer Einkäufe tätigen Sie in "Supermarkets" und Gross-Kaufhäusern?

   alle ____; fast alle ____; ungefähr die Hälfte ____; weniger als

   die Hälfte ____; keine ____.

Die nächsten Fragen handeln von Ihrem Freundeskreis. Die Fragen 20, 21, 22, 23 beziehen sich auf Ihre nächsten Freunde; die Fragen 24, 25, 26, 27 auf Ihre Bekannten im allgemeinen.

20. Wieviele Ihrer 5 besten Freunde sind auf der gleichen Arbeitsstelle wie Sie?

   Alle 5 ____; 4 ____; 3 ____; 2 ____; einer ____; keiner ____.

21. Wieviele Ihrer 5 besten Freunde wohnen in Ihrer nächsten Umgebung?

   Alle 5 ____; 4 ____; 3 ____; 2 ____; einer ____; keiner ____.

22. Wieviele Ihrer 5 besten Freunde gehören zur gleichen Volksgruppe wie Sie?

   Alle 5 ____; 4 ____; 3 ____; 2 ____; einer ____; keiner ____.

23. Was sind Ihre 5 nächsten Freunde von Beruf? _____
(So ausführlich wie möglich!)

   _____

   _____   _____   _____

24. Wieviele Ihrer Mitarbeiter sind aus Ihrer Heimat?

alle ____; fast alle ____; die Hälfte ____; weniger als die Hälfte

keine ____. ____;

25. Wieviele Ihrer nächsten Nachbarn, mit denen Sie befreundet sind,
stammen aus Ihrer Heimat?

alle ____; fast alle ____; die Hälfte ____; weniger als die Hälfte

keine ____. ____;

26. Von allen Bekannten, die Sie in der Umgegend von Hamilton besitzen,
wieviele stammen aus Ihrer Heimat?

alle ____; fast alle ____; die Hälfte ____; weniger als die Hälfte

keine ____. ____;

27. In manchen Gegenden verkehren die Nachbarn miteinander und besuchen
sich regelmässig. Andere sind zurückhaltender. Wie ist es in Ihrer
Gegend?

Aufgeschlossen ____; aurückhaltend ____.

28. Wieviele Ihrer Verwandten besuchen Sie einmal im Monat oder öfter?

alle ____; fast alle ____; die Hälfte ____; weniger als die Hälfte

einige ____; keine ____. ____;

29. Von den Verwandten, die Ihnen am nächsten stehen, wieviele sind aus
Ihrer eigenen Volksgruppe?

alle ____; fast alle ____; die Hälfte ____; weniger als die Hälfte

einige ____; keine ____. ____;

30. Mit wievielen Ihrer Verwandten telefonieren oder korrespondieren Sie
regelmässig?

mit allen ____; mit fast allen ____; mit der Hälfte ____; mit

weniger als der Hälfte ____; mit einigen ____; mit keinen von

Ihnen ____.

31. Was war Ihr Beruf vor Ihrer Auswanderung? _____

32. Was für einen Beruf bekleideten Sie auf Ihrer ersten Stelle in Kanada,
auf der Sie mehr als drei Monate beschäftigt waren?

33. Haben Sie bei Ihrer jetzigen Arbeitsstelle eine Beförderung erlebt?

Ja ____ ; Nein ____ .

34. In welcher Gegend Hamilton lebten Sie gleich nach Ihrer Ankunft?
Sind Sie seitdem umgezogen? (Bitte geben Sie die Gegend an, in der
Sie zur Zeit wohnen.)

WOHNGEGEND (NÄCHSTE GRÖSSERE STRASSENKREUZUNG)	WANN EINGEZOGEN Jahr	WANN AUSGEZOGEN Jahr

35. In welcher Gegend Hamiltons würden Sie am liebsten wohnen?

36. Finden Sie, dass Ihre Familie sich der Gegend, in der Sie leben,
anpasst?

Ja ____ ; Nein ____ .

37. Haben Sie schulpflichtige Kinder?

Ja ____ ; Nein ____ .

Wenn ja, geben Sie das Alter der Kinder und den Namen der Schule an:

ALTER DES KINDES	SCHULE

38. Sind Sie kanadischer Staatsbürger? Ja ____ ; Nein ____ .

Wenn ja, in welchem Jahr wurden Sie eingebürgert? _____

Wenn nicht, haben Sie Ihre Staatsbürgerschaft eingereicht?

Ja ____ ; Nein ____ .

39. Gehört Ihr Arbeitgeber zur gleichen Volksgruppe wie Sie selbst?

Ja ____ ; Nein ____ .

40. Ziehen Sie als Hausarzt einen Landsmann vor? Ja ____ ; gleichgültig

____ .

41. Wie oft sprechen Sie Ihre Muttersprache zuhause?

Immer ____ ; meistens ____ ; halb und halb ____ ; selten ____ ;

nie ____ .

42. Wie oft sprechen Sie Ihre Muttersprache ausserhalb Ihres Familienkreises?

Immer ____ ; meistens ____ ; halb und halb ____ ; selten ____ ; nie ____ .

43. Wie gut sprechen Sie englisch?

Sehr gut ____ ; gut ____ ; nicht sehr gut ____ ; gar nicht ____ .

44. Wie gut lesen Sie englisch?

Sehr gut ____ ; gut ____ ; nicht sehr gut ____ ; gar nicht ____ .

45. Haben Sie jemals englische Sprachstunden genommen? Ja ____ ; Nein ____ .

Wenn ja, wo wurden die Stunden genommen? (Schule, Land) _____

_____

46. In welchem Jahr erhielten Sie englischen Unterricht? _____

Wie lange ____ ____

       Jahr Mon.

Der letzte, vorliegende Teil unterscheidet sich etwas darin, dass wir
uns nach Ihren Meinungen über einige Themen erkundigen. Jede Angabe stellt
eine Meinung über irgendwelches Thema dar. Mit einigen werden Sie Überein-
stimmung, vielleicht sogar eine entschiedene Übereinstimmung fühlen; andere
dagegen werden eine Meinungsverschiedenheit von grösserem oder kleineren
Grade erwecken. Hoffentlich werden Sie sich über die Angaben nicht ärgern;
wir haben allerlei Meinungen einschliessen müssen, damit wir den genauen
Durchschnitt von vielen Gesichtspünkten erhielten. Bitte, geben Sie Ihre
persönliche Meinung über jede Angabe, indem Sie einen Strich unter das
zutreffende Wortpaar machen! Zum Beispiel, wenn Sie mit einer Angabe nicht
übereinstimmen, antworten Sie wie folgt:

stimme stark überein   stimme überein   unentschlossen   bin dagegen

bin stark dagegen

1. Der Entwurf von persönlichen Plänen führt nur zu Unglückseligkeit, denn
   Pläne gehen sowieso meistens schief.

   stimme stark überein   stimme überein   unentschlossen   bin dagegen

   bin stark dagegen

2. Der Erfolg, den man geniessen wird, ist schon beim Begurt festgelegt;
   deshalb soll man nicht dagegen kämpfen, sondern die Lage annehmen, wie
   sie ist.

   stimme stark überein   stimme überein   unentschlossen   bin dagegen

   bin stark dagegen

3. Heutzutage, bei den herrschenden Verhältnissen in der Welt, lebt der
   vernünftige Mensch nur für den Tag; er kümmert sich nicht um den
   nächsten Tag.

   stimme stark überein   stimme überein   unentschlossen   bin dagegen

   bin stark dagegen

4. Man soll Eltern, Familie und Verwandten an erste Stelle setzen.

   stimme stark überein   stimme überein   unentschlossen   bin dagegen

   bin stark dagegen

5. Kinder sollen die Störung, die bejahrte Eltern im Hause vielleicht
   verursachen, übersehen.

   stimme stark überein   stimme überein   unentschlossen   bin dagegen

   bin stark dagegen

6. Man soll gegen die Eltern und Verwandten dankbar sein, aber dieses Gefühl soll ihm nicht im Wege zum Erfolg stehen.

stimme stark überein   stimme überein   unentschlossen   bin dagegen

bin stark dagegen

7. Wenn es Zeit ist, dass ein Junge eine Anstellung nehmen soll, dann soll er in der Nähe seiner Eltern bleiben, selbst wenn er dadurch die Möglichkeit einer guten Anstellung aufgeben muss.

stimme stark überein   stimme überein   unentschlossen   bin dagegen

bin stark dagegen

8. Es ist gut, dass Eltern den Kindern mehr Freiheit geben, als in der Vergangenheit.

stimme stark überein   stimme überein   unentschlossen   bin dagegen

bin stark dagegen

9. Bei Stelldichein und ähnlichen Gelegenheiten sollten Mädchen eine Anstandsdame dabei haben.

stimme stark überein   stimme überein   unentschlossen   bin dagegen

bin stark dagegen

10. Das Trinken schadet nichts, wenn man nur nicht zu viel trinkt.

stimme stark überein   stimme überein   unentschlossen   bin dagegen

bin stark dagegen

11. Medicare (Staatskrankenversicherung) würde nicht allzusehr hilfreich sein; die jetzigen Privatpläne genügen völlig.

stimme stark überein   stimme überein   unentschlossen   bin dagegen

bin stark dagegen

12. Den Handelsstrom genau zu regulieren ist falsch; je weniger Staatsregulierung des Handels, desto besser.

stimme stark überein   stimme überein   unentschlossen   bin dagegen

bin stark dagegen

13. Die Kirche soll über öffentliche und soziale Probleme offen reden.

stimme stark überein   stimme überein   unentschlossen   bin dagegen

bin stark dagegen

14. Muss man im alltäglichen Leben Entscheidungen machen, so soll er sich fragen, was Gott von ihm verlangen würde.

    stimme stark überein   stimme überein   unentschlossen   bin dagegen

    bin stark dagegen

15. Die Kirch soll sich sehr sorgfältig vor Verwicklung in der Politik hüten.

    stimme stark überein   stimme überein   unentschlossen   bin dagegen

    bin stark dagegen

16. Patriotismus ist sowohl notwendig wie gut; jeder sollte patriotisch sein.

    stimme stark überein   stimme überein   unentschlossen   bin dagegen

    bin stark dagegen

17. Die meisten Leute können wirklich glückselig sein nur dann, wann sie irgendwelche Arbeit haben.

    stimme stark überein   stimme überein   unentschlossen   bin dagegen

    bin stark dagegen

18. Man wäre viel glückseliger, wenn man statt arbeiten nur unbesorgt leben könnte.

    stimme stark überein   stimme überein   unentschlossen   bin dagegen

    bin stark dagegen

19. Das wichtigste Ziel der Ausbildung ist, junge Leute zu lehren, dass sie für sich selbst denken sollen.

    stimme stark überein   stimme überein   unentschlossen   bin dagegen

    bin stark dagegen

In den folgenden, letzten Fragen bitten wir um die grösstmögliche Offenheit. Bitte vergessen Sie nicht, dass kein Name verlangt wird. Bemerken Sie auch, das wir ein paar Zeilen offen gelassen haben, falls Sie weitere Bemerkungen machen wollen ausser den einfachen Haken, der sonst als Antwort dient.

20. Finden Sie, dass Sie—im allgemeinen—mehr gemeinsam mit Leuten aus Ihrem Heimatland nach Kanada kämen?

                    Ja ____; Nein ____.

21. Wenn man Sie fragte, würden Sie es empfehlen, dass junge Leute aus Ihrem Heimatland nach Kanada kämen?

stark ermutigen ermutigen entmutigen stark entmutigen

_____

_____

22. Sind Sie stolz auf Ihr Geburtsland?

Ja ____; Nein ____; gleichgültig ____.

22a. Wie würden Sie Ihr Heimatland mit Kanada vergleichen?

_____

_____

_____

_____

23. Was wäre der beste Rat, den Sie einem jungen Ehepaar geben würden, das nach Kanada auszuwandern denkt?

_____

_____

_____

24. Alles in allem, betrachten Sie sich lieber als Kanadier? Bitte, versuchen Sie, diese Frage so gut wie möglich mit Ihren eigenen Worten zu beantworten!

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

25. Wenn von Nationalgruppen hier in Kanada die Rede ist, wie z.B. Briten, Italienern, Deutschen, Ukrainern, Franzosen, Ungarn u. s. w., hört man oft viele verschiedenartige Meinungen über die Kultur in Kanada. Manche sagen, dass wir all unsere verschiedenen Sitten beibehalten sollen, andere dagegen, dass eine einzige kanadische Kultur ihnen lieber wäre. Im allgemeinen, welche von diesen zwei Meinungen gefällt Ihnen lieber?

    eine einzige kanadische Kultur ____

    die nationaalen kulturellen Verschiedenheiten beibehalten ____

26. Welche von den beiden, meinen Sie, ereignet sich im Moment in Kanada?

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

Vielen Dank für Ihre Hilfe!

APPENDIX 3

Egregio signore,

Un gruppo di studenti dell'Università di McMaster sta facendo delle ricerche sulla vita sociale in Hamilton. Mandandole questo questionario le chiediamo aiuto e cooperazione per completare questo studio. Noi pensiamo che troverà le domande interessanti e facili a rispondere; la maggior parte di esse richiede come risposta un piccolo segno in una colonna solamente.

Il maggior scopo di questo studio é di conosceri le usanze e cosa credono i gruppi delle diverse nationalità. Come vedrà, ci sono domande sulla vita sociale, passatempi e lavori e anche qualche domanda circa le sue opinioni su una varietà di argomenti.

Noi riconosciamo che vi saranno opinioni diversi e esperienze tra la gente di Hamilton. Lei forse penserà di non essere representativo o tipico della gente della sua patria, ma il nome è stato scelto tra altri in maniera di essere sicuri di ricavarne un quadro veramente representativo. Équesta la ragione per cui la sua propria risposta personale è cosi importante.

Quando avrà terminato il questionario, ce lo rispedisca nell'apposita busta già indirizzata e con francobollo. Per favore non dia il suo nome. Nessuno verà identificato nel rapporto. Nella seguente pagina troverà detagli per un concorso di 100.00 (cento) dollari come borsa di studio. Noi le saremo grati se lei vorebbe rimandarci questo questionario il più presto possibile. Ci sarà di molto aiuto.

Tanto grazie.

BORSA DI STUDIO $100

Come participa in questo studio lei ha l'opportunità di guadagnare
parente o amico che già sia stato ammesso a una università Canadese.
Se il vincitore non puo usare i soldi per gli studii li avra presso
di lei.

Tutte le persone che e rispondono al questionaria hanno uguale
opportunita di vincere la borsa. Ecco le istruzioni:
Lege le bene per piacere.

Con'il suo questionario lei trovera una cartolina e francobollo con
indirizzi. Dopo che ha rispedito il questionario a noi, scriva suo
nome ed indirizzo nella cartolina e la spedisca all'universita.

Saturday August 21 at 1:00 p.m. nel Tower Room University Hall,
a McMaster University tutte le cartolina saranno mese insieme e
tirate a sarte.

Il nome del vincittore sarà annunziato nel Hamilton Spectator,
Monday August 23. Se il vincittore non e presente, lei sarà
notificato per lettera.

Questionario.

Introduzione.

Per favore ci dica -

1. Dov'é nato? _____   _____   _____
                        paese   provincia   patria

2. Se nato fuori del Canadà, quando e'venuto qui? _____ anno.

3. Quanti anni hà? _____ anni.

In molte domande vedrà le frasi "nazione d'origine" "nazionalità", "gruppo nazionale"

e "stilo nazionale" etc.; per lo scopo di queste domande dia a queste frasi il

significato di nazione dove é nato.

4. Quanti anni di scuola hà fatto? _____ anni.

   Dove ha ricevuto la sua educazione scolastica? _____ _____

                                          nazione   o   nazioni.

5. Qual'é il suo presente lavoro? (Per favore dia il nome completo del lavoro,

   per esempio, "impiegato d'ufficio postale" invece di solo "impiegato";

   "meccanico di motori" invece di "meccanico".)

   _____ lavoro.

6. A quale chiesa, circoli, unioni, clubs, o altre organizzazioni appartiene?

   Quanto spesso va alle riunioni?

   Quanti membri sono della vostra nazionalità?

Organizzazione	Quanto Spesso Va?				Quanti membri sono della vestra nazionalita?				
Nome	Mai	Non Spesso	Spesso	Molto Spesso	Tutti	La Maggior Parte	Circa La Metà	Pochi	Nessuno

Le poche seguenti domande sono circa i suoi interessi generali, i suoi

divertimenti (come cinema e T.V.) e le sui recreazioni. In caso di non essere

troppo sicuro di certe risposte,   cerchi di essere il più preciso possibile

per favore.

7. Quante volte, durante il mese scorso, é andato al cinema?

   Mai _____ : Una volta _____ : Due volte _____ : Tre o quattro volte _____ :

   Più di quattro volte _____ :

8. Nei tre mesi scorsi é mai andato a un cinema che lei penserebbe essere

   d'interesse speciale per il suo gruppo nazionale? (per esempio un film circa

   il sua terra d'origine oppure un film nel suo linguaggio?)

   Si _____ No _____ Se, si quante volte? _____ .

9. Quanto spesso guarda programmi televisivi?

   Ogni sera _____ : Quasi ogni sera _____ : Circa una sera alla settiniana

   _____ : Mai _____ .

10. Quanto spesso guarda programmi televisivi d'interesse speciale per la sua

    nazionalità? PER SETTIMANA. Mai _____ : Una volta _____ :

    Due volte o più _____ .

11. Quali riviste legge? Quanto legge di questi?

RIVISTA	QUANTO NE LEGGE?			
NOME	PIÙ DELLA METÀ	QUASI LA METÀ	CERTE PARTI	SOLO UNO SGUARDO

Quali quotidiani legge? Quali parti?

QUOTIDIANO	LE PARTI CHE LEGGE								
NOME	notizie locale	questioni politiche canadese	questioni politiche internationale	sport	rubriche della donna	la pagina editoriale e lettere	pagina di carricature	affaria	

12. Quanto interesse ha lei per le questioni politiche del sua terra d'origine?

Molto interesse _____ : Interesse _____ : Un po' d'interesse _____ :

Poco interesse _____ : No interesse _____ .

13. Quanto interesse ha per le questioni politiche nazionali del Canadà?

Molto interesse _____ : Interesse _____ : Un po' d'interesse _____ :

Poco interesse _____ : No interesse _____ .

14. In quali sporto é interessato? _____

_____

_____

15. Leggi giornali e riviste sugli sporto giocati nel sua terra d'origine?
Quanto ne legge?

SPORT	LEGGO QUASI TUTTO	UN POCO	UN POCHINO

16. Certa gente guida molto la macchina per piacere, specialmente nel week-end.

Lei fa spesso gite fuori di Hamilton? Mai _____ : Non spesso _____ :

Spesso _____ : Molto spesso _____ .

Per favore marchi qui se non ha macchina _____ .

17. E'suo uso spendere le vacanze estive fuori di Hamilton? Si _____ : No _____ .

Com'e'solito passaile? Campeggio _____ : il suo proprio "cottage" _____ :

Altri (per favore descrivi brevemente)

_____

_____

18. Quante volte lei e sua moglie prenzano ad un ristorante?

Più di una volta alla settimana _____ : Quasi una volta alla settimana _____ :

Quasi una volta al mese _____ : Meno di una volta al mese _____ .

19. Quante, volte sua moglie e lei pranzano a un ristorante dove si servono gente della sua nazionalità?

Pui di una volta alla settimana _____ : Circa una volta alla settimana _____ :

Meno di una volta alla settimana _____ : Mai _____ .

Le seguenti sono domande su come piace fare la spesa a lei e alla sua famiglia, ma non c'è bisogno di nominare negozi. Se lei non è molto sicuro di certe cose, potrebbe chiedere l'aiuto di sua moglie per questa sezione. Puo darsi che lei pensa ch'un negozio va bene (e utile) per il suo gruppo di connazionali perché il padrone e gli clienti sono della stessa razza di lei e anche perche vende le cose del loro gusto di cui sono gia abituati (il negozio provvede a soddisfare i gusti del suo gruppo).

20. Quanta, della sua spesa alimentare, è fatta in negozi che lei pensa siano del suo gruppo nazionale?

Tutta _____ : Quasi tutta _____ : Quasi metà _____ :

Meno della metà _____ : Niente _____ .

21. Quanto, delle altre spese, viene fatto in negozi che lei pensa servino il suo gruppo nazionale?

Tutta _____ : Quasi tutta _____ : Quasi metà _____ :

Meno della metà _____ : Niente _____ .

22. Quanta, della sua spesa, è fatta ai grandi magazini?

Tutta _____ : Quasi tutta _____ : Quasi metà _____ :

Meno della metà _____ : Niente _____ .

Queste domande riguardano le vostre amicizie.

Non-parenti che conosciamo e che ci piacciono, questi noi consideriamo come amici; certi di questi che conosciamo molto bene e viediamo spesso, sono i nostri amici stretti.

Le domande numero 27, 28, 29 e 30 sono circa i suoi amici in generale, le domande 23, 24, 25 e 26 riguardano i vostri cinque amici più stretti.

23. Dei suoi cinque amici più stretti quanti di questi lavorano dove lei lavora?

Tutte e cinque _____ : Quattro _____ : Tre _____ : Due _____ : Uno _____ :

Nessuno _____ .

24. Quanti dei suoi cinque amici più stretti abitano nel suo vicinato?

Tutti e cinque _____ :   Quattro _____ :   Tre _____ :   Due _____ :

Uno _____ :   Nessuno _____ .

25. Quanti dei suoi cinque amici più stretti sono della sua nazionalità?

Tutti e cinque _____ :   Quattro _____ :   Tre _____ :   Due _____ :

Uno _____ :   Nessuno _____ .

26. Quali sono le occupazioni dei suoi cinque amici più cari? Dia di nuovo per

favore il nome completo del lavoro.   1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

5. _____

27. Circa quanti dei suoi _amici_ di lavoro sono della sua terra d'origine?

Tutti _____ :   Quasi tutti _____ :   Quasi metà _____ :

Meno della metà _____ :   Nessuno _____ .

28. Circa quanti degli amici del suo vicinato sono della sua terra d'origine?

Tutti _____ :   Quasi tutti _____ :   Quasi metà _____ :

Meno della metà _____ :   Nessuno _____ .

29. Quanti di _tutti_ gli amici dei dintorni di Hamilton sono della sua terra d'origine?

Tutti _____ :   Quasi tutti _____ :   Quasi metà _____ :

Meno della metà _____ :   Nessuno _____ .

30. In certi vicinati la maggior parte della gente si conosce e si visita spesso. In

altri vicinati la gente rimane spesso per conto proprio anche se non è nemica.

Com'è il suo vicinato?

Visita spesso _____ :   Rimangono separati _____ .

31. Quanti dei suoi parenti visita una volta o più al mese?

Tutti _____ :   Quasi tutti _____ :   Quasi metà _____ :

Meno della metà _____ :   Pochi _____ :   Nessuno _____ .

32. Quanti dei parenti, a _cui si sente molto vicino_, sono della sua nazionalità?

Tutti _____ :   Quasi tutti _____ :   Circa metà _____ :

Meno della metà _____ :   Pochi _____ :   uno _____ .

33. A quanti dei suoi parenti scrive o telefona regolarmente?

    Tutti _____ : Quasi tutti _____ : Circa metà _____ :

    Meno della metà _____ : Pochi _____ : Nessuno _____ .

34. Che lavoro svolgeva nel paese natío? _____

35. Quale fú il primo lavoro che ebbe nel Canadà che tenne per tre mesi o più?

    _____

36. Lei ha avuto un avanzamento nel su lavoro corrente, siccome un cambiamento di

    grado o una promozione? (per esempio, operaio al primo del lavoro ("foreman"),

    scrivano a capo ufficio, agente à direttore distritualle) Si _____ Non _____ .

37. Dove ha lei abitato appena venuto ad Hamilton? Ha cambiato abitato da allora?

POSTO (il più vicino incroicio – i.e. King e Dundurn)	ANNO ABITATO PER PRIMA	ANNO LASCIATO

38. Dove le piacerebbe di più vivere nei dintorni di Hamilton? _____

39. La sua famiglia è tipica del vicinato dove abita?

    Si _____ : No _____ .

40. Ha figli che vanno a scuola? Si _____ : No _____ :

    Se li na, enumeri per favore e l'età di ciascuno e il nome della scuola.

ETÀ DE RAGAZZO	SCUOLA

41. Parla molto la lingua nazionale a casa?

Sempre _____ : La più parte delle volte _____ : Circa metà delle

volte _____ : Raramente _____ : Mai _____ .

42. Quante volte parla la sua lingua quando non è con la sua famiglia?

Sempre _____ : La più parte delle volte _____ : Circa metà delle

volte _____ : Raramente _____ : Mai _____ .

43. Come parla l'inglese?

Molto bene _____ : Bene _____ : Non tanto bene _____ : Affatto _____ .

44. Come legge l'inglese?

Molto bene _____ : Bene _____ : Non tanto bene _____ : Affatto _____ .

45. Ha mai preso lezioni per imparare l'inglese? (per esempio, é stato a classe

o a scuola) Si _____ : No _____ :

Se si, dove ha preso lezioni? _____ .

46. Se ha preso lezioni, dica per favore quando le ha prese e per quanto tempo.

Quando _____ anno. Quanto _____ _____ .

                                                     anni   mesi

47. E lei cittadino canadese? Si _____ : No _____ :

Se si, in che anno è diventato cittadino? _____ anno.

Se no, ha fatto la domanda per la cittadinanza? Si _____ : No _____ .

48. La fattoria o ufficio dove lei lavora, appartiene o é manniegata da gente

della terra d'origine sua? Si _____ : Non _____ :

49. Certe persone preferiscono andare a un medico della sua terra d'origine.

Preferisco questo anche lei? Si _____ : Non importa _____ :

Quest'ultima parte è molto differente datosi che qui domandiamo le sue opinioni su vari soggetti. Ogni frase qui sotto rappresenta un opinione su qualche soggetto. Lei può essere molto d'accordo con certi di esse; con altre può non essere d'accordo. Ci auguriamo che lei non si annoi; abbiamo dovuto includere tutte sorti di opinioni per ricevere una buona vista delle opinioni della gente. Per favore indichi cosa <u>lei stessa</u> pensa circa ciascuna frase tracciando una linea sotto una delle frasi, molto d'accordo, d'accordo, indeciso, in disaccordo, molto in disaccordo. Per esempio, se lei non è d'accordo con una frase, risponda come segue molto d'accordo, d'accordo, indeciso, <u>in disaccordo</u>, molto in disaccordo.

1. Fare progetti non serve che a rendere una persona infelice perché i progetti quasi mai si avverono.

    molto d'accordo   d'accordo   indeciso   in disaccordo   molto in disaccordo

2. Quando una persona nasce, il successo che avrà è già deciso, perciò farebbe bene ad accettarlo e a non ribellarsi.

    molto d'accordo   d'accordo   indeciso   in disaccordo   molto in disaccordo

3. Oggigiorno, con le condizioni del mondo così come sono, una persona assennata vive al giorno e lascia che il domani si curi di se stesso.

    molto d'accordo   d'accordo   indeciso   in disaccordo   molto in disaccordo

4. Un'uomo dovrebbe mettere i genitori, la famiglia ed i parenti sopra ogni altra cosa.

    molto d'accordo   d'accordo   indeciso   in disaccordo   molto in disaccordo

5. I figli non dovrebbero dare peso al fastidio che i genitori anziani possono creare nella casa.

    molto d'accordo   d'accordo   indeciso   in disaccordo   molto in disaccordo

6. Mentre un uomo dovrebbe essere grato ai suoi genitori e parenti, egli non dovrebbe permettere che questo ostacola la via del successo.

    molto d'accordo   d'accordo   indeciso   in disaccordo   molto in disaccordo

7. Quando il tempo viene per un ragazzo di cercar lavoro, egli dovrebbe restare vicino ai genitori anche se dovesse perdere l'opportunità di un buon lavoro.

    molto d'accordo   d'accordo   indeciso   in disaccordo   molto in disaccordo

8. E'bello vedere genitori dare ai figli più libertà di quanto ne usavano dare.

    molto d'accordo   d'accordo   indeciso   in disaccordo   molto in disaccordo

9. Le ragazze dovrebbero essere accompagnate ad appuntamenti e ad occasioni simili.

    molto d'accordo   d'accordo   indeciso   in disaccordo   molto in disaccordo

10. Non c'è niente di male nel bere se una persona non eccede.

    molto d'accordo   d'accordo   indeciso   in disaccordo   molto in disaccordo

11. "Medicare" non aiuterebbe molto la gente.

    molto d'accordo   d'accordo   indeciso   in disaccordo   molto in disaccordo

12. Non è bene controllare tropo gli affari; meno il governo controlla gli affari,

    meglio è.

    molto d'accordo   d'accordo   indeciso   in disaccordo   molto in disaccordo

13. La chiesa dovrebbe parlare su problemi pubblici e sociali.

    molto d'accordo   d'accordo   indeciso   in disaccordo   molto in disaccordo

14. Quando un uomo deve prendere una decisione nella sua vita giornaliere, dovrebbe

    domandarsi cosa è che Iddio vuole che lui faccia.

    molto d'accordo   d'accordo   indeciso   in disaccordo   molto in disaccordo

15. La chiesa dovrebbe stare molto attenta a non coinvolgersi in politica.

    molto d'accordo   d'accordo   indeciso   in disaccordo   molto in disaccordo

16. Patriotismo è allo stesso tempo buono e necessario, tutti dovrebbero essere

    patrioti.

    molto d'accordo   d'accordo   indeciso   in disaccordo   molto in disaccordo

17. La maggior parte della gente non può essere veramente felice se non sta lavorando a

    qualche cosa.

    molto d'accordo   d'accordo   indeciso   in disaccordo   molto in disaccordo

18. La gente sarebbe molto più felice se non dovesse lavorare potendosi cosi divertirsi.

    molto d'accordo   d'accordo   indeciso   in disaccordo   molto in disaccordo

19. La cosa più importante della educazione é di insegnare la gioventu di agire

    e pensare da se stessi.

    molto d'accordo   d'accordo   indesciso   in disaccordo   molto in disaccordo

Nelle ultime poche domande li preghiamo di rispondere con franchezza. Lei ha potuto constatare che non le e stato chiesto il nome in queste questionario quindi il suo anonimato e securato. Lei osservera che dopo ogni domanda abbiamo laciato libero un piccolo spazio per qualsiasi commento che lei desidere fare, in aggiunta a il suo segno di risposta.

20. Ha trovato lei che in generale ha pui in commune e si sente pui comodo con quelli della sua terra? Si _____ : Non _____ :

21. Si le venisse chiesto notizie sul Canada, lei incoraggierebbe la gioventu della sua patria di venire in Canada?

Incoraggierebbe molto _____ : incoraggierebbe _____ : scoraggierebbe _____ : scoriaggerebbe molto _____ :

22. E fiero della terra dov'e nato? Si _____ : Non _____ : Indifferente _____ :

22a. Come confronta la sua terra d'origine con il Canada?

_____

23. Quale meglio consiglio darebbe a una giovanne coppia che pensa di venire in Canada?

_____

_____

24. Tutto considerato, lei preferisce considerarsi canadese?

Per favore cerca di rispondere a questa domanda, come meglio puo, in modo suo.

_____

_____

25. Quando la gente discute dei gruppi delle varie nazioni nel Canada (come i tedeschi, italiani, ucraini, inglesi, francesi, ungheresi) si sento spesso una diversita di opinioni al riguardo alla cultura del Canada. Alcuni dicono che noi dovremmo conservare le proprie usanze, altri dicono che dovremmo aspirare ad un'unica cultura canadese. Nel complesso, cuale delle due opinioni preferisce lei?

Aspirare ad un'unica cultura canadese _____ :

Conservare le varie usanze nazionali _____ :

_____

_____

26. Quale delle due lei pensa stia attualamente accadendo nel Canada? Di nuovo,

per favore, risponde, come meglio puo, con le sue proprie parole.

**************** RINGRANZIAMO VIVAMENTE DELLA SUA COLLABRIAZONE ****************

OCCUPATION		TOTAL	BORN IN CANADA	U.K.	GERMANY	ITALY
Class All, (excluding certain not amenable to Blishen scale)		4,705,518	3,685,694	301,105	67,640	102,672
		3,549,662	2,790,277	207,235	51,723	82,742
	1951 IV-12 (see Blishen)					
Class 1	0.9	63,495	48,555	5,295	673	205
Class 2	10.7	478,532	375,259	38,152	4,893	3,671
Class 3	6.3	162,910	131,270	14,831	1,959	590
Class 4	7.0	150,095	117,507	14,748	3,073	1,172
Class 5	34.2	1,388,943	1,103,037	83,923	21,699	19,212
Class 6	19.6	572,852	441,745	22,195	11,403	24,841
Class 7	21.3	733,555	572,904	28,091	8,023	33,051

OCCUPATION	TOTAL		BORN IN CANADA		U.K.		GERMANY		ITALY	
Total Population										
Ontario--Males	6,236,092	%	4,882,935	%	524,851	%	91,822	%	161,730	%
(D.B.S. 1961 table 22 col. 3, part 1)										
All occupations	1,700,567		1,200,298		162,978		31,960		63,798	
Classes 1, 2, and 3										
Managerial	188,666	(11.0)	137,078	(11.4)	20,271	(12.4)	2,231	(7.0)	2,533	(3.9)
Professional and technical	142,779	(8.4)	103,304	(8.6)	18,067	(11.1)	2,430	(7.6)	561	(0.9)
Total	331,445	19.5	240,382	20.0	38,338	23.5	4,661	14.6	3,114	4.8
Classes 4 and 5										
Clerical	129,932	(7.6)	98,714	(8.2)	16,742	(10.3)	1,715	(5.4)	1,214	(1.9)
Craftsmen, production process and related	535,302	(31.5)	340,847	(28.4)	57,103	(35.0)	16,895	(52.9)	30,384	(47.6)
Total	665,234	39.1	439,561	36.6	73,845	45.3	18,610	58.2	31,598	49.5
Classes 6 and 7										
Labourers	103,900	6.1	64,737	5.4	5,111	3.1	1,533	4.8	15,846	24.8
Others	599,988	35.2	455,618	38.0	45,684	28.0	7,156	22.4	13,260	20.8